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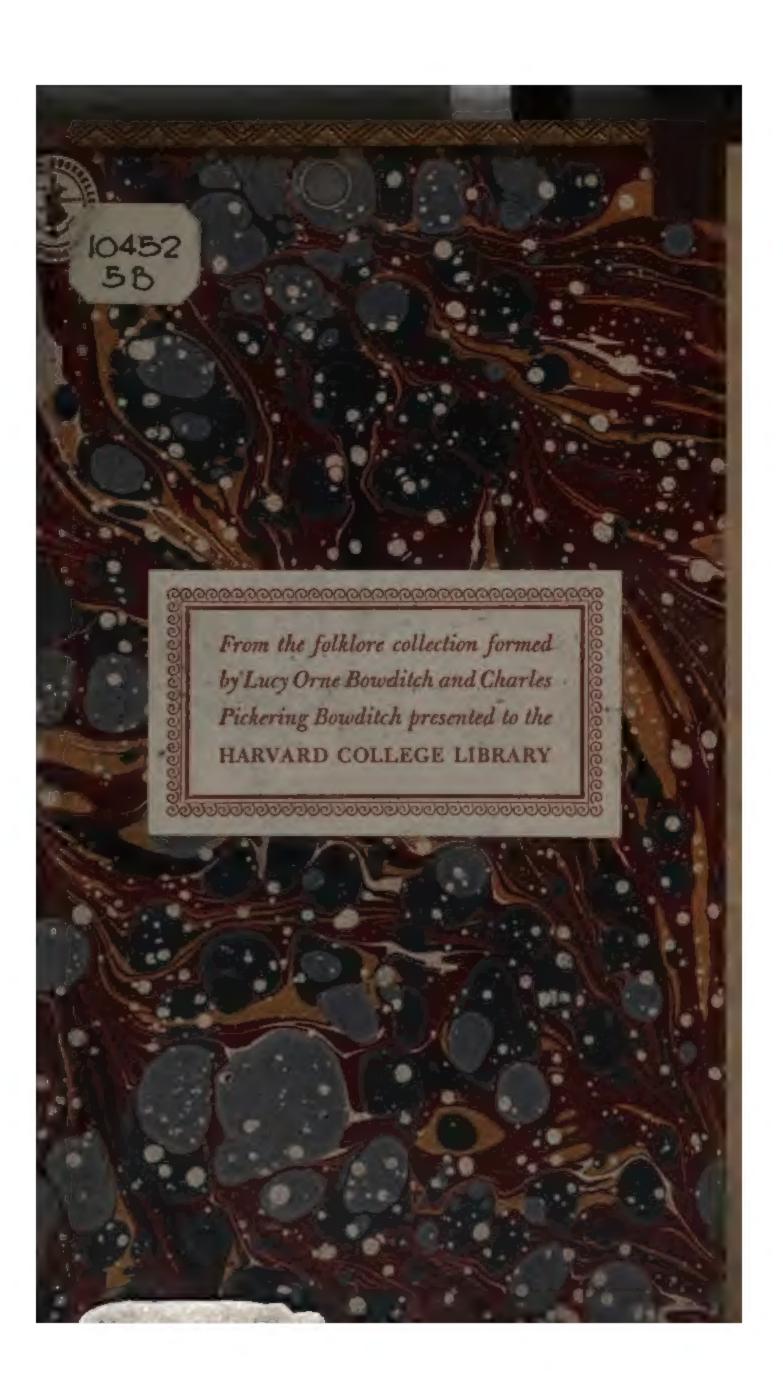
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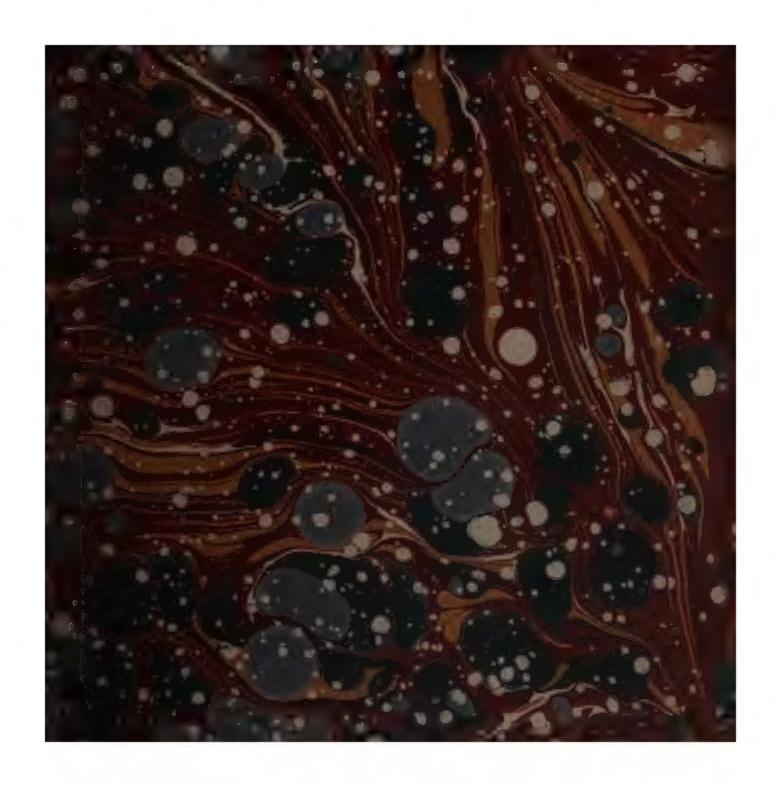
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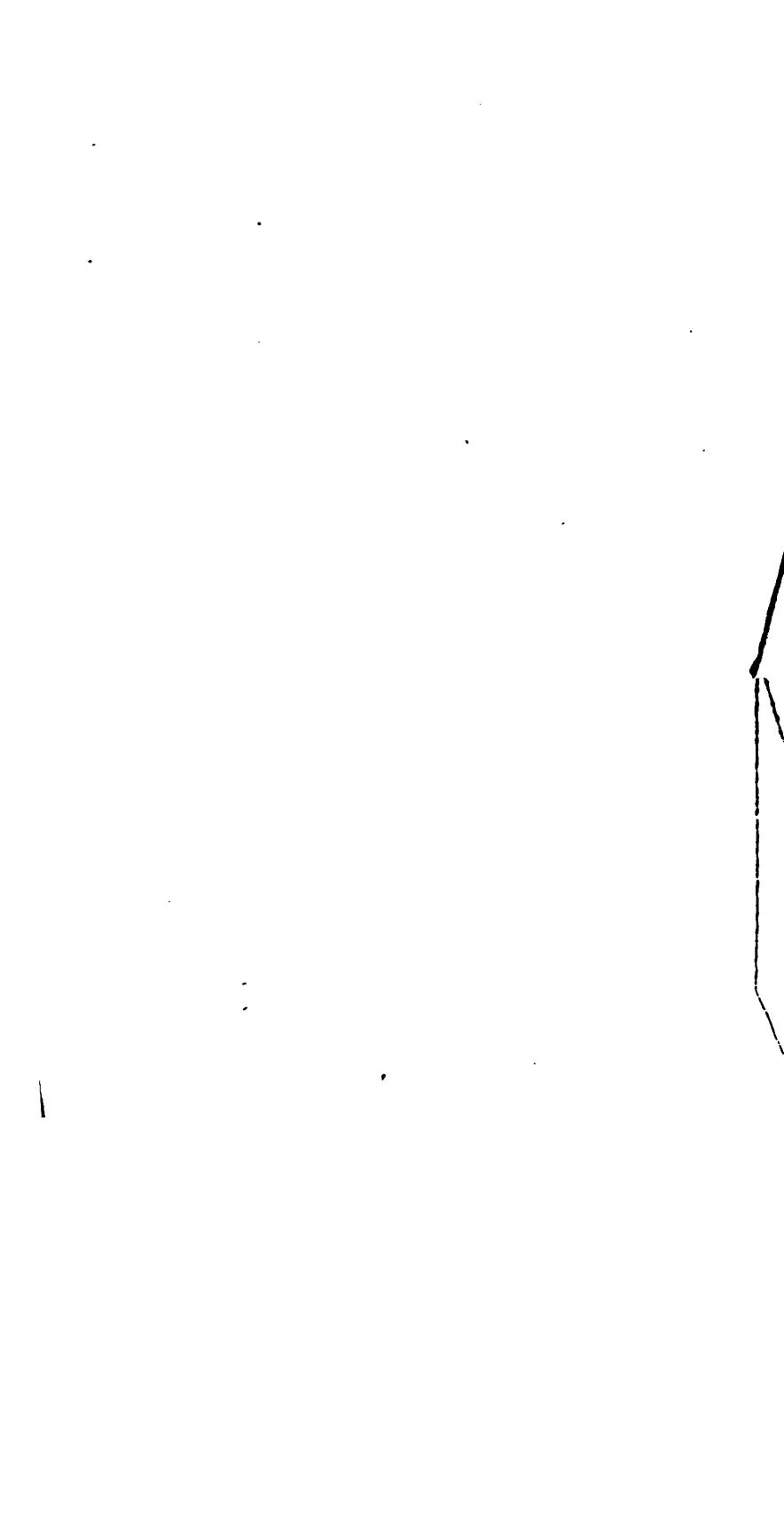
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THE HISTORY

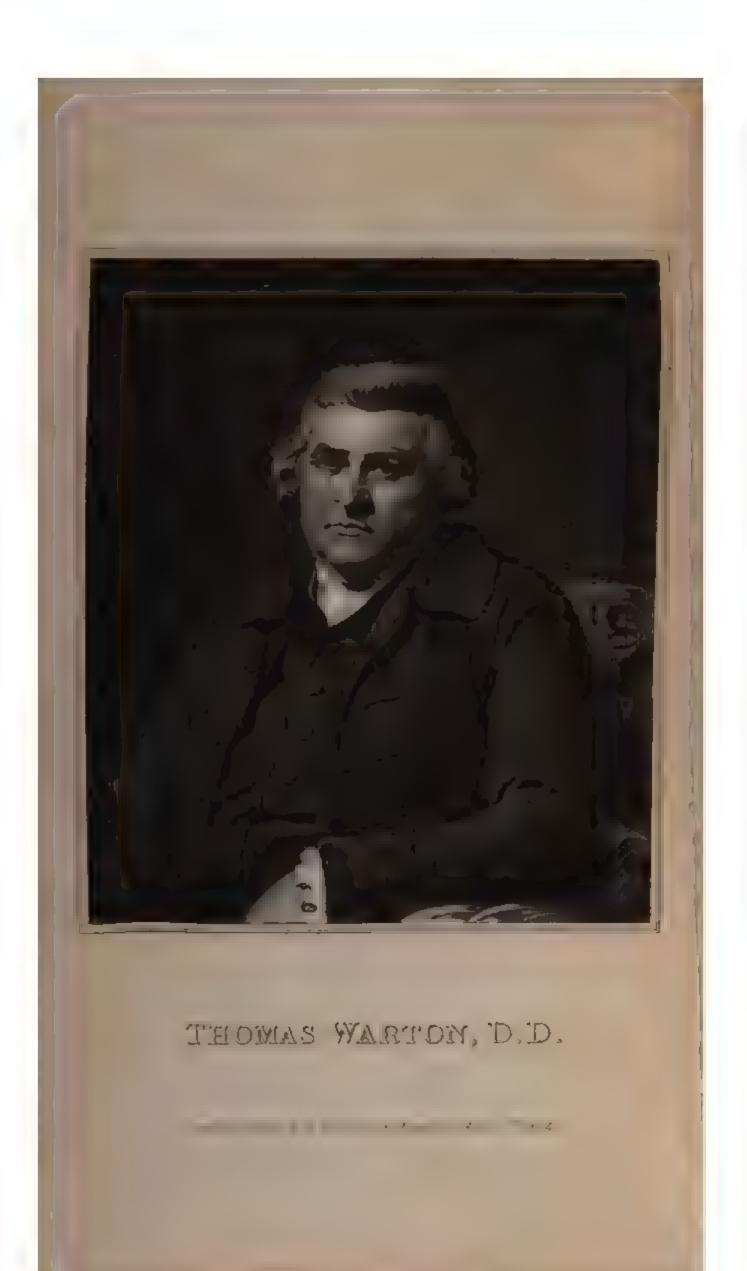
OF

ENGLISH POETRY.

VOL. I.



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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY,

FROM THE

CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH

TO THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

THREE DISSERTATIONS:

- 1. OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.
- 2. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.
- & ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

BY

THOMAS WARTON, B.D.

PULLOW OF TRIBITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, AND LATE PROFESSOR OF PORTRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

A NEW EDITION

CAREFULLY REVISED.

THE LATE DR. ASHBY, MR. DOUCE,
MR. PARK, AND OTHER EMINENT ANTIQUARIES,

AND

BY THE EDITOR.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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1824.

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PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR, SHOE-LANE.



TO HIS GRACE

GEORGE,

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

A JUDGE AND A PATRON

OF

THE POLITE ARTS,

THIS WORK IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBLIGED,

AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THOMAS WARTON.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN an age advanced to the highest degree of refinement, that species of curiosity commences, which is busied in contemplating the progress of social life, in displaying the gradations of science, and in tracing the transitions from barbarism to civility.

That these speculations should become the favourite pursuits, and the fashionable topics, of such a period, is extremely natural. We look back on the savage condition of our ancestors with the triumph of superiority; we are pleased to mark the steps by which we have been raised from rudeness to elegance: and our reflections on this subject are accompanied with a conscious pride, arising in great measure from a tacit comparison of the infinite disproportion between the feeble efforts of remote ages, and our present improvements in knowledge.

In the mean time, the manners, monuments, customs, practices, and opinions of antiquity, by forming so strong a contrast with those of our own times, and

by exhibiting human nature and human inventions in new lights, in unexpected appearances, and in various forms, are objects which forcibly strike a feeling imagination.

Nor does this spectacle afford nothing more than a fruitless gratification to the fancy. It teaches us to set a just estimation on our own acquisitions; and encourages us to cherish that cultivation, which is so closely connected with the existence and the exercise of every social virtue.

On these principles, to develope the dawnings of genius, and to pursue the progress of our national poetry, from a rude origin and obscure beginnings, to its perfection in a polished age, must prove an interesting and instructive investigation. But a history of poetry, for another reason, yet on the same principles, must be more especially productive of entertainment and utility. I mean, as it is an art, whose object is human society: as it has the peculiar merit, in its operations on that object, of faithfully recording the features of the times, and of preserving the most picturesque and expressive representations of manners: and, because the first monuments of composition in every nation are those of the poet, as it possesses the additional advantage of transmitting to posterity genuine delineations of life in its simplest stages. Let me add, that anecdotes of the rudiments of a favourite art will always be particularly pleasing. The more early specimens of poetry must ever amuse, in proportion to the pleasure which we receive from its finished productions.

Much however depends on the execution of such a design, and my readers are to decide in what degree I have done justice to so specious and promising a disquisition. Yet a few more words will not be perhaps improper, in vindication, or rather in explanation, of the manner in which my work has been conducted. I am sure I do not mean, nor can I pretend, to apologise for its defects.

I have chose to exhibit the history of our poetry in a chronological series: not distributing my matter into detached articles, of periodical divisions, or of general heads. Yet I have not always adhered so scrupulously to the regularity of annals, but that I have often deviated into incidental digressions; and have sometimes stopped in the course of my career, for the sake of recapitulation, for the purpose of collecting scattered notices into a single and uniform point of view, for the more exact inspection of a topic which required a separate consideration, or for a comparative survey of the poetry of other nations.

A few years ago, Mr. Mason, with that liberality

Ritson has observed that "The History of English Poetry stands high in public estimation; that the subject is equally curious, interesting and abstruse; and that he should have experienced satisfaction in finding the work entirely free from error." Obs. p. 2. This was penned, alas! with a selfish disregard to that urbane moral maxim humanum est

errare: since it may be considered as one of the highest testimonies to the merits of Mr. Warton's elaborate and multifarious publication, that Ritson himself, in his lynx-eyed scrutiny, has detected little more than what a liberal and candid mind would have communicated to the historian as a mere table of erratu.

—PARK.]

which ever accompanies true genius, gave me an authentic copy of Mr. Pope's scheme of a History of English Poetry, in which our poets were classed under their supposed respective schools. The late lamented Mr. Gray had also projected a work of this kind, and translated some Runic odes for its illustration, now published; but soon relinquishing the prosecution of a design, which would have detained him from his own noble inventions, he most obligingly condescended to favour me with the substance of his plan, which I found to be that of Mr. Pope, considerably enlarged, extended, and improved.

It is vanity in me to have mentioned these communications. But I am apprehensive my vanity will justly be thought much greater, when it shall appear, that in giving the history of English poetry, I have rejected the ideas of men who are its most distinguished ornaments. To confess the real truth, upon examination and experiment, I soon discovered their mode of treating my subject, plausible as it is, and brilliant in theory, to be attended with difficulties and inconveniencies, and productive of embarrassment both to the reader and the writer. Like other ingenious systems,

• [See Pope's plan for a History mistakes in the classification of our of English Poetry, with another English poets by Pope; and Dr. formed upon it by Gray, together Warton made a new arrangement of them into four different classes and degrees, because he thought we do not sufficiently attend to the difference between a man of wit, a man of sense, and a true poet. Essay on Pope.—PARK:

with a letter to Warton in the Gent. Mag. for 1783. It has also been inserted by Mr. Mant and Mr. A. Chalmers in their Lives of Warton. Mr. Malone, in vol. 3, of Dryden's Prose Works, pointed out several

it sacrificed much useful intelligence to the observance of arrangement; and in the place of that satisfaction which results from a clearness and a fulness of information, seemed only to substitute the merit of disposition, and the praise of contrivance. The constraint imposed by a mechanical attention to this distribution, appeared to me to destroy that free exertion of research with which such a history ought to be executed, and not easily reconcileable with that complication, variety, and extent of materials, which it ought to comprehend.

The method I have pursued, on one account at least, seems preferable to all others. My performance, in its present form, exhibits without transposition the gradual improvements of our poetry, at the same time that it uniformly represents the progression of our language.

Some perhaps will be of opinion, that these annals ought to have commenced with a view of the Saxon poetry. But besides that a legitimate illustration of that jejune and intricate subject would have almost doubled my labour, that the Saxon language is familiar only to a few learned antiquaries, that our Saxon poems are for the most part little more than religious rhapsodies, and that scarce any compositions remain marked with the native images of that people in their pagan state d, every reader that reflects but for a mo-

This subject has since been very ably and learnedly illustrated by the pen of Mr. Sharon Turner, in his History of the Angle-Sayons to

which the antiquarian reader is referred.—PARK.]

pen of Mr. Sharon Turner, in his d [To evince the unhappy ten-History of the Anglo-Saxons, to dency of Ritson's criticisms on Mr.

ment on our political establishment must perceive, that the Saxon poetry has no connection with the nature and purpose of my present undertaking. Before the Norman accession, which succeeded to the Saxon government, we were an unformed and an unsettled race. That mighty revolution obliterated almost all relation to the former inhabitants of this island; and produced that signal change in our policy, constitution and public manners, the effects of which have reached modern times. The beginning of these annals seems therefore to be most properly dated from that era, when our national character began to dawn.

It was recommended to me, by a person eminent in the republic of letters, totally to exclude from these volumes any mention of the English drama. I am very sensible that a just history of our Stage is alone sufficient to form an entire and extensive work; and this argument, which is by no means precluded by the attempt here offered to the public, still remains separately to be discussed, at large, and in form. as it was professedly my intention to comprise every

Warton's History, the following comment upon this passage may serve as a sufficient sample. "It may seem (says the critic) a very extraordinary idea in a Christian minister (and who is not only the historian of poets but a poet himself) that these people could not have a poetical genius, because they were not pagans; and that religion pitiable was the temper which dictated this forced inference; and

what a "picture in little" does it exhibit of morbid spleen!! Indeed, the critic seems totally to misapprehend the drift of Mr. Warton's reasoning: who only infers that when the Saxons were converted to Christianity, they lost all the wild imagery of their old superstitions; and composed religious rhapsodies in lieu of their native barbaric songs. and poetry are incompatible." How —See Gent. Mag. Nov. 1782, p. 528. -PARK.

species of English Poetry, this, among the rest, of course claimed a place in these annals, and necessarily fell into my general design. At the same time, as in this situation it could only become a subordinate object, it was impossible I should examine it with that critical precision and particularity, which so large, so curious, and so important an article of our poetical literature demands and deserves. To have considered it in its full extent, would have produced the unwieldy excrescence of a disproportionate episode: not to have considered it at all, had been an omission, which must detract from the integrity of my intended plan. flatter myself however, that from evidences hitherto unexplored, I have recovered hints which may facilitate the labours of those, who shall hereafter be indined to investigate the antient state of dramatic exhibition in this country, with due comprehension and accuracy.

It will probably be remarked, that the citations in the first volume are numerous, and sometimes very prolix. But it should be remembered, that most of these are extracted from antient manuscript poems never before printed, and hitherto but little known. Nor was it easy to illustrate the darker and more distant periods of our poetry, without producing ample specimens. In the mean time, I hope to merit the thanks of the antiquarian, for enriching the stock of our early literature by these new accessions: and I trust I shall gratify the reader of taste, in having so

frequently rescued from oblivion the rude inventions and irregular beauties of the heroic tale, or the romantic legend.

The design of the Dissertations is to prepare the reader, by considering apart, in a connected and comprehensive detail, some material points of a general and preliminary nature, and which could not either with equal propriety or convenience be introduced, at least not so formally discussed, in the body of the book; to establish certain fundamental principles to which frequent appeals might occasionally be made, and to clear the way for various observations arising in the course of my future inquiries.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE "History of English Poetry" assumes the first place in the catalogue of Warton's prose writings, and, to use the language of his biographer, "forms the most solid basis of his reputation." Though not the only labour of his life, which embraces the study of early English poetry and antiquities, it is still the only one to which he devoted himself with the ardour inspired by a favourite occupation, or in which the nature of his subject allowed him a fair and appropriate field for the display of his genius, his erudition, and his taste. His other productions are either testimonials of what he felt due to his rank in his college, or the amusements in which an active mind indulges when relaxing from severer pursuits; and even much of his poetry contains but a varied disposition of the same imagery which enlivens the pages of his history. In this his most voluminous and most important work, he found a subject commanding all the resources of his richly stored and fertile mind; a task which had excited the attention of two distinguished poets', as an undertaking not unworthy of their talents; where the duties were arduous, the path untrodden, and not a little of public prejudice to subdue against the worth and utility of

^{&#}x27;The reader will find Pope's plan of reasons for differing from his predeceshis projected history, enlarged by Gray, sors are given by Warton in the preface in Dr. Mant's Life of Warton. The to his first volume.

his object? But Warton was too much in love with his theme, and too confident in his own ability, to be dismayed by difficulties which industry might overcome, or opinions having no better foundation than vulgar belief unsupported by knowledge; and the success attendant upon the publication of his first volume, which speedily reached a second edition, encouraged him to persevere in his course. A second and a third volume appeared in due succession; a small portion of the fourth had been committed to the press, when death arrested his hand, just as he was entering on the most interesting and brilliant period of our poetic annals—the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The comprehensive plan upon which Warton had commenced this work, so far exceeded his expectations of its possible extent, that though the original design was to have been completed in two volumes, there was still as much to do as had been accomplished, when his labours were thus abruptly terminated. Of this plan it had been a leading principle, that the historian was not to confine himself to the strict letter of his subject, a chronological account of poets and their writings, with an estimate of their merits or defects. The range of inquiry was to be extended further, beyond its obvious or perhaps its lawful limits; and the History of English Poetry to be made a channel for conveying information on the state of mainers and customs among our feudal ancestry, the literature and arts of England and occasionally of Europe at large. A life longer than Warton's might have been unequal to the execution of such an extensive project; and there will be as many opinions upon the necessity of thus enlarging the boundaries of his theme, as of the manner in which he has acquitted himself in the undertaking. For while the general reader will complain of the frequent calls upon his patience

^{*} Pope's sneers against "all such reading as was never read," and "the classics of an age that heard of none," were still fresh in public recollection.

This second edition is not a mere reprint of the title-page; it is marked by several typographical errors which do not occur in the first.

for these repeated digressions, the scholar will regret, that subjects so attractive and copious in themselves are only passingly or superficially treated of. Without attempting to justify or deny the force of these objections, it may be more to our present purpose to inquire, what may have been the auther's views of his duty, and the manner in which this was to be accomplished. In common with every one else who has daly canvassed the subject, Warton indisputably felt that the poetry of a rude and earlier age, with very few exceptions, can only command a share of later attention in proportion as it has exercised an influence over the times producing it, or conveys a picture of the institutions, modes of thinking or general habits of the society for which it was written. To have given specimens of these productions in all their native nakedness, would have been to ensure for them neglect from the listless student, and misapprehension from the more zealous but uninformed inquirer. A commentary was indispensably necessary, not a mere gloss upon words, but things, a luminons exposition of whatever had changed its character, or grown obsolete in the lapse of time, and which, as it unfolded to the reader's view the forgotten customs of the day, assisted him to live and feel in the spirit of the poet's age. For such a purpose it was requisite to enter largely into the domestic and civil economy of our ancestors, their public and private sports, the entertainments of the baronial hall, the martial exercises of the tournament, the alternate solemnities and buffooneries of misdirected devotion, and those coarser pastimes and amusements, which relieve the toil of industry, and give 2 zest to the labours of the humbler classes. The spirit and gallant enterprize of chivalry was to be recorded in conjunction with the juggler's dexterity and the necromancer's art; the avocations of the cloister, the wode-craft of the feudal lord, and the services of his retainer, were each to receive a share

of the general notice; and though romance and minstrelsy might be the prominent characteristics of the age, the occult mysteries of alchemy were not to be overlooked. With these were to be ranged, the popular superstitions of a departed pa-. gan faith, and the legendary marvels of a new religion; the relations of the citizen to the state, and of the ecclesiastic to the community; the effects produced by the important political events of five centuries, and their consequences on the progress of civilization and national literature. In addition to these varied topics, Warton considered it equally imperative upon him to account for the striking contrast existing between the poetry of the: ancient and modern world; and, in developing what he has termed the origin of romantic fiction, to discuss the causes which embellished or corrupted it, and to explain those anomalies which appear to separate it both from more recent compositions and the classic remains of antiquity. He also knew, that though poetry be not the child of learning, it is modified in every age by the current knowledge of the country, and that as an imitative art, it is always either borrowing from. the imagery of existing models, or wrestling with the excellencies which distinguish them. It was therefore not only necessary to investigate the degree of classic lore which still diffused its light amid the gloom of the earlier ages of barbarism, but to show the disguises and corruptions under which a still greater portion had recommended itself to popular notice, and courted attention as the memorials of ancient and occasionally of national enterprize. But the middle age had also produced. a learning of its own, and the scholar and the poet were so. frequently united in the same personage, that in this ill-assorted match of science "wedded to immortal verse," the muse was often made the mere domestic drudge of her abstruse and eru-. dite consort. Of this once highly-valued knowledge, so little has descended to our own times, that the modern reader, with-.

at a guide to instruct him in his progress, feels like the traveller before the walls of Persepolis, who gazes on the inscriptions of a powerful but extinguished race, without a key to the character recording their deeds. Above all, it was of importrace to notice the successive acquisitions, in the shape of translation or imitation, from the more polished productions of Greece and Rome; and to mark the dawn of that æra, which, by directing the human mind to the study of classical antiquity, was to give a new impetus to science and literature, and by the changes it introduced to effect a total revolution in the laws which had previously governed them. This is clearly the cetline of what Warton proposed to himself as his duty:—of the mode in which this design has been fulfilled it must be left to others to determine. But let it not be hastily inferred, that when he has been excursive upon some collateral topic, he has consequently given it an importance disproportionate to its real bearing on his subject; or that the languor produced upon the reader's mind in certain periods of these annals, is exclusively the author's fault. The results attendant upon literary, s well as moral or political changes, are not always distinguished by that manifest equality to their exciting cause, which strikes the sense on a first recital; and the poetry of so many centuries, like the temper of the times, or the constitution of the seasons, must necessarily exhibit the same fitful vicissitudes of character, the same alternations of fertility and unproductiveness. Of the materials transmitted to his hands, whether marked by excellence, or proverbial for insipidity, it is still the historian's duty to record their existence; and though many of these may contain no single ray of genius to redeem their numerous absurdities, they yet may throw considerable light on the state of public opinion, and the ruling tastes or customs of their age. The most popular poetry of its day is well known not always to be the most meritorious, however

safely we may trust to the equity of time for repairing this injustice. The only question therefore will be, as to the degree in which such compositions ought to be communicated. the earlier periods, where any memorials are exceedingly scanty, and those generally varying in their prevailing character, a greater latitude will be granted than in those where the invention of printing equally contributed to multiply the materials, and render the documents more generally accessible. Of Warton's consideration in this respect, it will be sufficient to remark, that in the sixteenth century (when every man seems to have been visited with a call to court the muse, and had an opportunity of giving publicity to his conceptions,) he has frequently consigned a herd of spiritless versifiers to the "narrow durance" of a note. There is another point upon which it may be more difficult to rescue his fame at the bar of outraged criticism: but as this seems to have been a crime of malice prepense, rather than inadvertency, his name must be left to sanctify the deed. The want of order in the arrangement of his subject is a charge which has been repeated both by friends and foes. A part of this Warton seems to have intentionally adopted. In a letter to Gray, tracing the outline of his forthcoming history, he specifically states, "I should have said before, that although I proceed chronologically, yet I often stand still to give some general view, as perhaps of a particular species of poetry, &c., and even to anticipate sometimes for this purpose. These views often form one section; yet are interwoven into the tenor of the work without interrupting my historical series." He possibly thought, that as it is of the essence of romantic poetry "to delight in an intimate commingling of extremes, in the blending and contrasting of the most opposing elements5," it was equally so of its historian to

^{&#}x27;See Chalmers's Biog, Diet. art. Warton.

'Schlegel on Dramatic Literature, vol. iii. p. 14.

deviate from established rules, and may have been so smitten with his antient masters as to conceive some of their distinguishing characteristics not unworthy of occasional imitation. But when it is said that his materials are ill digested, that we are frequently called upon in a later century, to travel back to one preceding, that we are then treated with specimens which eight to have found a place in an earlier chapter⁶, the zeal of criticism is made to exceed the limits either of justice or can-It is wholly overlooked, that Warton was the first adventurer in the extensive region through which he journeyed. and into which the usual pioneers of literature had scarcely penetrated. Beyond his own persevering industry, he had little to assist his researches; his materials lay widely scattered, and not always very accessible; new matter was constantly axising, as chance or the spirit of inquiry evolved the contents of our public libraries, and he had the double duty to perform of discovering his subject, and writing its history.

But these objections, whether founded in error, or justified by facts, have all been urged with temper, and are distinguished by that consideration for Warton's personal character, which every gentleman is entitled to, and every liberal scholar prides himself upon observing. In those now to be noticed, a widely different spirit was manifested; and one so opposite to every principle of decent or manly feeling, that it might be safely left to the contempt which Warton in the proud conviction of his own honour and integrity bestowed upon it, were it not

is well known, that they were accidentally discovered by Mr. Tyrwhitt, while engaged in searching for MSS. of Chaucer. A similar accident led to the discovery of the alliterative romance on the adventures of Sir Gawain, quoted vol. i. p. 186, by the writer of this note; and which there is every reason to believe, must have passed through the hands of Mr. Ritson.

^{*}See Monthly Review for 1793.—Dr. Mant, who has refuted some of these charges, states them to have been copied (without acknowledgement) by Dr. Anderson, in his Life of Warton. May we not rather infer, that Dr. Anderson felt no obligation to acknowledge a quotation from himself?

⁷ The poems of Minot could only have been known to Warton by report, when he published his first volume. It

interwoven with matter requiring attention on other accounts, of which occasional notice has been taken in the body of the work, and which must again be the subject of discussion. The reader of early English poetry will be at no loss to perceive, that the objections and conduct here spoken of, are those of the late Mr. Ritson. To be zealous in detecting error, exposing folly, or checking the presumptuous arrogance of any literary despot, is an obligation which the commonwealth of learning imposes upon all her sons. The tone of the reproof, and the character of the offence, are all that will be demanded of the ministrant in his office; and so great is the latitude allowed, that he who will condescend "to break a butterfly upon a wheel," secundum artem, runs no greater risk, than a gentle censure for the eccentricity of his taste; and even acrimony, where great provocation has been given, may pass for just and honest indignation. But Mr. Ritson, in the execution of his censorial duty, indulged in a vein of low scurrility and gross personalities, wholly without example since the days of Curll. He not only combated Warton's opinions, and corrected his errors, questioned his scholarship, and denied his ability; but impugned his veracity, attacked his morality, and openly accused him of all those mean and despicable arts, by which a needy scribbler attempts to rifle the public purse. There would have been little in this beyond the common operation of a nine days wonder, and the ferment of the hour which every deviation from established practice is sure to excite, had the charges been limited to a single publication. But for a period of twenty years, both while the object of them was living, and after his decease, they were repeated in every variety of form, always from the same amiable motives, though occasionally in a subdued style of animosity. The result of this extraordinary course, was the establishment of Mr. Ritson as the critical lord paramount in the realms of

romance and minstrelsy; his fiat became the ruling law, and no audacious hand was to raise the veil which covered the infirmities of the suzerain. For though he has magnified those venial errors, which, as the human mind is constituted, are almost inseparable from such an undertaking as Warton's, into offences which only meet their parallel in the criminal nomendature of the country-into fraud, imposture and forgeryyet his own labours in the same department of literature, his "Ancient Songs," and "Metrical Romances," though scarcely equalling a tithe of the "History of English Poetry," are marked by the same kinds of inaccuracy as those he has so coarsely branded. Indeed on such a subject it would have been s marvellous as unaccountable, if they had not:—but this is foreign to our purpose. It will rather be asked, whether the historian of English poetry may not have provoked this treatment by his own intemperance of rebuke, or want of charity towards others; and whether the vehemence of Mr. Ritson's indignation, and the virulence of his invective, may not have had a more commensurate motive, than the misquotation of a date, a name or a text, or the fallacy of a mere speculative opinion. With the exception of one misdemeanour hereafter to be mentioned,—a sin in itself of pardonable levity, if it must be so stigmatized,—Warton's conduct towards his fellowlabourers in the mine of antiquarian research, was distinguished by a tone of courtesy and complimentary address, which the sterner principles of the present day have rejected as bordering too closely upon adulation. Of this therefore as a general charge he must be acquitted, and equally so of any intention to wound the feelings or undermine the reputation of Mr. Ritson, as that gentleman's first publication connected with early English literature⁸, was his "Observations" on Warton's

[•] A Collection of Garlands (which lication, not likely to extend beyond the cassot now be referred to) may bear an limits of a country town. The "Obearlier date. But this was a local pub- servations" produced a controversy in

history? The causes of this extraordinary persecution must hence be sought for in other directions. Among these it is not difficult to detect the sullen rancour of a jealous and selfappointed rival, the workings of an inferior mind, aiming at notoriety by an insolent triumph over talents, which it at once envies and despairs of equalling. The "taste and elegance" with which Warton had embellished his narrative, became a source of chagrin to a man who sought distinction by a style

the Gentleman's Magazine for 1782-83. The first letter on the subject, signed Verax, was in all probability written by Warton. (See his letter to Mr. Nichols of the same date, inclosing a communication to that Miscellany, and requesting a concealment of the writer's name.) Those signed A. S. were by the late Mr. Russell of Sydney College. The letter signed Vindex contains internal evidence of Mr. Ritson's hand, who may also have drawn up the epitome of his pamphlet (1783, p. 281). But who was Castigator? (1782, p. 571). Was it the same worthy personage of whom his *friend* records the following creditable transaction? "This venerabilissimus episcopus [the bishop of Dromore, upon a different occasion, gave Mister Strevens a transcript from the above [folio] MS., of the vulgar hallad of Old Simon the King, with a strict injunction not to show it to this editour [Mr. Ritson], which however he immediately brought him?" Yet these were honourable men!

 In this extraordinary pamphlet, Mr. Ritson made thirty-eight remarks upon the multifarious matter contained in Warton's first volume (extending to p. 304, vol. ii. of the present edition). Nine of these consist of those personalities already spoken of, or are mere objections to the conduct and order of the work. Thirteen are devoted to glossarial corrections, among which are the candld specimen recorded vol. ii. p. 52, note, and two literal interpretations, instead of two very appropriate para-The remaining fifteen, or rather the subjects they refer to, it may he worth while to analyse. One of

these had been already corrected by Warton in the Emendations appended to the second volume,—a circumstance which Mr. Ritson either knew, or ought to have known, as he carefully picked his way through this additional matter, for the purpose of supplying two corrections, one of which he afterwards recalled, and in furnishing the other committed an error equally great with that he amended. A second comprises the very "egregious blunder" of calling a piece of political rhyme a "ballad," when it is not written in "your balladmetre." In a third, Warton has chosen to make a direct inference, where the affair admits neither of absolute proof, nor disproof. And a fourth offers an opinion, but a mere and guarded opinion, as to the age of a poem, in which there is every reason to believe he was correct. (See Mr. Park's note, vol. ii. p. 512. a.) In seven examples, it may be allowed that Mr. Ritson has convicted the historian of "ignorance;" though two of these refer to matters that are rather probable than certain: but in four of the remaining five, he has offered objections or corrections on subjects, where the charges of error only rebound upon himself. The fifteenth refers to a subject where Warton candidly acknowledges his inability to gratify the reader's curiosity. Thus, with the exception of the glossarial inaccuracies, of which more will be said hereafter, Mr. Ritson can only be admitted to have corrected seven mistakes, or more rigidly speaking five, in a 4to volume of 468 pages, and in the execution of which he has himself become chargeable with four.

of orthography, resembling any thing but the language of his native country; and hence the sarcastic tone in which these graceful advantages are complimented, while they are carefally contrasted with the historian's "habitual blunders." Warton's learning was also of no common order; and his reading of that extensive kind which enabled him to illustrate his theme from the varied circle of ancient and modern literature; and here again it became matter of exultation to discover, that his knowledge of Italian had once been but limited, or to hint that his acquaintance with Hickes's Thesaurus had been assisted by a translation of "Wotton's Conspectus." But in the gaiety of his heart, Warton had smiled at the solemn dullness of Hearne, the idol of Mr. Ritson's affections; he had descanted on the laboured triflings of this diligent antiquary in a style of successful yet playful irony, and chose to entertain wery exalted opinion of the patient drudgery by which "Thomas" was to recommend himself to posterity. This was an unpardonable offence, and little short of a declaration of hostilities by anticipation. For though genius will approve the well-directed satire which exposes its own peculiar foibles, while pourtraying the follies of a contemporary, yet moody mediocrity never forgives the bolt which, aimed at another's eccentricities, inadvertently grazes its own inviolable person. In addition, the historian of English poetry was a Christian, a churchman, and a distinguished member of his college; all and either of them sufficient to condemn him in the eyes of a man whose creed was confined to a rigid abstinence from animal food; with whom a clergyman was but another name for a "lazy, stinking and ignorant monk;" and who seems never to have been better pleased, than when retailing the coarse and pointless ribaldry of the fifteenth century, against the honours and dignities of an University. To this full measure of indiscretion, Warton had superadded a warm admira-

tion of the powers and learning of Warburton; and had even adopted, and considerably amplified, the fanciful theory of this eminent prelate on the origin of romantic fiction. This again was siding with the enemy. The bishop of Gloucester had conducted a merciless persecution against a sect of which Mr. Ritson made no scruple to acknowledge himself a follower, the "Epicureorum factio, æquo semper errore a vero devia et illa existimans ridenda quæ nesciat¹⁰," and unhappily for his fame and the cause he advocated, in the possession of a giant's strength had too frequently exercised it with the cruelty of a giant. The tyranny of the master was therefore to be avenged on the head of his otherwise too guilty pupil; and the double end to be gained, of inflicting an insidious wound upon a foe too powerful to be encountered in the open field", and crushing an unresisting and applauded rival. But enough of this revolting subject, of which justice to the memory of an amiable, unoffending and elegant scholar required that some notice should be taken, and which no language can be too strong to mark with deserved reprobation.

It is now time to turn to those objections of Mr. Ritson, which embrace the literary defects of the History of English Poetry.

There can be no intention of dragging the reader through the minute and tedious details, with which this branch of the controversy is burthened. Wherever the better information of

Macrobius Som. Scipionis, in init.

11 It is ludicrous in the extreme to observe a man of Mr. Ritson's attainments, stating Warburton's "distinguishing characteristic" to be "a want of knowledge." The "habitual mendacity" of the same learned prelate finds its parallel, if mere errors of opinion must receive this bland distinction, in such hasty assertions as the following: "The real chanson de Roland was unquestionably a metrical romance of great length." Introd. to Met. Rom. p. 37. "The Armoricans never possessed a single story on the subject of Arthur

and the Round Table." Ib. p. 46. "The poets of Provence borrowed their art from the French or Normana." Ib. p. 50. "There is but one single romance existing that can be attributed to a troubadour," p. 51. "Before the first crusade, or for more than half a century after it, there was not one single romance on the achievements of Arthur or his knights." Ib. p. 52. To enumerate all the unfounded assertions contained in the section immediately following "the Saxon and English language" would be to write a small treatise.

Mr. Ritson has been available, (at least in all cases where his reasoning has produced conviction on the editor's mind,) his corrections will be found submitted in their appropriate places. But as the more important of these were directed against opinions rather than facts, and consequently, whether correct or inadmissible, could not always be inserted or combated in the body of the work, without deranging Warton's text or causing too frequent repetitions, they have been reserved for consideration here, and may be classed under the general beads of:—objections to the Dissertation on the Origin of Romantic Fiction, the credibility of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, the character of Warton's specimens, and his glossarial illustrations of them.

If the object of this examination were a mere defence of Warton's opinions, by exposing the false positions assumed by his adversary, it would be an easy task to show that Mr. Ritson's sweeping assertions with regard to the general relations between the Moors in Spain and their conquered subjects, or even their Christian foes, are not borne out by the facts. The inferences he has drawn would consequently fall of themselves; and it might be added, that the discoveries of our own times have sufficiently proved the possibility of this decried system being upheld, if the general principle it assumes, and which has been applied by Mr. Ritson to the progress of Romance in England, Italy and Germany, were otherwise allowable. The romance of Antar might be offered as a sufficient type for all subsequent tales of chivalry; and the story of the Sid Batallah adduced as a proof, that the Spaniards could endow a national hero with a title borrowed from the favourite champion of their foes. But this would be creating a phantom for the purpose of foiling an over-zealous

Moor would have used the same address, Sid, Master, to his Spanish liege lord. The Arabian romance is noticed by

[&]quot; Of course this is only stated hypothetically. The reason assigned in the Chronicle for the appellation, is indisputably a fable; since every tributary Warton, Diss. i. p. xiv.; and Mr. von

adversary. The ends of truth will be better advanced by examining the causes which led to Warton's adoption of this dazzling theory, and an estimate of its application to the subject it was intended to develop.

The light sketch given by Warburton of the origin of romance in Spain, traced the whole stream of chivalrous fiction to two sources,—the chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin relative to Charlemagne and his peers, and the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In this system there were many points totally irreconcileable with the state of the subject, both before and after the periods at which these productions obtained a circulation; and it was therefore necessary to account for what might be termed, the anticipations of their narratives, and even their omissions, by the discovery of a more prolific fountain-head. A large portion of the marvellous imagery contained in the early poetry of Europe, was found to have its counterpart in the creations of Oriental genius. To account for this, by a direct communication between the East and West, was the problem that Warton proposed to solve; and as the æra of the first crusade was too recent to meet the difficulties already alluded to, and Warburton had been supposed to prove that the first romances were of Spanish origin, the subject seemed to connect itself in a very natural order with the Moorish conquest of that country. A more extensive acquaintance with the general literature of the dark and middle ages has fully proved the fallacy of this assumption, which could only have been entertained in the infancy of the study. that such an hypothesis should have been conceived in this stage of the subject, will be no impeachment of Warton's general judgement, when it is recollected, that his contemporary

Hammer has recently borne evidence to its great popularity among the Saracens. The Moorish Sid died in the campaign against Constantinople, anno 738. See Juhrbücher der Litteratur, No. 14. The

German romances on the story of the Saint Graal (to be noticed hereafter) are derived from an Arabic source, through the medium of the Provençal.

Dr. Percy had adopted a system equally exclusive; and that Dr. Leyden, at a later period, advocated a third upon the same contracted principles. The analogous conduct of such men, though not wholly exculpatory, is at least a proof that the causes for this procedure rested on no slight foundation. There is however one leading error in Warton's Dissertation, an error it only shares in common with the theories opposed to it, arising from too confined a view of the natural limits of his subject, and too general an application of the system in detail. The consequence has been an unavoidable confusion between the essence and the costume of romantic fiction, and the exclusive appropriation of the common property of mankind to a particular age and people. Indeed, the learned projectors of these several systems no sooner begin to disclose the details of their schemes, than we instantly recognise the elements of national fable in every country of whose literature we possess a knowledge; and notwithstanding the professed intention of conducting an examination into the origin of romentic fiction, their disquisitions silently merge into the origin of fiction in general. To such an inquiry it is evident there can be no chronological limits. The fictions of one period, with some modification, are found to have had an existence in that immediately preceding; and the further we pursue the investigation, the more we become convinced of a regular transmission through the succession of time, or that many seeming resemblances and imitations are sprung from common organic causes, till at length the question escapes us as a matter of historical research, and resolves itself into one purely psychological. It is even difficult to conceive any period of human existence, where the disposition to indulge in these illusions of fancy has not been a leading characteristic of the mind. The infancy of society, as the first in the order of time, also affords some circumstances highly favourable to the development of In such a state, the secret and invisible bands this faculty.

which connect the human race with the animal and vegetable creation, are either felt more forcibly than in an age of conventional refinement, or are more frequently presented to the imagination. Man regards himself then but as the first link in the chain of animate and inanimate nature, as the associate and fellow of all that exists around him, rather than as a separate being of a distinct and superior order. His attention is arrested by the lifeless or breathing objects of his daily intercourse, not merely as they contribute to his numerous wants and pleasures, but as they exhibit any affinity or more remote analogy with the mysterious properties of his being. Subject to the same laws of life and death, of procreation and decay, or partially endowed with the same passions, sympathies and propensities, the speechless companion of his toil and amusement, the forest in which he resides, or the plant which flourishes beneath his care, are to him but varied types of his own intricate organization. In the exterior form of these, the faithful record of his senses forbids any material change; but the internal structure, which is wholly removed from the view, may be fashioned and constituted at pleasure. The qualities which this is to assume, need only be defined by the measure of the will, and hence we see that, not content with granting to each separate class a mere generic vitality suitable to its kind, he bestows on all the same mingled frame of matter and mind, which gives the chief value to his own existence. Nor is this playful exercise of the inventive faculties confined to the sentient objects of the creation; it is extended over the whole material and immaterial world, and applied to every thing of which the mind has either a perfect or only a faint conception. The physical phænomena of nature, the tenets of a public creed, the speculations of ancient wisdom13, or the exposition of a moral duty,

¹⁹ See the celebrated passage in the Iliad viii. 17, relative to the golden chain of Jupiter, with Heyne's account of the interpretations bestowed upon it

in the ancient world. Mr. F. Schlegel has given a parallel passage from the Bhagavatgita, where Vishnu illustrates the extent of his power by a similar image:—

are alike subjected to the same fantastic impress, and made to assume those forms which, by an approximation to the animal contour, assist the understanding in seizing their peculiar qualities, and the memory in retaining them. It is this perscrification of the blind efforts of nature, which has given rise to those wild and distorted elements that abound in all profine cosmogonies; where, by a singular combination of the swful and sublime with the monstrous and revolting, an attempt is made to render intelligible those infinite energies of matter which surpass the limits of human comprehension. The same law is evident in the obscure embodiment of a moral axiom, or an abstract quality, as shadowed forth in the enigma"; in all that condensed imagery which has found its way into the proverbial expressions of nations; and some of the most surprising incidents in romantic narrative, have no better foundation than the conversion of a name into an event¹⁵. But of this universal tendency to confer a spiritual existence upon the lifeless productions of nature, and to give a corporeal form and expression to the properties and conceptions of matter and mind, it would be superfluous to offer any laboured proof. The whole religious system of the ancient world, with one ex-

"Ism the cause of existence as well as destruction to all; than me nothing higher is found, and nothing without me. O friend! this ALL hangs united on me like the pearls that are strung on a fillet." Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier, p. 303. See also II. i. 422, with the ancient expositors.

Considerable collections on this subject are to be found in the preface to Resains's edition of the Edda. The whole argument is very elaborately discussed in Mr. Creuzer's learned work, Symbolik and Mythologie der Alten Völker besonders der Griechen, vol. i. Leipzig

1810.

The name of Cour de Lion has furnished king Richard's romance with the well-known incident of his combat

with a lion. A still more remarkable illustration of the same practice is to be found in the German romance, Heinrich der Löwe, or Henry the Lion. Sec Görres Volks-bucher, p. 91. There ca be as little doubt, that we are indebted to the name of Cypselus (a chest) for the marvellous story related by Herodotus, 5. 92. See also the fable relative to Priam (from reidelei, Apollodorus Biblioth. ii. 6. 4.) and Ajax (from estros, Schol. in Pind. Ist. 7. 76.) To the same cause, perhaps, we may also attribute the tale of Pelops and his ivory shoulder. The concurrent practice of the minstrel poets will show these recitals not to have been mere fancies of the grammarians.

ception, may be adduced as an exemplification of the fact; and even the sacred writings of the Old Testament contain occasional indications of a similar practice 16.

The operation of this principle, while it is sufficient to account for all the marvels of popular fiction, will also lead to the establishment of two conclusions: first, that wherever there may have been any resemblance in the objects calling it forth, the imagery produced will exhibit a corresponding similarity of character; and secondly, that a large proportion of the symbols thus brought into circulation, like the primitive roots in language, will be found recurring in almost every country, as a common property inherited by descent. In illustration of these conclusions, we need only refer to those local traditions of distant countries which profess to record the history of some unusual appearance on the surface of the soil¹⁷, the peculiar character of a vegetable production, or the structure of a public monument. Whether in ancient Greece or modern Europe, every object of this kind that meets the traveller's eye is found to have a chronicle of its origin; the causes assigned for its existence, or its natural and artificial attributes, wear a common mythic garb; while in either country these narratives are so strikingly allied to the fictions of popular song, that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the muse has supplied their substance, or been herself indebted to them for some of her most attractive incidents¹⁸. A mound of earth becomes

line of stones called the Nine Maids. Borlase Ant. of Corn. p. 159. The Glastonbury thorn, which budded on Christmas day, was a dry hawthorn staff miraculously planted by St. Joseph. Collinson's Somersetshire, ii. p. 265. This is a common miracle in the history of the Dionysic thyrsus. A myrtle at Træzene, whose leaves were full of holes, was said to have been thus perforated by Phædra in her moments of despair. (Paus. i. 22. See also ii. 28 and 32.)

There can be little doubt that the story of the Phæacian ship (Od. xiii. 163.)

ix. 8.; of the thistle and the cedar, lase Ant. of Corn. p. 159. The Glastonbury thorn, which budded on Christ-

Plain of Marathon, Pausanias saw a number of loose stones, which at a distance resembled goats. The country-people called them Pan's Flock. (Attica, 26.) A similar group on Marlborough Down is still called the Gray Wethers. A tuft of cypresses near Psophis, in Arcadia, was called the Virgins. (Arcad. c. 24.) On the downs between Wadebridge and St. Columb, there is a

the sepulchre of a favourite hero¹⁰; a pile of enormous stones, the easy labour of some gigantic craftsmen²⁰; a single one, the supendous instrument of daily exercise to a fabulous king²¹; the conformation of a rock, or a mark upon its surface, attests the anger or the presence of some divinity²²; and the emblems and decorations of a monumental effigy must either be explained from the events of popular history²³, or perverted from

was taken from some local tradition well known at the period. In the time of Procopius it had become localized at the modern Cassopé; notwithstanding an inscription explained the origin of the votive structure to which it was attached. At the present day, a small island near the harbour of Corfu, claims the honour of being the original bark. the same way many incidents in the Arguarantica received a "local habitation." According to Timonax, Jason and Medea were married at Colchis, where the bridal bed was shown. Timæus denied this, and referred to the nuptial altars at Cercyra. (Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1217.) The earliest version of this fiction may be supposed to have confirmed the Colchian tradition; but as the limits of the sphere of action became extended, the later narratives of necessity embraced other fables. Hence the Argonautic poems became for ancient geography and local tradition, what the syncretic statues of Cybele were for ancient symbols. The passage in Apollonius, l, i. v. 1905. is evidently taken from a local fiction, as it refers to the rucking-stones commemorating the event.

In localizing these traditions, little regard is paid to the contending claims of other districts. Several mounds are shown in various parts of Denmark, as the graves of Vidrich Verlandsen, and as many of the giant Langbein. (Müller laga Bibliothek, vol. ii. p. 224.) The residence of Habor and Signe, so celebrated in Danish song, has been appropriated in the same way; and has given name to a variety of places. (Udvalgte Danske Viser, vol. iii. p. 403.) Scottish tradition has transferred the burial place of Thomas the Rhymer, from Erceldown to a tomban which rises in a plain

near Inverness. Grant's Essays, &c. vol. ii. p. 158.

The Cyclops were the contrivers of these works in ancient times, whose place has been supplied by the Giants. See the books relative to Stonehenge, Giant's Causeway, &c. The Arabs have a tradition, that Cleopatra's needle was once surrounded by seven others, which were brought from mount Berym to Alexandria, by seven giants of the tribe of Aad.

In The common people call a cromleach, near Lligwy in Anglesea, Coeten Arthur, or Arthur's Quoit. Jones's Bardic Mus. p. 60. The general character of the Homeric poems will justify the conclusion, that a similar monument supplied the incident in the Odyssey, viii. ver. 194. The Locrians showed an enormous stone before the door of Euthymus, which he was said to have placed there by his own efforts. Ael. V. Hist. viii. 18.

At mount Sipylus in Attica, there was a rock, which at some distance resembled a woman weeping; the inhabitants called it Niobe. (Paus. i. 21.) The footstep of Hercules was seen imprinted on a rock near the river Tyra in Scythia, Herod. iv. 82. In Cicero's time the marks of the horses' hoofs of Castor and Pollux were still shown as a proof of their presence at the battle of Regillus. De Nat. Deor. iii. 5. 11. 2.

The statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus gave rise to a Grecian fable, that the stone of which it was made had been brought to Marathon by the Persians, for the purpose of erecting a victorious trophy. (Paus. i. 33.) That it was a mere fable, every practice of their enemies clearly proves.

their original character to give some passage in it a locality. It is thus too that the volcanic eruptions of Lydia, Sicily, Cilicia, and Bœotia, were respectively attributed to the agency of Typhon²⁵; that the purple tints upon certain flowers were said to have originated with the deaths of Ajax, Adonis and Hyacinthus; that the story of the man in the moon has found a circulation throughout the world; and that the clash of elements in the thunder-storm was ascribed in Hellas to the rolling chariot-wheels of Jove²⁶, and in Scandinavia to the ponderous waggon of the Norwegian Thor. The same general principle has likewise led to that community of ideas entertained by all mankind of the glories and felicities of the past. Every age has been delighted to dwell with sentiments of admiration upon the memory of the "good old times;" they still continue to form a theme of fond and lavish applause; and the philosophic Agis had to console his desponding countryman with a remark which every man's experience has made familiar, "that the fading virtues of later times were a cause of grief to his father Archidamus, who again had listened to the same regrets from his own venerable sire?"." In this, indeed, the feelings and conduct of nations in their collective capacity, only present us with a counterpart to individual opinion. The sinking energies of increasing age, like the dimness of enfecbled vision, have a constant tendency to deprive passing events of their natural sharpness of outline, and the broader features of their character; and we learn to charge them with an indistinctness of form, and a sombre tameness of colouring, which only exists in the spectator's mind. The defects of our own impaired and waning organs become transferred to the changeless objects around us; and in proportion as the imagination recalls the impressions of earlier life, when the sense enjoyed

²⁷ Plutarch. Apophtheg. Lacon, 17.

[&]quot; See the account of sir John Conyers' tumb in Gough's Camden, iii. p. 114.

<sup>Schol. in Lycoph. v. 177.
Hesychius in v. ελχισίζοντα.</sup>

the robust and healthy action of youth, the present is doomed to suffer by an unjust and degrading contrast. Thus also in the lengthened vista of popular tradition, every thing which is shrouded in the obscurity of a distant age, is made to partake of those physical and temporal advantages which the fancy has bestowed upon the reign of Saturn in Hesperia²⁵, or the joys of Asgard before the arrival of the gigantic visitants from Jounheim²⁵. The qualities of the mind, and the properties of the body, are then supposed to share in the native vigour of a young creation; and those cherished objects of man's early vishes, extreme longevity and great corporeal strength, are believed to be the enviable lot of all²⁶. Hence the fictions of every country have agreed in regarding an unusual extension of the thread of life as a mark of divine favour ²⁶; and

See Diod. Sic. iii. 61. Compare also Heriod's account of the golden age. Op. et Dies, v. 108, &c. The comic side of the picture is to be found in Athen. L vi. p. 267, &c. But the ancients always had some distant country, where these functed blessings were still enjoyed. In the carlier periods, Æthiopia seems to have been the name ascribed to this land of promise (IL i. 423. Od. i. 22.); and beace perhaps the flattering, though semewhat sobered, picture of its inhabitants given by Herodotus iii. c. 17-24. Leter traditions place the scene in the country of the Hyperboræans, a people changing their locality from the northern extremity of Asia to that of Europe, or compare Diod. Sc. 2. c. 47 with Pomponius Mela, 3. c 5.), and to whom strade, on the authority of Simonides and Pindar, has given a life of a thousand years, lib. xv. p. 711. Another chain of fiction assigns is to the isles of the West (Od. iv. 563), and from hence have sprung the descriptions of Horace (Epod. xvi. 41), and Plutarch (in Vit. Sertor.). For similar eccounts of India see Ctesias ap. Wesseling's Herod. p. 861. and Pliny vii. 2.

Edda of Snorro Dæmesaga, 12.
 Josephus, after noticing the age of Nash. cites the testimonies of Manetho

for the extreme longevity of the early Egyptians; of Hieronymus for that of the Phænicians; of Hesiod, Hecatæus, &c. for the Grecians; all of whom gave a thousand years to the life of man in the first periods of the world. Archæolog. i. c. 3. § 9. For the same advantage enjoyed by the early Egyptian kings, see Diod. Sic. i. 26, and compare Pliny's account of the Arcadians and Ætolians, some of whom lived three hundred years. Hist. Nat. vii. 48. The long-lived Æthiopians of Herodotus, who, be it remembered, were the tallest and most beautiful of mankind, usually lived 120 years. Herod. iii. c. 17. 23.

n At the siege of Troy the "Pylian sage" was living his third age. Il. i. 250. A Lycian tradition had assigned to Sarpedon a life of three ages, as the favourite son of Jove. Apollod. Bibl. iii. 1, 2. Heyne, forgetful that we are here on mythic ground, wishes to follow Diodorus, who attempts to give the narrative an air of probability, by making two Sarpedons, a grandsire and his grand-Tiresias was said to have lived seven ages, and Agatharchides more than five. (Meurs. in Lycophr. v. 682.) Norna-Gest, as he lighted the candle on which his existence depended, said he was three hundred years old. (Nornaevery national hero has been endowed with gigantic stature, and made to possess all those virtues which the common consent of mankind unites in considering so, or the ruder ethics of an earlier period have substituted for such.

With regard to those standing types of popular fiction, which have been compared to the roots of language, the history of their application in various periods of society displays the same frequent recurrence of certain primitive images, and the same series of ever-changing analysis and combination which mark the growth and progress of language itself. There will appear something fanciful perhaps in this comparison, yet the nearer we investigate it, the more we shall feel assured, that many of the laws which have governed the one are strictly analogous with those which have swayed the development of the other; and that, however much we may dispute as to the causes which have called forth these important phænomena of the mind, their subsequent regulation is considerably less equivocal. The mass of primitives in every language,

Gest Saga in Müller's Saga-Bibliothek, vol. ii. p. 113.) Toke Tokesen was also fated to live two ages of man, Ib. p. 117. and Hildebrand, the invincible champion and Mentor of Theodoric, died aged 180 or 200 years. Ib. 278.

The sandal of Perseus found at Chemnis was two cubits in length. Herod. 2. c. 91. The footstep of Hercules shown in Scythia, was of the same size. Ib. 4. c. 82.; though the more sober traditions make his whole stature only four cubits and a foot. (Herod. Ponticus ad Lycophr. v. 663.) Lycophron calls Achilles voi livánnzur, Cass. The body of Orestes when found measured seven cubits. (Herod. 1. c. 68.) And for the large size of Ajax, Pelops and Theseus, see Paus. i. 35. v. 13. and Plut. in Vit. c. 36. A. Feroe song says of Sigurdr (the Siegfred of the Nibelungen Lied), that he grew more in one month than others did in twelve. (Compare the romance of Sir

Gowghther and Homer's account of Otus and Ephialtes, Od. 11. 308.) He was so tall, that when he walked through a field of ripe rye, the point of his sword (which was seven spans long) might be seen above the standing corn. (Muller, p. 61.) A hair of his horse's tail, which Gest shewed king Oluf, measured seven ells. (Ib. p. 111.) Theodoric of Berne was two ells broad between the shoulders, tall as an Eten (giant), and stronger than any man would believe who had not seen him. (Wilkina-Saga, c. 14.) The grave of Gawain was fourteen feet long, the reputed stature of Little John. (Ritson.) Of Arthur, Higden has said: "Also have mynde that Arthures chyn-bone that was thenne (on the discovery of his body at Glastonbury) shewed, was lenger by thre ynches than the legge and the knee of the lengest man, that was thenne founde. Also the face of his forhede, bytweene liys two eyen, was a spanne brode." Trevisa's transl. f. 290. rec.

(even in those whose decided character gives them the aspect of parent dialects) is well known to bear a very small proportion to the wealth of its vocabulary; and at some stage of human existence, even these elementary terms must have been sufficient to express the wants, and effect an interchange of thought, between the several members of the community. fresh necessities arose, and the bounds of knowledge became extended, the original types in their simple import would be megual to the demands of every new occasion; and hence the introduction of a long roll of meanings to the primitives, and all the intricacies of analysis and synthesis, which have given wealth, dignity, and expression to language. There is however no fact more certain, within our knowledge of the past and our experience of the present, than that words neither have been nor are now invented; but that they always have been compounded from existing roots in the dialect requiring them, or borrowed from some collateral source; and for this very obvious reason, that any other mode of proceeding would wholly defeat the only end for which language was intended, the communication of our wishes, feelings and opinions. That the progress of popular fiction has followed a nearly similar course, a slight consideration of the subject will tend to assure The extraordinary process already alluded to, which, by endowing inanimate objects with sense, feeling, and spirituality, robs man of his proudest distinction, is no new creation of elenentary forms previously unknown, but a simple transference of peculiar properties, the characteristics of a more perfect class of beings, to others less perfectly constituted. The prophetic ship, the grateful ant, the courteous tree3, et hoc genus omne, are none of them subjected to any mutation in their physical qualities; they merely receive an additional grant of certain

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Bee Grimm's Kinder- und Haus-Märchen and Müller's Saga-Bibliothek,

ethical attributes, which, like secondary meanings in language, enlarge their power without varying their natural appearance. Even the personification of immaterial things, though approaching nearest to the plastic nature of a really creative power, is but an extension of the same principle. For though in these the external forms be wholly supplied by the fancy, the inherent qualities of the thing personified furnish the outline of all its moral endowments; and the contrast between the abstract property in its original state, and the living image representing it, is not more striking than between the different objects which are expressed in language by one common symbol". The wildest efforts of the imagination can only exhibit to us a fresh combination of well-known types draws: from the store-house of nature; and it is the propriety of the new arrangement, the felicitous juxtaposition of the stranger elements in their novel relation to each other, which marks the genius of the artist, which fixes the distance between a Boocacio and a Troveur, a Shakespeare and a Brooke's. The same chaste economy which has regulated the development of language, is equally conspicuous in the history of popular fiction; and, like the vocabulary of a nation once supplied with a stock of appropriate imagery, all its subsequent additions seem to have arisen in very slow progression. For this we must again refer to the prevailing state of society and the condition of those common agents by whom both subjects have been fostered. The more degraded the intellectual culture of a nation upon its first appearance in history, the poorer will be found its vocabulary, with reference to the innate resources of the language; and the subsequent wealth of every dialect will be discovered to have been attendant upon the pro-

See Brooke's poem on the subject of

^{**} The burning lava of Ætna was a cat, dog, horse, &c. made the type of Typhæus's fury; but the contrast here is not greater, than between those objects of domestic use speare. which are named after animals, such as

grees of civilization, and the acquisition of new ideas. The petrons of popular fiction, as the very name implies, belong to that class of the community which, amid all the changes and revolutions that are operating around it, always retains a considerable portion of its primitive characteristics. these may be reckoned the narrow circle of its necessities in the use of language and expression, and the modest demands fits intellectual tastes, so opposite to that later epicurism of the mind, a refined and learned taste, which is only to be appeased by an unceasing round of novelties. Unacquainted with the feverish joys occasioned by the use of strong and fresh excitements, popular taste only asks for a repetition of its favourite themes; and, blest with the pure and limited wants of infancy, it listens to the "twice-told tale" with the eagerness and simplicity of a child. It is on this principle that every country in Europe has invested its popular fictions with the same common marvels; that all acknowledge the agency of the lifeless productions of nature; the intervention of the same supernatural machinery; the existence of elves, fairies, dwarfs, giants, witches and enchanters; the use of spells, charms and similets; and all those highly-gifted objects, of whatever form or name, whose attributes refute every principle of human experience, which are to conceal the possessor's person, annihilste the bounds of space, or command a gratification of all our wishes. These are the constantly-recurring types which embellish the popular tale, which hence have been transferred to the more laboured pages of romance; and which, far from owing their first appearance in Europe to the Arabic conquest of Spain, or the migration of Odin to Scandinavia, are known to have been current on its eastern verge long anterior to the

[&]quot;" J'ai eu des idées nouvelles; il a tions," says Montesquieu in the Adverhien fallu trouver des nouveaux mots, ou tisement to his Esprit des Loix.

æra of legitimate history³⁷. The Nereids of antiquity, the daughters of the "sea-born seer," are evidently the same with the Mermaids of the British and Northern shores; the habitations of both are fixed in crystal caves, or coral palaces, beneath the waters of the ocean; and they are alike distinguished for their partialities to the human race, and their prophetic powers in disclosing the events of futurity. The Naiads only differ in name from the Nixen³⁸ of Germany and Scandinavia (Nisser), or the Water-Elves of our countryman Ælfric; and the Nornæ, who wove the web of life and sang the fortunes of the illustrious Helga, are but the same companions who attended Ilithyia at the births of Iamos and Hercules³⁹. Indeed so striking is the resemblance between these divinities and the Grecian Mœræ, that we not only find them officiating at the birth of a hero, conferring upon him an amulet which is to endow him with a charmed existence, or cutting short the thread of his being, but, like their prototype or parallel, varying in their number—from three to nine,—as they figure . in their various avocations, of Nornæ or Valkyriar, as Parcæ or Muses 4. In the Highland Urisks 4, the Russian Le-

The Russian Rusalkis belong to the same family. They are represented as a race of beautiful virgins, with long green hair, living in lakes and rivers, and who were generally seen swinging on the branches of trees, bathing in the flood, or dressing their hair in the meads beside a running stream. Mone's continuation of Creuzer's Symbolik, vol. i. p. 145.

Compare Helga quitha hin fyrsta, in Sæmund's Edda, with Pindar Ol. vi. 72. and Anton. Liberalis, c. 29.

⁴⁰ A further illustration of this subject must also be reserved for a future publication.

goat and a man; in short, precisely that of a Grecian Satyr.—Notes to the Lady of the Lake, p. 356. There are few antiquarian subjects requiring more revision than the modern nomenclature of this sylvan family. This confusion of character and name is no where more apparent than in the account of the ancient monuments in the British Museum. The Grecian Satyr is perfectly human in the lower extremities of his person; but the

It will be felt, that this intricate and copious subject could only be generally noticed here. More ample sources of information are to be found in the preface and notes to the Kinder- und Haus-Märchen of Messrs. Jacob and William Grimm, Sir W. Scott's Essay on the Facries of Popular Superstition, (Minstrelsy, vol. ii.) and some useful collections in Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. ii. A further consideration of the subject is reserved for another occasion; when the authorities for some opinions, which may appear either too bold or paradoxical, and which could not be introduced here, will be given at length.

cive the same sylvan family, who, under the name of Panes and Panisci, presided over the fields and forests of Arcadia. The general meetings of the first were held on Ben-Venew, like the biennial assembly of the Fauns on mount Parnassus; and the Schvonian hunter invoked the assistance of his Zlebog⁴⁴, the Finn of his Wäinämöinen⁴⁵, and the Laplander of his Storjunkare⁴⁶, with the same solemnity as that with which the Greek

Panes (for the ancients acknowledged more than one Pan, as well as more than one Silenus) and Panisci preserved the

legs and thighs of a goat.

These Russian divinities had a huing pointed ears, and a bushy beard. man body, horns on the head, project-(Compare the well-known group of Pre and Olympus in the Villa Albani, and the representations of the same subset in the Pitture d'Ercolano.) They had the power of changing their stature as they pleased. When they walked through the grass, they were just seen shove it; in walking through forests, their heads ranged above the highest week. Woods and groves were conseexact to them, and no one dared offend them, as they excited in the culprit's sind the most appalling terrors, or in a figned voice seduced him through unknown ways to their caves, where they tickled him to death. Mone, p. 143. Among the Finns these practices were stributed to a god Lekkio and a goddess Ajates. The first assumed the form of a men, dog, crow, or some other bird, for the purpose of exciting terror; and the latter led the traveller astray. Ib. 59. The reader will not fail to recognise in the Panic terrors of the Arcadian gad; and to be reminded of the Olympien invocation, which called Pan Rhea's and servederio. Pind. Frag. ap. Aristot. **Ehetor.** ii. 24. The irritable temperament of these sylvan deities is also common to their parallel. Theorritus, Id. i. v. 15.

The worship of these deities appears to have been common to all the Sclavotic tribes situated between the Vistula and the Elbe. This district has been divided by some chroniclers into Pommerania and Vandalia, an arrangement which has caused the inhabitants of the latter to be confounded with the Teutonic invaders of the Empire. The term in the text has been borrowed from the German to avoid this inaccuracy; but Trevisa has shown that there was a name for it in England: "Wyntlandia, that ilonde is by-west Denmark, and is a barren londe; and men [go there] out of byleve, they selle wynde to the shypmen that come to theyr portes and havenes, as it were closed under knottes of threde. And as the knottes be unknytte the wynde wexe at theyr wylle." f. 32. In all their attributes, the Berstucs appear to have been the same with the Russian Leschies.

bog, usually explained The angry god. Frencel de Diis Soraborum et aliorum Slavorum ap. Hoffmann Script. Rer. Lusat. tom. ii. p. 234-6. Care must be taken not to confound them with the Prussian dwarfs, called Barstuck; and who perhaps have usurped a name which designates their form rather than their occupation. In Durham and Newcastle, the English Puck is called Bar-quest.

Wäinämöinen was the inventor of the kandele (a stringed instrument played like the guitar), and the author of all inventions which have benefited the human race. He was implored by the hunter, the fisherman and the bird-catcher, to play upon his kandele, that the game might fall into their nets. Mone, 54.

the Norwegians. In Tornea Lapland the same deity is called Seite. He is supreme lord of the whole animal cre-

implored the aid of the "shaggy god of Arcady." Another feature in the national creed of the same mountainous district of Greece, is to be met with in the ballad of the Elfin-Gray"; and if the testimony of Ælfric, in his translation of Dryades by Wudu-Elfen, is to be received as any thing more than a learned exercise ", the same notion must have prevailed in this country. But the collection from whence the ballad alluded to has been taken, the Danish Kiæmpe-Viser, contains more than this single example of such a belief; and the reader will find below a local tradition, preserved in Germany, which will remind him of the conversation between Peræbius and an

ation (with the exception of the human race), and patron of hunting, fishing, &c. He frequently appears to the fishermen &c. of Lule& Lapmark, dressed like a Norwegian nobleman in black, of a tall and commanding figure, with the feet of a bird, and with a gun on his shoulder. His appearance never fails to produce a successful fishery or chase, Mone, 36.

" See the Notes to the Lady of the

Lake.

It may be questioned, whether this catalogue of Ælfric's (dun-elfen, bergelfen, munt-elfen, feld-elfen, wudu-elfen, sw-elfen, water-elfen,) ever obtained a circulation among the people. It is at least rendered extremely suspicious by its strict accordance with the import of

the Grecian names.

being one day at work on a heath near Salaburg, 'a little wild or moss-wyfie' appeared to him, and begged that on leaving his labour he would cut three crosses on the last tree he hewed down. This request the man neglected to comply with. On the following day she appeared again, saying, 'Ah' my man, why did you not ent the three crosses yesterday? It would have been of service both to me and yourself. In the evening, and repetially at night, we are constantly huntern by the wild huntsmen, and are obliged to allow them to worry us, unless the autracel one of these trees with a cross.

on it; for from thence they have no power to remove us. To this the boor replied with his wonted churlishness, ' Pooh ! pooh! of what use can it be? how can the crosses bely you? I shall do no such thing to please you, indeed.' Upon this the wyfie flew upon him, and squeezed him so forcibly that he became ill after it, notwithstanding he was a stout fellow. Such wyfies, and even mannikina, are said to dwell upon that heath, under the ground, or in obscure parts of the forest, and to have holes, in which they lie on green moss, as indeed they are said to be clothed all over with moss." Prætorius suys, he heard this story from an old dame, who knew the beforementioned Hans Krepel, and adds, the time of day was a [little] after noon, an hour not usually devoted to labour, because at such a time "this sort of diableric frequently occurs." Anthropodemus Plutonicus, Magdeburg 1666, sol. if. n. 881. For this superstitions vol. it. p. 931. For this superstitious attention to silence at noon, see Theocritus, Id. i. v. 15.; and for the persocution of the Nymphs by Pan, the romance of Longus, p. 63. ed. Villoison, where it is said of him, watered it subtract desάσι ἐπχλῶν, ἐ Ἐσιμπλίσι Νυμφαις σεάγ-ματα σαείχων. The passage relative to the Hamadryad, who threatened Perbius with the consequences of neglecting to prop the falling oak, in which she lived, is to be found in the Schol. to Apollon. Rhod. ii. v. 479.

Hamadryad. How far the Duergar of the Edda were originally distinct from a similar class of dwarfish agents, who are to be not with in the popular creed of every European nation, cannot now be precisely ascertained⁵⁰. The earliest memorials of them in the fictions of Germany and Scandinavia, present with the same metallurgic divinities who in the mythology of Hellas were known by the various names of Cabiri, Hephasti, Telchines, and Idæan Dactyli⁵¹. In the other countries of Europe, the traces of their existence as a separate class,

The Northern traditions relative to the Duergar, are among the most obseure points of Eddaic lore, and are too important to be discussed in a note. Their residence in stones seems to be a partion of the same belief which gave rise to the life lufuxe of antiquity. The author of the Orphic poem on stones mentions one in the possession of Hehave, which not only uttered oracular responses, but was perceived to breathe, ver. 339 et seq. Photius (coll. 242. 1062, from the life of Isidorus by Damascius) mentions another in the possession of a certain Eusebius. This was a meteoric stone, which had fallen from heaven. On being asked to what deity it belonged, it replied, Gennæus — a ged worshiped at the Syrian Heliopolis. Others were said to be subject to Saturn, Jupiter, the Sun, &c. (For this notion of the demons being the subordinate followers of some superior god, whose name they bore, see Plutarch de Defectu Onec. 21.) This will serve to illustrate the account given by Pausanias of the thirty stones at Pharæ, each of which was inscribed with the name of some god. (vii. c. 22.) Damascius thought the score in question to be under divine, Isidorus only demoniacal, influence. **Photius treats the whole story as a mere** piece of jugglery. Plato, however, has said, that these lithic oracles were of the same antiquity as that of the oak at Dodone. Phædrus 276.

The spirit of later times, with its characteristic tendency of studying beauty of form in all its imagery, having converted these ancient deities into the

youthful Curetes, Corybantes and Dioscuri, a confusion arose in the nomenclature of them which wholly baffied the attempts of Strabo to reduce into a system. See the tenth book of this geographer, under the head of Theologoumena. The Dwarf of ancient mythology is perhaps best represented on the coins of Cossyra, where the figure closely accords with the description of the mining dwarf given by Prætorius, i. p. 243. Another representation, from the creed of Egypt, may be seen among the terracottas of the British Museum, No. 42. Mr. Coombe calls "this short naked human figure" Osiris; but there can be little doubt, that it exhibits the dwarfish god of Memphis, whose deformity excited the scorn and ridicule of Cambyses. This deity, whether we call him Phthas or Hephæstus, resembled in his person the Patæci or tutelary divinities of Phenicia, to whom Herodotus has assigned the figure of a pygmy man. (Thalia, c. 37.) The attributes on this and a similar monument may be easily accounted for. The reader who is desirous of learning the esteem in which these divinities were held in the ancient world, may consult a treatise "On the Deities of Samothrace" by Mr.von Schelling, a gentleman chiefly known in Europe for his philosophical works, but who is known to his friends for his extensive erudition in every branch of ancient and modern learning, and who, among the numerous virtues that adorn his private character, is particularly distinguished for his hospitality to the "stranger, who sujourns in a foreign

chiefly occupied in the labours of the forge, are not so clearly defined; and if a few scattered traditions seem to favour a contrary opinion, it is equally certain that they have been more frequently confounded with a kindred race, the Brownies or Fairies. The former, as is well known, are the same diminutive beings with the Lares of Latium, an order of beneficent spirits, whom Cicero so has taught us to consider as nearly identical with the Grecian Dæmon. In Germany they have received a long catalogue of appellations, all descriptive of their form, their disposition, or their dress; but whether marked by the title of Gutichen, Brownie, Lar, or Dæmon, we observe in all the same points of general resemblance; all have been alike regarded as the guardians of the domestic hearth, the awarders of prosperity, and the averters of evil; and the author of the Orphic Hymn endows the particular Dæmon of his invocation with the same attributes that are given by Hildebrand to the whole tribe of Gutichens or "gude neighbours⁵⁴." The English Puck, the Scottish Bogle, the French Esprit Follet, or Goblin—the Gobelinus of monkish Latinity -and the German Kobold, are only varied names for the Grecian Kobalus 55; whose sole delight consisted in perplexing the human race, and calling up those harmless terrors that con-

Essay on the Faeries of popular Superstition, p. 163.

4 Hymn 72. and Hildebrand vom

Hexenwerke, p. 310.

of Robin Goodfellow. In Iceland, Puki is regarded as an evil sprite; and in the language of that country "at pukra" means both to make a murmuring noise, and to steal clandestinely. The names of these spirits seem to have originated in their boisterous temper. "Spuken," Germ., to make a noise; "spog," Dan., obstreperous mirth; "pukke," Dan. to boast, scold. The Germans use "pochen" in the same figurative though literally it means to strike, beat, and is the same with our poke. In Ditmarsh, the brownie, or domestic fairy, is called Nitsche-Puk. The French "gobelin" seems to spring either from a diminutive—Koboldein? or a feminine termination, Koboldinn?

[&]quot; Quanquam enim Dæmon latius patere quodam modo videatur, non dubito tamen quin melius sit, Larem, quam Dæmonem vertere, ut sit species progenere." De Universitate.

We See the Scholiast to Aristoph. Plut. v. 279. The English and Scottish terms are the same as the German "Spuk," and the Danish "Spogelse," without the sibilant aspiration. These words are general names for any kind of spirit, and correspond to the "Pouk" of Piers Plouhman. In Danish "spog" means a joke, trick or prank; and hence the character

startly hover round the minds of the timid. To excite the wrath, indeed, of this mischievous spirit, was attended with fital consequences to the luckless objects who rashly courted it; and Prætorius (i. p. 140.) has preserved a notice of his cruelty to some miners of St. Anneberg, to whom he appeared under the guise of the Scottish Kelpie, with a horse's head, and whom he destroyed by his pestiferous breath. The midnight depredators mentioned by Gervase of Tilbury, who eppressed the sleeper, injured his person, despoiled his property, and bore off his children, are either confounded by that worthy chronicler with the separate characters of the Ephialtes and Lamia; or the local creed of some particular spot had concentrated in his day the propensities of both in one personage. The numerous tales gathered by Prætorius observe the classical distinctions of antiquity; with them it is the Incubus or Alp, who causes those painful sensations during sleep, which the ancient physicians have so aptly termed the nocturnal epilepsy; and it is the same race of mis-shapen old hags with the Lamise of Gervase⁵⁶, who, like the ancient Lemia larvata, alternately terrify and carry away the infant from his cradle.

Sir Walter Scott, from whose Essay "on the Faeries of Popular Superstition" the preceding notice of the Lamiæ

of Scotland, whose name is so expreseive of her character (gyr-falcon, gerhound, Trevisa).

Their dwelt ane grit Gyre-Carling, in awld Betokis bour,

That levit upoun Christiane menis flesche, and rewheids unleipit.

In this she becomes identified with the "Rew-head-and-bloody-bones" of the English nursery. In the fiction on which the beautiful ballad of Glenfinlas is founded, we have the poetic version of her character; and of which Vossius

With this class must also be reckon- has said: "Nam erunt Lamiæ spectra in e Gyre-Carline, or mother-witch formosarum mulierum figuram conformata, quæ adolescentes formosos voluptatibus deliniebant, dum eos devorarent." Etymolog. S. Lat. in Lamia. Compare also Diodorus's account of the queen of Libyssa, l. xx. p. 754. Vossius has likewise shown that the same notion was current in Judæa. There is one circumstance in the history of the Gyre-Carline, which runs through all mythology:

> Lang or Betok was born Scho (the G. Carline) bred of an acorne.

recorded by Gervase has been taken, has also extracted from the Physica Curiosa of Schott, a Frisian account of the same destructive tribe, where a similar confusion appears to prevail though with a different class of spirits. "In the time of the Emperor Lotharius, in 830, says Schott, many spectres infested Friesland, particularly the white nymphs of the ancients, which the moderns denominate witte wiven, who inhabited a subterraneous cavern, formed in a wonderful manner, without human art, on the top of a lofty mountain. These were accustomed to surprize benighted travellers, shepherds watching their herds and flocks, and women newly delivered, with their children and convey them into their caverns, from which subterraneous murmurs, the cries of children, the groans and lamentations of men, and sometimes imperfect words and all kinds of musical sounds were heard to proceed." Divested of the colouring which seems to identify these spectres "with the fairies of popular opinion," a parallel fiction is related by Antonius Liberalis (c. 8.) in his account of Sybaris, to whom others gave the more appropriate title of Lamia; and, with a change of sex in the agent, the same idea is found in the curious narratives of Pausanias and Ælian, relative to the "dark dsemon" or hero of Temessa 57. The earliest memorial of

sanias, vi. 6. The people of Temessa having slain a companion of Ulysses, (who had violated the chastity of a virgin,) his spirit sought revenge, by carrying slaughter and destruction into every house and the whole country round The Pythian oracle recommended the erection of a temple, the consecration of a grove, and an annual sacrifice of the fairest virgin in Temessa, as the only means of appearing the angry spirit. This was done. On one of these occasions, an Olympian victor named Euthymus, inspired by mingled feelings of love and compassion for the beautiful victim, resolved on effecting her rescue, and having awaited the ar-

" Vid. Ælian. Hist. viii. c. 18. Pau- rival of the dæmon, a struggle ensued. from which the latter made his escape, and for ever, by sinking into the sea. The ravages of Grendel appear to have been prompted by the death of an uncle. Hrotligar (in whose palace the spirit's nightly incursions are made) and his council vainly implore the powers of hell (it is a Christian who thus denominates the gods of the heathen king) for the means of commuting the deadly feud. The intelligence reaches Beowulf, a champion who had acquired an extensive reputation by his victories over the nicors or nicers, a species of sea monster of which many fables are current at the present day in Iceland, and who, in the true spirit of a berserkr, unSexon poem of Beowulf. In this curious repository of genuine Northern tradition, by far the most interesting portion of the work is devoted to an account of the hero's combats with a male and female spirit, whose nightly ravages in the hall of Hrothgar are marked by all the atrocities of the Grecian fable.

Under the comprehensive name of Fairy, almost every member of the preceding catalogue has been indiscriminately mingled in the living recitals of the cotter's family circle, and the printed collections of our popular tales. A slight attention, however, to the distinctive marks established in the meient world, will easily remedy the confusion; and few readers will require to be told, that the fairies who attend the birth and foretell the fortunes of a hero or heroine, who connect the destinies of some favoured object with the observance of a command or the preservation of an amulet, are the venerable Parcæ of antiquity. The same rule will hold good of the rest; and it therefore only remains to notice the Fairy of romance, and the Elf or Fairy of the mountain-heath. The former has been considered to have derived her origin from the same country which has supplied us with the name. For this hypothesis there is better reason than usually attaches itself to the solution of an antiquarian problem by the etymologist; and Warton has already shown that the titles of the most distinguished in European romance are borrowed almost to the letter from the fables of the East. The Persian Mergian and Urganda have unquestionably furnished Italian poetry with its Morgana and Urganda; and there is considerable plau-

dertakes the task of subduing Grendel from a pure love of glory. The result in both fables is the same. The dark dæmon is wersted and sinks into a lake, where he afterwards is found dead of his wounds. The female spirit is Grendel's mother's, who answers to the description of A.

Liberalis. It may be worth noticing that a picture preserved at Temessa, representing the combat of Euthymus, exhibited the dæmon clothed in a wolfskin, and the name of the northern hero is Beo-wulf, the wolf-tamer.

sibility in the assertion58, that the Peri of the former country has been transmitted through the medium of the Arabic. uniformity of name, even admitting an identity of character, is insufficient to prove that the idea attached to the new appellative is of no older date in the country to which it has been transferred than the period when the stranger term was first introduced. The Pelasgain priesthood recommended the adoption of Ægyptian titles for the unnamed divinities of Hellenic worship, on discovering that their secret had been divulged; and the adoration of the Bætyli precedes the annals of authentic history in Greece, while the name is of foreign extraction, and evidently borrowed at a very late period. If therefore the English 'fairy,' or the French 'faërie,' have been imported from the East, the term itself must be of comparatively recent date; though the popular notion respecting the nature and attributes of the beings who bore it is wholly lost in the twilight of antiquity. There is no essential difference between the Persian Peri and the Grecian Nymph, however variedly the inventive genius of either country may have endowed them in points of minor consideration. They are both the common offspring of the same speculative opinion, which peopled the elements with a race of purer essences, as the connecting link between man and his Creator; and the modern Persian, in adopting those "who hover in the balmy clouds", live in the colours of

of the earliest French tales of "faerie" acknowledge a Breton source; may not the term itself be Celtic? The "Ionic Pheres of Hesychius," which has been mentioned as an apparent synonym with the Persian Peri, is but a different aspiration of the Attic Sie (Germ. "thier"); and which, whether applied to centaurs or satyrs, could only have been given to mark their affinity with the animal race.

These aerial nymphs were not foreign to the Grecian creed; at least the celestial nymphs of Mnesimachus can only be accounted for on this notion. Schol. in Apollon. Rhod. iv. v. 1412.

This guarded mode of expression must not be mistaken for a love of paradox; it has proceeded from doubts in the writer's mind, which at present he wants leisure to satisfy. The French term for our fairy or fay is fée; and, like the Italian fata, is said to be derived from fatua. "Faerie" was a general name for an illusion; a sense in which it is always used by Chaucer. As an appellation for the elfin-race, in this country, it is certainly of late date; and perhaps a mere corruption, a name given to the agent from his acts. It is certainly not of Northern origin. Some

the rainbow, and exist on the odour of flowers," has only fixed his choice upon a different class from the ancient Greek. will however be remembered, that in the particulars just enumerated, the Fairies of Italian romance bear no resemblance to the Peris of the East; and that, in almost every thing else except the name, they are, for the most part, only a reproduction of the Circe and Calypso of the Odyssey. The Fairies in the Lays of Lanval and Graelent, or in the romances of Melusina and Partenopex de Blois, have neither the gross propensities of the daughter of Helios, nor the power and exalted rank of the Ogygian enchantress. They approach nearer, both in character and fortunes, to the nymphs who sought the alliance or yielded to the importunities of Daphnis and Rhœcus®, and, like their Grecian predecessors, were equally doomed to experience the hollow frailty of human engagements. The conditions imposed upon the heroes of Hellenic fable were the same in substance, though somewhat differing in form from those enjoined the knights of French romance, and were alike transgressed from motives of self-gratification, or a weak compliance with the solicitations of others. There is something more consolatory in the final catastrophe attached to the modern fictions; but this, as is well known, has been taken, in common with the general outline of the events, from the beautiful apologue of Apuleius. One of the earliest tales of bery in our own language, and perhaps the most important for the influence it seems to have had on later productions, is contained in the old romance of Orfeo and Heurodisa. leading incidents of this poem have been borrowed from the classical story of Orpheus and Eurydice, and Mr. Ritson has truly pronounced its character in saying, This lay or tale is a

For Daphnis see Parthenius, c. 18; for Rhoscus Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. ii. v. 479. See also the history of Caums in Conon, c. 2.; and of Philammon, R. c. 7.

on chose to follow the Harleian MS. of this romance, which is so palpably inferior to the Auchinleck copy.

Ovid. A later writer, from whose authority it is rarely safe to deviate, and to whose illustrations of popular fiction the present sketch is so much indebted, has rejected this opinion and produced it as an example of "Gothic mythology engrafted on the fables of Greece"." In support of this assertion, even Sir W. Scott's extensive knowledge of the subject might find it difficult to offer any thing like satisfactory proof

The minor embellishments of the poem, the rank and quality of Orpheus, the picture of his court, the occupations of the Elfin king, and the fortunate issue of the harper's descent are certainly foreign to the Grecian story, and have been either copied from the institutions of the minstrel's age, or are the ready suggestions of his own invention. But the whole machinery of the fable—the power of Pluto and his queen (for such Chaucer has instructed us to call the king of Faery), the brilliant description of Elfin land, its glorious abodes and delightful scenery, and the joyous revelry of those who had secured a residence in the regions of bliss, and the miseries

Of folke that were thidder ybrought,

And thought dead and were nought,—

are of legitimate Grecian origin, and may be read with little variety of style, though with less minuteness of detail, in the visions of Thespesius and Timarchus, recorded by Plutarch

Essay on the Faeries &c. ut supra.

De Sera Num. Vind. c. 22. (where the text reads Soleus the Thespesian, but Wyttenbuch has approved of Reiske's correction, which reverses the terms) and De Genio Socrat. c. 22. If to these the reader will add Pindar's description of the Elysian amusements (cited in Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. c. 35. and with some additions in his tract De Occulte Vivendo, c. vii.) and the narrative of the Socratic Æschines (Axiochus, § 20.) on the same subject, he will find a parallel for almost every peculi-

arity of these regions mentioned in the Auchinleck MS. of Orfeo. The popular view of the subject is discussed in his usual manner by Lucian in his several pieces, Ver. Hist. ii. Necyota. Catapl. and Philops., and a compound of esoteric and exoteric doctrines on the same point is to be found in the Frogo of Aristophanes. Sir W. Scott justly considers the ymp-tree, a tree consecrated to some dæmon, rather than a grafted tree, as interpreted by Mr. Ritson. This point of popular superstition seems to be referred to by Socrates in

The history of such descents, whether professing to be made in person, or by a separation of "the intelligent soul" from its grosser fellow, and the body64, was a favourite topic in the ancient world; and many visions of the infernal regions which are made to figure in modern hagiology, from the narrative of Bede to the metrical legend of Owain Miles, have borrowed largely from these pagan sources. It is however chrious, that Chaucer's "Pluto king of Fayrie" and his • Queen Proserpina" have been derived from this or a simihe source; and the confusion which has arisen between the Fairies of romance and the Elves of rural tradition, may in all probability be ascribed "to those poets who have adopted his phraseology." By Dunbar, Pluto is styled "an elricke incabas in a clothe of grene," the well-known elfin livery; and Montgomery confers upon the "king of Pharie" the same verdent garb, an elvish stature, and weds him to the Elf-queen.

"All grathed into green,
Some hobland on a hemp stalk, hovand to the hight,
The king of Pharie and his court, with the Elf-queen,
With many elfish incubus was ridand that night."

There is nothing in the "Marchaunt's Tale" to justify this diminution of King Pluto's fair proportions, or to identify Queen Proserpina with the Elf-queen. But in another of Chancer's tales, the practices of the latter and her followers

temed style of irony, he ascribes a suddm fit of nympholepsy to the vicinage of a plane-tree adorned with images, and dedicated to the Nymphs. (Phædr. 176.) But this idea of dæmoniscal trees must desply into Northern and Oriental saythology. The lady Similt, while mutal beneath a lindentree, is carried of by king Laurin in the same clandutine manner that the king of Faerie carreys away Heurodis. (See Weber's Mustrations of Northern Antiquities,

p. 150.) The rock of entrance to the fairy realm is the Auxida xingm of the Odyssey, xxiv. 11.; and perhaps the lapis manalis of Latium.

⁶⁴ See Wyttenbach's note to the vision of Thespesius, concerning this division of the soul into νοῦς and ψύχη, and the sources from whence Plutarch obtained it.

Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. v. c. 13. Compare also the vision or trance of the Pamphylian Er in Plato's Rep. lib. x. in fine.

are called "faeries" or illusive visions; and it will easily be felt, that the use of a common name to denote their respective actions, might eventually lead to the notion of a community of character.

> In olde dayes of the king Artour— All was this lond ful filled of faerie; The elf-quene with her joly compaynie, Danced ful oft in many a grene mede. But now can no man see non elves mo, For the grete charitee and prayeres Of limitoures, and other holy freres, That serchen euery land, and euery streme— This maketh that ther ben no faeries. For ther as wont to walken as an elf Ther walketh now the limitour himself.

> > WIFE OF BATH'S TALE.

However this may be, there can be little doubt that at one period the popular creed made the same distinctions between the queen of Faerie and the Elf-queen, that were observed in Grecian mythology, between their undoubted parallels, Artemis and Persephone. At present the traces of this division are only faintly discernible; and in the Scottish ballad of Tamlane, (Minstrelsy, vol. ii.) the hero, though "a wee wee man," declares himself a fairy both in "lyth and limb," a communication which leaves us at no loss to divine the size of the fairy queen who had "borrowed him." The beautiful ballad of Thomas the Rhymer⁶⁶, and even the burlesque

The editor has already sinned too after contrasting the little we know of the real, with the fictitious history of "auld Rymer," he has arrived at that conviction, which is easier felt than accounted for, that the laird of Erceldoun has usurped the honours and reputation of some earlier seer, and gathered round his name the local tradition of his birth-

deeply against the fame of true Thomas, (see vol. i. p. 181.) to make the concealment of his opinion respecting this mysterious personage a saving condition on which he might build a hope of forgiveness for his previous indiscretion. He will therefore further state that.

imitation of some forgotten romance by Chaucer in his "Rhyme of Sir Thopas," make the Elf-queen either joint or sole sovereign of fairy-land, while the locality, scenery and inhabitants of the country prove it to be the same district described in Sir Orfeo. In the former fiction she is represented, as only quitting the court of her grisly spouse, to chase the "wild fee" upon earth 67; her costume and attributes are of the same sylvan cast with those which distinguished the huntressqueen of antiquity; and the fame of her beauty inspires the lovelorn Sir Thopas with the same rash resolves which from a similar cause were said to have fired the bosom of Pirithous. In the remaining details of Thomas the Rhymer, she is clearly identified with the daughter of Demeter; and the description of the journey to Elf-land⁶⁸ will remind the reader of a story in Ælian respecting the fabled Anostos, or that country whose expressive name has been so aptly paraphrased,

The bourne from whence no traveller returns.

In the Grecian fiction, "the blude that's shed on earth" seems rather to have impregnated the atmosphere, than dyed "the springs of that countrie:" but the rivers that flowed around it,

place. The strong power of local association has been sufficiently manifested in the character acquired by a recent madent at Erceldoune. See preface to in Tristram.

A very seracious gentleman in one of Lucian's dialogues, has borne testimeny to the hunting propensities of the Queen of Hell, whom he calls Hecate. (Philops. c. 17.) The account of the eff-queen and her followers while enged in the chase may be compared with Od. vii. 101. and Virgil's imitation of the same passage, Æn. i. 498.

Three days they travel through darkness, up to their knees in water, and only hear the "swowyng of the flode." In this we have the ocean stream and Commerian darkness, Od. xi. 13. 'The pot where Thomas laid his head in the

lady's lap, is the same cross-way in which Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus, held their tribunal; one of whose roads led to the isles of the blest, and the other to Tartarus. Plat. Gorg. p. 524. The forbidden fruit, whose taste cut off all hope of seturn, is another version of the pomegranate-apple which figures so mysteriously in the history of Proserpine.

See Ælian, Var. Hist. iii. 18. In Lucian's Ver. Hist. ii. 3. (and which contains only exaggerated statements of popular opinion), one of the rivers encompassing his region of torment flows with blood. The bloody Acherousian rock in Aristophanes (Frogs, 474.) appears to be connected with a

similar notion.

the waters of joy and grief, each produced a tree, whose fruits were as marvellous in their effects as the apple bestowed on "true Thomas." Nor is the prophetic power acquired by the Rhymer in consequence of his visit to this unearthly region, a novel feature in the history of such fictions. In one of Plutarch's tracts, a certain Cleombrotus entertains the company with an account of an eastern traveller, whose character and fortunes are still more remarkable than those of the Scottish seer. Of this man we are told, that he only appeared among his fellow mortals once a year. The rest of his time was spent in the society of the nymphs and demons. who had granted him an unusual share of personal beauty. had rendered him proof against disease, and supplied him with a fruit, which was to satisfy his hunger, and of which he partook only once a month. He was moreover endowed with a miraculous gift of tongues, his conversation resembled a spontaneous flow of verse, his knowledge was universal, and an annual visitation of prophetic fervor enabled him to unfold the hidden secrets of futurity.

The Elves and Fairies of rural tradition who "dance their ringlets to the whistling wind," and the traces of whose midnight revels are still detected on the sward, seem originally to have been distinguished from the Fairies of romance, by their diminutive stature and the use of a common livery. In the former circumstance popular fiction has only been faithful tothe earliest creed of nations, respecting the size and form of their domestic and inferior deities; and of which examples are to be found in the household gods of Laban, the Patæci of Phenicia, the Cabiri of Egypt and Samothrace, the Idean Dactyli of Crete, the Anaces of Athens, the Dioscuri of Lacedæmon, the earth-god Tages of Etruria, and the Lares of La-

* De Defectu Oraculorum, c. 21. Hist. ii. and Philops. For the use made Æneid.

Lucian plays upon the supposed know- of it by modern poets see Heyne's fourledge of future events gained by a vi- teenth Excursus to the sixth book of the sit to the infernal regions, in his Ver.

causes which have led to this community of opinions as to the stature of these subordinate divinities; and it will be sufficient to remark, that the practice of romance in elevating them to the standard of "human mortals"," has only followed an ancient precedent already noticed in speaking of the dwarfs. There is even reason to believe, that the occasional adoption of a larger form, was not wholly inconsistent with the popular belief on the subject; since the fairy of Alice Pearson once appeared to her in "the guise of a lustic man," and the ballad of Tamlane admits a change of shape to be a leading characteristic of the whole fairy race:

Our shape and size we can convert To either large or small; An old nutshell's the same to us As is the lofty hall.⁷²

But the stature of the Elves and Fairies who presided over the mountain-heath, will find a parallel in a kindred race, the rural Lars of Italy; while their attributes, their habitations, their length of life, and even their name, will establish their affinity with the Grecian Nymphs. "Their drinkingcop or horn," which was "to prove a cornucopia of good fortune to him who had the courage to seize it"," is the sacred chalice of the Nymphs, whose inexhaustible resources

A distinction used by Titania in the Midsummer Night's Dream, Act ii.

The minor details of this ballad war too modern an aspect to make it of authority, unless supported by other testimony. The story however is interputably ancient. The same power has been already noticed in the Russian Learnies, and is also ascribed to king Learnie in the Little Garden of Roses, p. 153.

Little was king Laurin, but from many a precious gem

His wondrous strength and power and his bold courage came;

Tall at times his stature grew, with spells of grammary,

Then to the noblest princes fellow might he be.

⁷⁸ See the Essay on the Fairies, &c. where mention is made of the goblet preserved in Eden-hall in Cumberland, on which the prosperity of the Musgrave

are so frequently noticed in Grecian fable, and to which we shall again have occasion to refer. The places of their abode,—the interior of green hills, or the islands of a mountain-lake, with all the gorgeous decorations of their dwellings,—are but a repetition of the Dionysic and Nymphæic caves described by Plutarch and Diodorus⁷⁴; and their term of life, like the existence of the daughters of Ocean, though extending to an immeasurable length ⁷⁵ when compared with that of the human-race, had still its prescribed and settled limits. To this it may be added, that the different appellations assigned them in. Hellas and Northern Europe, appear to have arisen from a common idea of their nature; and that in the respective languages of these countries the words elf and nymph ⁷⁶ convey a similar meaning.

After this brief review of a most important subdivision of the elements of popular fiction, it will not be too much to affirm, that if their introduction into Europe, and their application to the embellishment of romantic poetry, had been dependent upon foreign agency, the national creed of Greece. has the fairest claim to be considered as the parent source. But in this, as in so many other points of public faith com-

family depended. Prætorius informs us, that a member of the house of Alveschleben received a ring from a Nixe, to which the future fortunes of his descendants were said to be attached. Anthropodemus Plutonicus, i. p. 113. Another German family, the Ranzaus, held their prosperity by the tenure of a fairy spindle. Ib. p. 115. The Scholiast to Lucian's Rhet. Præcept. says, that every prosperous person was supposed to have Amalthæa's horn in his possession.

M See Plutarch de Sera Num. Vind., and Diod. Sic. lib. iii. c. 68.

Por the lives of the fairies, see Mr. Reed's note to the Midsummer Night's Dream, in the variorum edition of Shakspeare; for that of the Nymphs (which Hesiod makes equal to nine)

thousand seven hundred and twenty years), Plutarch De Defectu Oraculor. c. xi. Pindar gives the Dryads a much shorter term, or a life equivalent to that of the trees they inhabit. Ib.

means a stream of running water, and hence the name of the river Elbe. The Grecian vupon has the same import with the Latin lympha, an idea which is also preserved in the Roman name for the disease called Nympholepsy. "Vulgo autem memoriæ proditum est, quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est, effigiem nymphæ viderint, furendi non fecisse finem, quos Græci vupon name, Latini lymphatos appellant." Festus, ap. Salm. Exercit. Plin. 765.

mon to the Greek and the Barbarian, it is impossible not to perceive the fragments of a belief brought from some earlier sest of empire, and which neither could have been imported into Hellas and Western Europe by a new dynasty of kings, nor communicated by a band of roving minstrels. In the illustrations they have received during the long course of their preservation, and under circumstances so varying as all the public and private events that fill the histories of these countries, there will of course be many particulars exhibiting little affinity with each other, and which taken separately may seem to deny this community of their origin. But even these, when carefully examined, will be mostly found to resolve themselves into distinctions arising from a difference of national character, or corruptions produced by some later change in national insitutions; and the most discordant will hardly afford a stronger contrast in their lineaments, than the physical differences displayed in the conformation of the human frame, upon the shores of the Ægean Sea and the banks of the Frozen Ocean. In Greece, like every thing else which has been exposed to the refining taste of that extraordinary people, they will all be found submitted to the same plastic norm which fitted the band's "thick-coming fancies" for the studies of the sculptor: and in modern Europe, a new religion, in attempting to curtail their influence or obliterate the remembrance of them, has more or less corrupted the memorials of their attributes. It is to the latter that we must more particularly look for an explanation of those anomalies, which not only appear to contradict our recollections of antiquity, but occasionally to exbut the popular faith as being at variance with itself. It will scarcely need remark, that the introduction of Christiamong the nations of the West, must speedily have dected a change in general opinion, as to the right, and the degree, in which these imaginary divinities were commissioned

were the successes of the triumphant faith over this particular branch of the ancient creed, that although the memory of "Thunaer, Wodan, and Saxnote"," (?) is scarcely distinguished able among the documents of several centuries, a continued belief in the agency of their subordinate associates still maintains its sway over every sequestered district of Northern Europe. Perhaps the sweeping clause which was to embrace the whole of this fraternity, and who were far too numerous to

" Such are the names of the three divinities mentioned in the Francic profession of faith published by Eccard. Francia Orientalis, vol. i. p. 440. Ek forsacho.... Thunaer ende Woden, ende Saxnote, end allem them unholdum the birs genotes sint. I renounce (forsake) Thunaer and Wodan and Saxnote, and all those impious (spirits) that are their associates. name of Saxnote has been a stumblingblock to the critics, and appears likely to remain so. In its present condition the word has certainly no intelligible meaning, and, if correct, refers to a deity of whom no other trace exists. The usual interpretation, Saxon Odin, is a mere conjecture, and certainly not a happy one. The same may be said of Mr. A. W. Schlegel's emendation (Indische Bibliothek, p. 256.) of Saxmote or assembly of the Saxons, at which they celebrated heathen festivals, and which is as objectionable on the score of grammar as the derried Saxnote. One remarkable circumstance in the present text is, that Thunaer and Wodan are not inflected, while the conjunction has gained the very addition in which they are defective. It is to be regretted that no one has consulted the original document since the publication of the first transcript.-It is difficult to understand why this formulary should be made the foundation of a theory, that Wodan and Odia are distinct personages. The well-known practice of the Scandinavian dialects, which suppresses the aspirate in all those words that in the cognate tongues begin with a ie, will sufficiently

account for the difference of orthography. That they occupied the same rank in the respective mythologies of the two great Teutonic stocks, is confirmed by the days named after them. In England we have had successively Wodnes-dag and Wednesday (prout Wensday). In Denmark it has been Odins-dagr and Oens-dag. It was from this circumstance, in all probability. coupled with the notion of Wodan's a Odin's psychopompic duties, that the Romans were induced to consider him as the same deity with their own Men cury. In an Etruscan paters published by Winkelmann and afterwards by Lanzi, this god is seen weighing the souls of Meninon and Achilles; which would afford another reason for the supposed affinity. But the worship of Odin as supreme God, like that of Dionysus in his mysteries, and perhaps of Osiris (see Zoega De Usu Obeliscorum). appears to have been a comparatively recent feature in the Northern creed Thunaer, Thor, was the Thunderer, and held the same precedence in Norway, the last refuge of his worship, that he does in the Francic renunciation. The day consecrated by his name was also the Northern subbath. There is an much affinity between some parts of the history of Odin, Dionysus, and Osins, that the name of either might be substituted in the respective accounts of Snorro, and the several writers on Greek and Ægyptian mythology, with out violating the general truth of the recital.

be specifically named, either admitted of an accommodating latitude in the interpretation, or was taken with considerable mental reservation. However this may be, we shall have no difficulty in believing that the expounders of the new religion were rarely free from those impressions which, imbibed in early infancy, the reason vainly struggles to eradicate in after life, and of which it may be said, that however little they generally appear to govern our external conduct, they always maintain their ground in the recesses of the mind. Few could have been bold enough to assert that the memorials of the past, and the alleged experience of the present, had no better foundation than the terrors and caprice of an over-heated imagination, or those illusions of the sense which owe their existence to disease or defective organization. Many must have retained a lurking conviction of the truth of their former belief; and even where this was not the case, the weapon which had been so successfully wielded in crushing the rule of Wodan, could only be exerted with diminished effect; since the same day which heard the proofs of his identity with the Evil One, also witnessed the suppression of that ceremonial which alone ensured the permanency of the public faith. On the other hand, the superstitions of the forest, the mountain, or the domestic hearth, were attended with but few rites, and those of such a nature as to be easily concealed from the general eye. The divinities ddressed were mostly local, either attached to particular places, persons, or things, and only petitioned or deprecated in matters of private interest. And however forcibly it might be urged that their interference in human affairs was only prompted by the machinations of Satan; yet as this was nothing better than a change of name in the cause, without denying the effect, and no equivalent agency was made to supply its place, these arguments only tended to corrupt without extirpating the obnoxious opinions. The consequence of such a

temporizing system,—but which, with reference to the state of society that it was called upon to influence, contains more practical wisdom than it has usually received credit for, -was a gradual amalgamation of the ancient and established faith. In those documents approaching nearest to the æra of a nation's conversion, such as the oldest Icelandic Sagas, we find the mention of these domestic deities attended with no diminution of their power, or derogation from their former rank. In later periods they are chiefly noticed to mark the malignancy of their disposition, or to ridicule their impotent pretensions, and occasionally they are brought forward to bear their reluctant testimony to the superiority of the dominant faith. From this source have emanated those recitals which exhibit to us either dwarfs or fairies expressing a desire of procuring the baptismal rite for their infant offspring; and those corruptions of a still later age, which represent their condition as only seemingly felicitous, and the joys and marvels of their subterranean abodes, as the mere varnished exterior of misery and filth. It is true, where the stream of tradition has continued pure, we still find them spoken of as the beneficent friends and protectors of mankind; as still in the enjoyment of their attributes and pleasures, their gardens of ever-blooming verdure, their adamantine palaces, their feasts, their revelry, their super-earthly and entrancing music. The Gael indeed has condemned his Daoine Shi' to the hollow mockery of these delights; but the Cymry, more faithful to the tenets of his ancestors, believes his Tylwyth Têg to be in the continuance of their former rights and happiness, which the folly

of the Northumbrian dwarf, who hoped for an ultimate though remote salvation. See notes to the Lady of the Lake. The better portion of the ancient demons were souls in a progressive advancement towards perfection, and on their return to their celestial birth-place.

[&]quot;Perhaps to these ought to be added "the paying the kane to hell;" but if, as it is believed, the whole fairy system be but another name for the ancient demonology, the fine may be explained upon other principles. The same argument will then apply to the declaration

sione of the human race has deprived the present generation from sharing in 3.

There will be no necessity for entering minutely into those embellishments of popular fiction, which owe their existence to a general belief in the powers of magic, sortilege, and divi**nation**. The conformity of practice between the ancient and modern world in their application of these several arts has been generally acknowledged, and no exclusive theory has obtained to account for the mode of their transmission. Warton indeed has observed, that "the Runic (Northern) magic is more like that of Canidia in Horace, the Romantic resembles that of Armida in Tasso:" but this is an artificial distinction, which had no existence in the popular creed, however much it may seem to be authorized by the documents to which he has referred. The magic of the North (like the poetry in which it is found) may in a great degree be considered as only a genial reflex of the practices of daily life; since many of the records preserving it were written at a period when the

See Grahame's Sketches, &c. quoted in the notes to the Lady of the Lake, and Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 156.

the cattle-spayer of Finland publicly chaunts the Runic rhyme, at the present day, with the same assurance of its efficacy with which the epode was sung by the priests of Pergamus and Epidaurus. Comp. Pind. Pyth. iii. 91. These arts, like their names, bore once a sacred character; and however much they may have been made to minister to the follies and vices of the multitude, in their decried and degraded state, they are clearly referable in their origin to one of the most exalted principles of our nature, or (to use the language of Prometheus) were first resorted to δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονὴν (Æsch. P. V. v. 494.). Their history may tend to confirm the axiom, —that the religious usages of one age often become the superstition of a succeeding one: but it will also teach the more consolatory doctrine, that the impulses of the human heart may be founded in error, without necessarily involving either malignity or crime.

[&]quot;It may be right to caution the render against a very common error, in which the motives that gave rise to the practice of magic and divination have been confounded with the criminal abuses that sprang from their use in later times. Poor human nature has fruities enough to answer for, without excribing to its "malignity" the invention of magic rites and ceremonies. Nothing can be more clear in this important chapter of the history of the human mind, than that the invocation and the charm have regularly descended from the exploded liturgies of the tem. ple; and that the discarded mantle of infant science has "rested on" the wizard and the crone. The beldame who mutters the spell over the bruise or the wound, only practises the same honourable "craft" which proved the divine descent of the Asclepiades; and

charms to produce the surprising effects noticed by Warton a might more or less be procured at every wizard's cell. The magic of romance with "the sublime solemnity of its necromantic machinery" was obviously a matter of only traditional's belief. A few vain pretenders to superior intelligence in the art, could alone have professed to accomplish its marvels, or some equally silly boasters to have witnessed them; and having sprung from the busy workings of the fancy in decorating the tamer elements of the popular faith, could have no other existence than in its own fictitious memorials. On this account it is of necessity wanting in all those poems which, like the early Icelandic songs, make the slightest pretensions to historical worth; and can only abound in such productions as either treat of subjects professedly mythological, or are the manifest creation of the writer's invention. An injudicious comparison of these very opposite kinds of composition, has clearly led to the erroneous opinion offered by Warton; and it will be sufficient to remark, that the legitimate spell of "grammarye" is to be found in the Odyssey, the Edda, and the popular tale as well as in those romances which suggested the use of it to Tasso. If more frequently resorted to in later compositions than in the earlier fictions, we must rather attribute this circumstance to the spirit of the times in which they were written, than to any want of faith in the auditors of a ruder age: the extravagant events of Beowulf's life might make

dated August 20, 1507. The venerable Abbot, after noticing several of his idle boasts, proceeds: In ultima quoque hujus anni quadragesima venit Stauronesum (Creutznach), et simili stultitia gloriosus de se pollicebatur ingentia, dicens se in Alchemia omnium qui fuerint unquam esse perfectisimum, et scire atque posse quicquid homines optaverint. See Görres Volks-bücher, p. 242.

See the Odyss. xiii. 190. Thor's adventures at Utgarda, Dæmesaga, 41. and Chaucer's Frankelein's Tale.

and Among these may be reckoned the mysterious personage, who in the sixteenth century availed himself of a widely circulated tradition to excite the public attention, and to invest himself with the title Faustus junior: Sic enim titulum sibi convenientem formavit magister Georgius Sabellicus Faustus junior, fons necromanticorum, astrologus, magus secundus, chiromanticus, agromanticus, pyromanticus, et in hydra arte secundus. Mr. Görres has given this passage from a letter of Trithemius,

many a bold romancer blush for the poverty of his imagi-

In referring to those various objects of inanimate nature whose marvellous attributes are usually classed among the chief attractions of romance, it will be equally unnecessary to enter largely into the question of their origin, as the recent bours of abler antiquaries 18 have clearly proved that we are not indebted to the middle age for their first appearance in popular poetry. For every purpose of the present inquiry, it will be sufficient to enumerate a few of the most important points of coincidence between the fictions of the ancient and modern world; and, in noticing some of the disguises under which a common idea has been made to pass from one narnative to another, to evince the fondness of popular taste for a constant recurrence of its favourite types. MM. Grimm have already shown that the fatal garment of Dejanira,—and which by Euripides has been connected with a later fable,—still lives in the German tale of Faithful John; and that no image is more common, or assumes a greater variety of forms, in the current fictions of their native country, than the insidious present sent by Vulcan to his mother Juno⁸⁴.

Another favourite symbol, and entering deeply into the decorations of romance, is the talisman of virtue, by which the frailties of either sex were exposed to public detection; and which Mr. Dunlop, with his accustomed accuracy, has referred to the trial at the Stygian fountain, and traced through the Greek romances of the Empire to the romances of chivalry and the pages of Ariosto. In the prose romance of Tristram, whence the poet of Ferrara most probably borrowed it, the ordeal consists in quaffing the beverage of a drinking-horn,

³⁸ See the preface and notes to the Kinder- und Haus-Märchen of MM. Grimm; and a valuable essay on the same subject contained in the Quarterly

Review, No. xxxvii.

M Kinder- und Haus-Märchen, vol. üi.
p. 19 and 149.

which no sooner approaches the culprit's lips, than the contents are wasted over his person. In Perceforest and in Amadis, a garland and rose, which "bloom on the head of her who is faithful, and fade upon the brow of the inconstant," are the proofs of the appellant's purity: and in the ballad published by Dr. Percy, of the Boy and the Mantle, where the same test is introduced, the minstrel poet has adhered to the traditions of Wales, which attribute a similar power to the mantle, the knife, and the goblet of Tegau Euroron, the chaste and lovely bride of Caradoc with the strong arm 85. From hence it may have been transferred to the girdle of Florimel, in the Fairy Queen; while Albertus Magnus, in affirming that "a magnet placed beneath the pillow of an incontinent woman will infallibly eject her from her bed," has preserved to us the vulgar, and perhaps the earliest, belief on the subject. The glass of Agrippa, which, till our own times, played a distinguished part in the history of the gallant Surry, has been recently made familiar to the reader's acquaintance by the German story of Snowdrop⁸⁷. But this, in all probability, has only descended to us from a mirror preserved near the temple of Ceres at Patras; or one less artificially constructed, though more miraculously gifted, a well near the oracle of Apollo Thurxis, in Lycia 88. The zone of Hippolyte[®], which gave a supernatural vigour to

supply, would greatly increase our obligation to them.

⁸⁵ Jones's Bardic Museum, p. 60; from whence all the subsequent notices of British marvel have been taken.

This power is given to the magnet, in the Orphic poem on Stones, v. 314, &c.

See the German Tales from the Kinder- und Haus-Märchen of MM. Grimm, p. 133. It is to be hoped that the ingenious translators of this collection will continue their labours. The nature of their plan seems to have excluded many of the tales most interesting to an antiquary; but a supplementary volume, containing some of these, accompanied with that illustration which the translators appear so well able to

See Pausanias, vii. 21. The former only exhibited the person and condition of health of the party inquired after;—the latter displayed whatever was desired.

Elχι δὶ 'Ιστελύτη τὸν Αριος ζωστῆρα, σύμθολον τοῦ πρωτιύων ἀπασῶν. Apollod. Bibl. ii. 5. 9. In Parsee lore the girdle was a symbol of power over Ahriman. In the Little Rose-garden, the belt of Thor has descended to king Laurin. Weber, p. 158. The ring given by the lady Similt to her brother Dietlieb, also ensured victory to him who wore it. Ib. p. 164.

the "thews and limbs" of the wearer, is not to be distinguished from the girdle of the Norwegian Thor; and there can be little doubt, that the brisingamen of Freyia, which graced the person of the same pugnacious deity on his visit to Thrymheim, is the cestus of Venus under another name and form. Without possessing either the ægis-hialmr of the Edda, or the ægis of Minerva, it might be dangerous to assert that these petrifying objects are verbally identical; since nothing short of their terrific power would be a sufficient protection against the host of Hellenic philologers, whom such a declaration would infallibly call to arms 91. In obedience, therefore, to the dictates of "the better part of valour," it will be most prodent to remark, that they strikingly agree in their appalling attributes, and that the thunderer of Norway was as efficiently armed for combat as his brother of Olympus. This. egis-hialmr is affirmed to have been the crafty workmanship of the dwarfs, the reputed authors of every "cunning instrument" in Northern fiction; and who manufactured for An the Bow-swinger and Orvar Odd those highly-tempered arrows which, like the fabled dart of Procris, never missed their object; and having inflicted a mortal wound, returned to the bowstring which had emitted them⁹². Another specimen of

pidly, to be violently agitated; and hence airie, the tempestuous wind, and air, the appellation given to the stormy Capella, or the star whose rising was productive of hurricanes. The ægis-bearing Jupiter of Virgil is the cloud-compeller—nimbosque cieret, Æn. viii. 354. For the same reason, and not from his goatish form, we may be assured the god of Arcadia, the author of the Panic terror, was called Ægipan. In Icelandic "ægir" means the stormy sea; and in Anglo-Saxon we have "eggian" to excite, "eg-stream" a torrent, "ege" fear, and "egesian" to scare.

²² Compare Muller's Saga-Bibliothek, p. 532-41, with Hyginus, ed. Staveren, p. 189.

See Sæmund's Edda, Thryms-Quida.

Airis may have meant a breastplate or believe made of goat-skin, just as serie meant a skull-cap or helmet made of dog-skin; but the fable on which the Greek grammarians have accounted for the application of the term to the armour of Jupiter and his daughter, is an idle fabrication. The qualities of this weapon undoubtedly had some connexion with its name:

άρφι δας ώμωση βάλιτ αιγίδα Ιυσσανί-

ioù, i Hepi men παντή 4080Σ Extefanoto. Il. v. 738.

The verb aires, from whence this term takes its derivation, meant—to move ra-

their ingenuity is the ship of Freyr, called Skidbtadnir, which though sufficiently spacious to contain the whole tribe of the Asæ, with their arms and equipments, was yet so artfully contrived, that it might be folded like a handkerchief and castried about in the pocket. The sails of this extraordinary vessel were no sooner hoisted than a favourable wind sprang up; an attribute which has descended to another ornament of Icelandic fable, the bark Ellide: but this, like the first, and oftenest sung, of ancient ships, was also gifted with the power of understanding human speech. Homer, however, has told us, that the fleets of Alcinous combined the advantage of the favouring gale with an intelligence which enabled them to divine the wishes of those they bore, and that they also had the power of reaching their destined port without the assistance of a helmsman or a guide.

So shalt thou instant reach the realm assign'd,
In wondrous ships, self-moved, instinct with mind:
No helm secures their course, no pilot guides,
Like men intelligent, they plough the tides;
Conscious of every coast and every bay
That lies beneath the sun's alluring ray.

In other fictions common to the ancient and modern world, this idea has been improved on, and applied to a vast variety of objects for conveying the person from place to place. Herodotus, with his characteristic love of the marvellous, (tempered as this passion was by an unrivalled perception of the truth,) found it impossible to pass unnoticed the fable of Abaris and his dart. He has, however, only mentioned the common tradition of his day, that it transported the Hyperborean philosopher wherever he wished, and left to Jamblichus the further particulars of its history. From the Pythago-

Edda of Snorro, Dæmesaga 37. p. 459 and 592.

Muller's Saga-Bibliothek, vol. ii. Melpom. c. 36.

men romance of this writer we learn, that Abaris had procured it in the temple of the Hyperborean Apollo; and that in addition to the services it had rendered him in his several journeys "by flood and field," it had assisted him in performing lustrations, expelling pestilences, and allaying the fury of the winds s. The place of its deposit clearly shows it to have been the me miraculous weapon employed by the Delian god in destroying the Cyclops; for another authority informs us, he buried this fatal dart in an Hyperborean mountain, and that when banished from Olympus, it was daily borne to him on the winds, laden with all the fruits of the season⁹⁷. In this latter attribute it becomes identified with the horn of Amalthæa, and serves to explain the mystery overlooked by Jamblichus, how Abaris, like another Epimenides, might devote his time to the service of the gods, and yet never be seen to eat or drink. In the traditions of Wales, this dart has been accommodated to the more stately fashions of later times; and one of the thirteen marvellous productions of Britain is the car of Morgan, which carried the possessor to whatever district he desired. But here again we have only another form for the talaria of the Nymphs, with which Perseus winged his way to the residence of Medusa; or the ring in the German tale, The King of the Golden Mountain,—while in the popular story of Fortunatus it assumes the humbler guise of a wishing-cap, and in the relations of the Kurds, and the history of Tom Thumb, it has descended to the lowly shape of a pair of seven-leagued boots. Another object enumerated among the thirteen marvellous productions of Britain, is the veil or mask of Arthur, which had the power of rendering the wearer's person invisible, without interrupting his view of the things around him. In other fables of the same country, this property is also given to the ring of Eluned⁹⁸, the Lunet of the old English romance

[&]quot;Jamblichus, Vit. Pythag. c. 19. 28. "Mr. Jones calls Eluned the lover of Owain; which if correct, would justify

of Ywaine and Gawaine: and in several German tales the here is made to conceal himself from the "ken" of his companional by the assistance of an enchanted cloak. The romance king Laurin, and the far-famed Nibelungen-lied, follow the general traditions of the North, which confine this mysterional attribute to a nebel-kappe, or fog-cap. But however varied the objects to which this quality has been assigned, we cannot fail to recognise the same common property which distinguished the helm of Pluto, worn by Perseus in his combat with Medusa, or the equally notorious ring of Gyges, whose history has been recorded by Plato. Without detaining the reader to trace the lyre of Hellenic fable through the hands of its several possessors, from Mercury to Amphion—

Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis
Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda
Ducere quo vellet—
Hor. Ar. Poet. v. 393.

we may proceed to remark, that the earliest notice of its occurrence in Northern fiction is to be found in the mythology of Finland. Waïnämöinen, the supreme god of the Finnish Olympus, was the inventor of a stringed instrument called the kandele, which, resembling a kit in its construction, is still played as a guitar. "When this beneficent deity presented the result of his labours to mankind, no mortal hand possessed the skill to awake its harmonies, till the god himself.

a conclusion, that the Welsh and English romances follow a different tradition. In the Heldenbuch this ring is given to Otnit by his mother. Weber, p. 49.

The Repub. iii. p. 359. Plate has most vexatiously dismissed a part of the history of this ring with a mai.... äλλα σε λλ ά μυθολογοῦνες, little thinking that the modern antiquary would have been more beholden to him for information on this head, than for all the subtleties of the Cratylus, or the speculations of

the Parmenides. Eucrates, in Lucian's Philopseudes, unblushingly affirms that he had one of these rings in his possession, and had used it on a very trying occasion. The ancients explained the helm of Pluto to be an impervious cloud surrounding the person of the wearer (such no doubt as is described in the Little Garden of Roses): but the passage in which this illustration is given, cannot be more specifically referred to than by citing the Scholia to Pluto published by Rühnken.

touching the strings, and accompanying its notes with his voice, caused the birds in the air, the beasts of the field, and the fishes of the sea to listen attentively to the strain, and even Wainamöinen was moved to tears, which fell like pearls adown his robe 100." This account, which is literally copied from Finnish tradition, will lose nothing by a comparison with the Grecian fable of Orpheus, and will recall to the reader's memory the celebrated gem representing Pan, the Grecian Wäinămöinen, playing upon his pipe in the centre of the ecliptic. The fictions of our own country, or more correctly speaking those of Scotland and Wales, have substituted the harp, as a more decidedly national instrument, for the lyre and kandele, and bestowed it upon two native musicians, Glaskyrion and Glenkindie, if indeed we are justified in separating these persons in. The former is the hero of a well-known ballad in Dr. Percy's Reliques, (vol. iii. p. 84,) and is placed by Chaucer in the same rank of eminence with the son of Calliope:

There herde I play on a harpe,
That sowned both well and sharpe,
Hym Orpheus full craftily;
And on this side fast by,

Mone's continuation of Creutzer, i. p. 54. But this tradition appears to have found its way into Scotland. In a singular composition, published by Sir Walter Scott, "An Interlude on the laying of a Gaist," we find the following allusion to it:

And sune mareit the gaist the fle,
And cround him king of Kandelie;
And they gat them betwene,
Orpheus king and Elpha quene.
Minstrelsy, vol. i. p. 164.

Mr. Jamieson seems to consider Glenkindie a corruption of some local name, which has been substituted for Glakyrion. There can be no doubt but the ballad published by him, as well as that in Dr. Percy's collection, refers to

the same personage; but who this celebrated harper may have been, whether a native of Wales, Scotland, or any other country, is not so clear. The same rationale will also apply to the name.—It is to be regretted that a gentleman so eminently qualified as Mr. Jamieson to illustrate the popular antiquities of his native country, should have abandoned a career in which he has already attained so much distinction, and might have acquired still greater. His name must ever be held in estimation by the friends of Warton's fame, for the spirited manner in which he shook off the trammels of the Ritsonian school, in his first publication, and vindicated the tasteful labours of Warton and Dr. Percy.

Sate the harper Orion (Amphion?)
And Eacides, Chirion,
And other harpers many one,
And the Briton Glaskyrion.

House of Fame.

The powers of Glenkindie's harp exceed all that has been said of its rival instruments:

He'd harpit a fish out o saut water,
Or water out o' a stane,
Or milk out o' a maiden's breast,
That bairn had never nane.

From hence the transition to the horn of Oberon, "which if softly sounded would make every one dance who was not of an irreproachable character;" or the harp of Sigurd's, which caused inanimate objects to caper in the wildest confusion, was but an easy step. In popular story the same qualities have been conferred upon the fiddle of the German tale The Jew in the Bush, and the pipe of Jack in The mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye, and have thus developed the opposite and contrasting elements contained in this as in every other fable, and without which no mythos seems to be complete.

A still more favourite ornament of popular fiction is the highly-gifted object, of whatever form or name, which is to supply the fortunate owner with the gratification of some particular wish, or to furnish him with the golden means of satisfying every want. In British fable this property has been given to the dish or napkin of Rhydderch the Scholar, which like the table, or table-cloth, introduced into a variety of German tales, no sooner received its master's commands, than it became

have had much the same effect upon their respective flocks. See pp. 25. 111. 112. (ed. Villoison.) The pipe of Pan, in the same romance, equals any thing recorded of its modern parallels.

Jamieson's Scottish Ballads, vol. i. p. 93.

Herraud of Bosa's Saga, p. 49-51. The pipes of Dorco and Daphnis, in the pastoral romance of Longus, seem to

covered with a sumptuous banquet. The counterpart of Rhydderch's dish is to be found in another British marvel, the horn of Bran, which spontaneously produced whatever liquor was called for: and a repetition of the same idea occurs in the goblet given by Oberon to Huon of Bourdeaux, which in the hands of a good man became filled with the most costly wine. In Fortunatus, and those tales which are either imitations of his adventures or copied from a common original, an inexhaustible purse is made to meet the demands of every occasion; while in others a bird, a tree, and even the human person, are made to generate in the same miraculous manner a daily provision of gold 104. A modification of the same idea is also found in the basket of Gwyddno, which no sooner received a deposit of food for one, than the gift became multiplied into a supply for a hundred; or in those stories where the charity bestowed upon the houseless wanderer, is rewarded by an endless stock of some requisite article of subsistence 105. In Hellenic fable, we have already seen the dart of Apollo enabling Abaris to live without appearing to partake of sustenance; and the narrative of Cleombrotus, also noticed before, seems to imply some similar resource on the part of his Eastern traveller. Another mysterious personage of early Grecian fable, and whose goetic practices, like those of Abaris, have secured for him a dubious is Epimenides the Cretan. Of him we are also told that he was never known to eat, but that he allayed his hunger by occasionally tasting a precious edible bestowed upon him by the Nymphs; and which he carefully kept preserved in an

Mr. Görres has observed, in speaking of Fortunatus, that the story of the goese which laid a golden egg is only a variation of this prolific subject; and that the history of the world contains little more than a kind of Argonautic expedition after the same golden fleece. For the other particulars referred to in the text, see Kinder-und Haus-Märchen, No. 60. 122. 130.

MM. Grimm's collection. The note on this story contains references to the same idea in the fictions of Greece, China, and India. It seems to have escaped these learned German antiquaries, that a much earlier notice of the same miraculous agency is to be found in the "widow's cruse" of the Old Testament, 2 Kings, chap. iv.

ox's hoof 166. The popular creed of Attica, which seems to have delighted in investing the Theban Hercules with much the same absurdities that Northern fable has gathered round. the person of Thor, had recourse to a similar invention as the. only appropriate means of appeasing this divinity's ravenous appetites. It has accordingly conferred upon him the horn of Amalthæa, the fruit of his victory over the river-god Achelous; and of which the earliest tradition on record has given the popular view of its powers, that it never failed to produce a constant store of food 107. As such, it becomes identified with the Æthiopian table of the sun, mentioned by Herodotus 108; but in later fictions this idea has been refined into a horn, containing every possible delicacy of the vegetable kingdom, overflowing with all earthly good, and conferring wealth and prosperity upon every one who might chance to possess it 109.

¹⁶⁶ See Diogenes Laertius, ed. Menage, vol. i. p. 73.

v. 433. and Pherecydes in Apollod. Bibl. ii. 7. 5.

105 See Herod. iii. 18. Mela, c. 10. (quæ passim apposita sunt, affirmant innasci subinde divinitus): and Solinus, c. 30.

See the Scholiast to Lucian's Rhet. Præcept., and Eustathius, as before. The "Navigium" of the same writer contains some curious allusions to different points of popular belief, and which may be compared with the subjects treated of in the text. One of the parties wishes for a set of rings to endow him with the following qualities and advantages: a never-failing store of health; a person invulnerable, invisible, of irresistible charms, and having the concentrated strength of 10,000 men; a power of flying through the air, of entering every dwelling-house strongly secured, and of casting a deep sleep upon whom he chose. Another person in the same piece asks for the wand of Mercury, which is to ensure him an inexhaustible supply

of gold. For this wand of wealth and luck, see the Homeric Hymn to Mercury, v. 529; and compare Epict. ap. Arrian. Diss. iii. 20. p. 435. ed. Schweigh., where it is said to convert every thing it touched into gold. This idea of its power found an early circulation in the North; for one of the Glossaries publish ed by Professor Nyerup, in his Symbol. Teut., and certainly not of a later date than the tenth century, translates caduceuma, uunshiligarta. The Vilkina Saga mentions a ring which is to excite affection in the wearer towards the donor, (Müller, p. 233.) and the love-stone of Helen is well-known. Servius (ad Æn.iii. 279.) notices an ointment, prepared by Venus, which had similar powers. The Horny Siegfried becomes invulnerable by bathing in the blood of a slaughtered dragon; and Medea gave Jason an ointment producing the same effect for the space of four-and-twenty hours. (Apollod. Bibl. i. 9. 23.) Orvar Odd had a kirtel which was to preserve him against death by fire or water, hunger or the sword, so long as he never turned his back upon a foe. Müller, 583.

This necessarily brings us to the history of the holy Graal¹⁰, or a sacred cup, which in the house of king Pecheur "appeared daily at the hour of repast, in the hands of a lady, who carried it three times round the table, which was immediately replenished with all the delicacies the guests could desire." The origin of this miraculous vessel, and the manner of its transmission to Europe, are thus related by Robert Borron¹¹.

The connexion between these symbels, a horn and a cup, will be apparest, on recollecting that the former was the most ancient species of drinking-vessel both among Greeks and Barberians. See Athen. xi. c. 51. Xenophon also notices the application of horns to the same purpose among the Thraciens. Anab. vii. 2. 23: and it will be needless to offer any examples from the well-known customs of Western Europe. It will also be evident why both these utensils should be chosen as the types of fecundity, abundance, and vivification, when we remember that both were the receptacles of that element, which was either the symbol of life, (ζωης τὸ ύγρὸν riplicator, Proclus in Timeum, p. 318,) er the principal cooperating power in reneration (συνιεγεί γάς γενίσει....σδ Rag. Porphyrius de Antro Nymph. c. 17.) Hence the cornucopia was bestowed upon all those deities who presided over fertility or human prosperity; spon Achelous and the Nile, Bonus Eventus and Annona, from their share in fostering the fruits of the earth; upon Tyche or Fortuna, the Agatho-dæmon, the tutelary Genii of towns or persons, (such as the Roman emperors,) the Lares, &c. from their beneficial aid in the direction of human affairs. A cornucopia of good fortune has already been noticed in the possession of the Northern Elves or Fays; and one of the Nymphs in the celebrated relievo of Callimachus leads the way with this identical symbol. On the same principle, we meet with a Demeter Poteriophorus, and a Rhea Craterophorus, the Bonæ Deæ and Magnæ Matres of the ancient world; and the modius of Serapis, the giver and the receiver, is clearly referable to the same source. (Serapidis capiti mo-

dius superpositus, quia indicet vitam mortalibus frugum largitate præberi. Rufinus Hist. Eccles. ii. 23.) For further illustration of this copious subject, see Mr. Creuzer's Dionysus, sive Commentationes Academicæ de Rerum Bacchicarum Orphicarumque Originibus et Causis; Heidelbergæ 1808.

111 Mr. Ritson has declared Robert Borron to be "a man of straw." But as he has offered no authority for such an assertion, the mere auris ioa of this critic is not likely to have much weight beyond his school. The Vatican manuscript, No. 1687, commences with these words, "Mesir Robert de Boron, qui cheste estore translata de Latin en Romance, par le commandement de sainte eglise:" and no one can for a moment doubt the influence of the Romish priesthood, in the peculiar colouring given to the narrative. Mr. Ritson has also been a strenuous opponent of all such declarations as claim a Latin, Greek, or Arabic original for the subject-matter recorded. There may be occasional grounds for scepticism on this point; but the sweeping incredulity which rejects every assertion of the kind, is equally prejudicial to a right knowledge of the subject, with the easy faith it affects to despise. know the mutations inflicted upon the " Seven Wise Masters" prior to its receiving an English dress; a variety of Italian tales and French fabliaux are of Arabic or Oriental origin; Greek fable must have been the immediate source of Alexander's story; the expedition of Attila, and Amis and Amillion still exist in Latin verse; and "Walther [of Aquitain's] and Hildegund's flight from Attila, was sung in Latin hexameters, on the model of Virgil and Lucan, by Eckhart, a priest of St. Galle

"The day on which the Saviour of the world suffered, death was destroyed, and our life restored: on that day there were few who believed on him; but there was a knight named Joseph of Arimathæa, (a fine city in the land of Aromat). In this city Joseph was born, but had come to Jerusalem seven years before our Lord was crucified, and had embraced the Christian faith; but did not dare to profess it for fear of the wicked Jews. He was full of wisdom, free from envy and pride, and charitable to the poor. This Joseph was at Jerusalem with his wife and son, who was also named Joseph. His father's family crossed the sea to that place which is now called England. but was then called Great Britain; and crossed it 'sans aviron au pan de sa chemise 124.' Joseph had been in the house where Jesus Christ took his last supper with his apostles; he there found the plate off which the Son of God had eaten; he possessed himself of it, carried it home, and made use of it to collect the blood which flowed from his side, and his other wounds; and this plate is called the Saint Graal." This, however, is only the Breton or British account of the Saint Graal. The German romancers have followed a different version of its history, and derive their knowledge of the subject, though

(An. 973)." The Anglo-Saxon fragment of Judith was not taken directly from the Apocryphal narrative The variations indeed from this document are, generally speaking, of such a kind as any translator might be supposed to indulge in, without our having recourse to another original. But in one passage we meet with a very distinct mention of a musquito-net, an article of furniture not specified in the Book of Judith, which could not have been in use in these Northern realms, and of which the account must have travelled from the countrica situated on the Mediterranean Sea. The original legend or romance must hence have been composed in a Southern dialect and those who remember the alleged profesency of the Anglo-Saxon

monks in Greek, may be induced to fix their election on that language. The immediate source from whence the Scop derived his narrative, is of course beyond our inquiry; but such a fact will teach us circumspection in forming any general theory as to the transmission of romantic fictions. Apollonius of Tyre, another Greek romance, also exists in Anglo-Saxon prose.

the British account has been extracted from a version of Borron's prologue, in the British Bibliographer, vol. 1. The translator has there rendered "sams aviron, without ears." The original has been given in the text from Roquefort's Glossary it contains no verbal obscurity, but the allusion is not intelli-

gible to the writer of this note.

indirectly, from an Oriental source. The Titurel and Parcifal of Wolfram von Eschenbach are respectively devoted to the discovery and the quest of this miraculous vessel: and in both we find a similar account of its powers to that given in the narrative of Robert Borron. The circumstances, however, and the agents which have been connected with it, are wholly different from those contained in the rival version. The name of Arthur is more sparingly introduced than in the Western fiction; and the theatre of its most important events is laid in either Asia ar Africa. The immediate source of Eschenbach's poem was a Provençal romance written by one Kyot or Guiot. Of this writer nothing further appears to be known, than the memorial of his labours preserved in the Parcifal of his German translator, and a notice of his strictures upon Chretien de Troyes¹⁴, who, like most of the Norman troveurs, seems to have drawn his materials from an Armorican source. Wolfram's poem we gather, that Master Kyot obtained his first knowledge of the Graal from a manuscript he discovered at Toledo. This volume was written in a heathen character, of which the troubadour was compelled to make himself master; and the baptismal rite enabled him to accomplish this arduous task without the aid of necromancy. The author of this mysterious record was a certain heathen astronomer, Flegetanis by name, who on the mother's side traced up his genealogy to king Solomon; but having a Saracen father, he had adhered to his paternal faith, and worshiped a calf. Flegetanis was deeply versed in all the motions of the heavenly bodies; and

The language of Eschenbach is thus given by Mr. Görres from the printed edition of the Parcifal:

Ob von Troys meister Christian, Diesem Maere hat Unrecht getan, Daz (des) mach wohl zurnen Kyot, Der unz die rechten Maere enbot.

These notices of Eschenbach's poems have been collected from Mr. Gorres' preface to Lohengrin, an old German romance, founded on the same fiction as the Chevelere Assigne. (See vol. ii. 151.)

i. e. Since Master Christian of Troyes has done this tale an injustice, Kyot may well be angry, who has presented us with the right narrative.

in the hallowed volume deposited at Toledo, he had carefully inscribed the result of his nocturnal studies. But the book contained nothing more than the astronomer had really read most mysteriously depicted in the skies^{ns}. Even the name of the Graal was there emblazoned, together with the important fact, that a band of spirits had left it behind them upon earth, as they winged their way to their celestial abodes.

The acquisition of this knowledge stimulated Kyot to further inquiries; and he proceeded to search in Latin books for the name of that people which had been considered worthy of guarding the Graal. He perused the chronicles of Brittany, France and Ireland, without much success; but in the annals of Anjou he found the whole story recounted: he there read a complete history of Mazadan and his race, how Titurel brought the Graal to Amfortas, whose sister Herzelunde became the wife of Gamuret and the mother of Parcifal. This is clearly borrowed from the proeme of Kyot. Divested of its extraordinary colouring, we may receive it as amounting to this: that Kyot was indebted to an Arabic original for some of his details, and that the rest were collected from European records of the same fiction. The truth of this is supported by the internal evidence. The scene for the most part is not only laid in the East, but a large proportion of the names are of decidedly Oriental origin. The Saracens are always spoken of with consideration; Christian knights unhesitatingly enroll themselves under the banner of the Caliph; no trace of religious animosities is to be found between the followers of the Crescent and the Cross; and the Arabic appellations of the seven planets are thus distinctly enumerated: Zwal (Zuhael),

what is said of the aspis Eccidemon and the fish Galeotes. The latter is intimately connected with the Northern fiction relative to the Nicors, so frequently mentioned in Beowulf.

In the work already referred to, Mr. Görres has endeavoured to prove that Flegetanis must have had a Greek original before him. Of this, or at least of the adoption of Greek traditions, there is the most convincing proof in

Saturn; Musteri, Jupiter; Muret (Meryt), Mars; Samsi (Shems), the Sun; Alligasir (the brilliant), Venus; Kitr (Kedr, the obscure), Mercury; Kamer (Kæmer), the Moon. Whether the name of Parcifal be taken from the Arabic Parsé or Parseh Fal, the pure or the poor dummling, as conjectured by Mr. Görres, must be left to the decision of the Oriental scholar: but the narrative already given affords a strong corroboration of his opinion, that Flegetanis is a corruption of Felek-daneh, an astronomer.

The Breton and Provençal fictions, as we have seen, unite in bringing this mysterious vessel from the East, a quarter of the globe whose earliest records present us with a marvellous cap, as extraordinary in its powers as any thing attributed to the Graal. Such a cup is well known to have occupied a conspicuous place among the traditions of the Jews, and from the Patriarch Joseph 16, the chaste and provident minister of Pharach, to have descended to the great object of Hebrew veneration and glory, the illustrious king Solomon 117. It will, therefore, be no matter of surprise to those who remember the ta-

disketh? And whereby indeed he disint! Gen. xliv. 5. In Norden's time the custom of divining by a cup was still customed. "Je sais," dit Baram Cashef the Derri au Juif, qui servoit d'entresetteur aux voyageurs Européens, "quelles gens vous etes; j'ai consulté ma supe, et j'y ai trouvé, que vous etiez ceux, dont un de nos prophêtes a dit, qu'il viendroit des Francs travestis, qui traite enfin venir un grand nombre l'autres Francs, qui feroient la conquête th pays, et examineroient tout." Voyage l'Egypte et de Nubie, iii. 68. The le-casomanty of the Greeks is well known.

The Clavicula Salomonis contains a singular variation of this fiction. The supernatural knowledge of Solomon was recorded in a volume, which Rehoboam inclosed in an ivory ewer, and deposited in his father's tomb. On repairing the reyal sepulchre, some wise men of Baby-

lon discovered the cup, and having extracted the volume, an angel revealed the key to its mysterious writing to one Troes a Greek: and hence the stream of occult science, which has so beneficially unfolded the destinies of the West. A parallel fable is found in Messenian story. When the Lacedæmonians stormed the fortress on mount Ira, Aristomenes, warned by the Delphic oracle, secreted in the earth some unknown article, which was to be a future talisman of security to his unfortunate country-After the battle of Leuctra, the Argive commander Epiteles was directed in a dream to exhume this mysterious deposit. It was then discovered to be a brazen ewer, containing a roll of finely beaten tin, on which were inscribed the mysteries of the great divinities (TW) HIyálas Isas.... á tilitá. Paus. iv. c. 20.

hismanic effect of a name in the general history of fiction, that a descendant of this distinguished sovereign should be found to write its history; or that another Joseph should be made the instrument of conveying it to the kingdoms of Western Europe. In Persian fable, the same miraculous vessel has been bestowed upon the great Jemshid , the pattern of per fect kings, in whose reign the golden age was realized in Iran and under whose mild and beneficent sway it became a land of undisturbed felicity. On digging the foundations of Estakar (Persepolis), this favourite of Ormuzd, and his legitimate representative upon earth, discovered the goblet of the Sun and hence the cause of all those blessings which attended him prosperous reign, and his unbounded knowledge of both terrestrial and celestial affairs. From the founder of the Persian monarchy it passed into the hands of Alexander the Great " the hero of all later Oriental fiction; and Ferdusi introduces the Macedonian conqueror addressing this sacred cup as "the ruling prince of the heavenly bodies, and as the auspicious emblem of his victorious career." By other Eastern poets it has been referred to as a symbol of the world, and the fecundating powers of Nature; while others again have considered it as the source of all true divination and augury, of the

" Giam en Perse signifie un coupe ou verre à boire et un nuroir. Les Orientaux, qui fabriquent cette espece de vases ou ustensiles de toutes sortes des metaux austi bien que de verre on de crystal, et en plusieurs figures differentes, mais qui approchent toutes de spherique, donnent aussi ce nom à un globe celeste. Ils disent, que l'ancien roi Cianschid, qui est le Salomon des Perses, et Alexandre le Grand, avoient de ces coupes, globes, ou miroirs, par le moyen desquels ils connoissoient toutes les choses naturels, et quelquefois même les surnaturelles. La coupe qui servoit à Joseph le Patriarche pour deviner, et celle de Nestor dans Homère, où toute la nature étoit répresentée symboliquement,

ont pu fournir aux Orientaux le sujet de cette fiction. Un poete Turc dit, Lorsque j'aurai été éclairé des lumières du ciel, mon ame deviendra le nuroir du monde, dans lequel je decouvrai les sucrets les plus caches." Herbelot Biblioth. Orient, s. v. Gum.

palatium suum, gyrantes exierunt Greeci locis suis, et læti non viderunt noctem regis, (viderunt autem) quatuor pocula. Gyrantibus ita locutus est (Alexander): Salvi estote, lætamini hoc fausto omina nostro, hic enim scyphus in pugna est salus nostra, princeps siderum est in postestate nostra." Shahnameh, as quoted in Wilkins's Persian Chrestomathia, p. 171, and Creuzer's Dionysus, p. 62.

mysterious arts of chemistry, and the genuine philosopher's stone. A goblet of the Sun also forms a favourite object in Grecian fable. On approaching the shores of the Western Ocean, this divinity was supposed to abandon his chariot, and, placing himself in a cup, to be borne through the centre of the earth. Having visited (according to Stesichorus) his mother, wife and children, he then proceeded to the opposite point of the hemisphere, where another car awaited his arrival, with which he resumed his diurnal course. The Theban Hercules, the original type of all erratic champions, once ventured to stack the son of Hyperion; but on being reproved for his tenerity he withheld his hand, and received as a reward for his obedience the golden chalice of the god. This he now acended; and during a furious storm, excited for the purpose of putting his courage to the test, he traversed the ocean in it till he reached the western island of Erythæa¹²². The Pla-

In the article already referred to, Herbelot says, The Persian poets make of this cup, "tantot le symbole de la nature et du monde, tantot celui du vin, qualquefois celui de la divination et des argures, et enfin de la chymie, et de la pierre philosophale."

See the fragments of this mythos, as variously related in Athenaus, lib. in p. 469-70. Mimnermus calls it the much of the Sun, in allusion, as Athenaus observes, to the concave form of the cap. This seems to have been a common metonymy; for in the passage abandy cited from Pausanias, the brazen tear deposited by Aristomenes, is termed a brazen bed by the old man who appeared to Epiteles in his dream.

From the Grecian terminology of their drinking-vessels, it is clear that a cap and a ship were originally correlative items; and the catalogue of Atheneus (ih. xi.) recites several words indiscriminately implying either the one or the other. The twofold import of these terms will tend to explain an apparent deviation on the part of the Greeks and Romans, from the general type adopted by other nations in the form of their re-

ceptacles for the dead. The vase or urn of the former, the larnax of Egypt, the ship or boat of Western Europe, and the canoe of the American savage, are all connected with the same primitive idea expressed in the Welsh apophthegm; "Pawb a ddaw i'r Ddavar Long—Every one will come into the ship of the earth. By whatever steps the Greek proceeded from his simple bowl or boat, to all the luxury of form displayed in his cinereal urns, the larnax, ship, or coffin, of other nations was by no means a needful accommodation to the doctrine, which forbade the incremation of the dead. The ashes of Balldur (Dæmesaga, c. 43.) were deposited in the ship Hringhorne, the body of Scyld (Beowulf, c. 1.) in a bark laden with arms and raiment, and committed to the guidance of the ocean. The varying language of the Iliad seems to countenance a similar distinction between Greek and Phrygian rites. ashes of Patroclus are consigned to a golden cup (is χευσίην φιάλην, xxiii. 253); those of Hector to a golden ark or coffer (χρυσιίην is λάρνακα, xxiv. 795. Compare Thucydides ii. 34); for it is by no means clear, that the latter term ever

tonists have dwelt at large upon Hercules thus completing his labours in the West; and connecting this circumstance with the fancied position of the islands of the blest, have implied that it was here he overcame the vain illusions of a terrestrial life, and that henceforth he resided in the realms of truth and eternal light. With them, as in the school from whence their leading dogmas were derived—the mysteries of Paganism—a cup is the constant symbol of "vivific power;" and this goblet of the Sun becomes the same type of regeneration and a return to a better life, with the Graal of romantic fiction. version of the contest between Hercules and the Sun, or Apollo, transfers the scene of action to Delphi, and makes the... object of strife between these heaven-born kinsmen the celebrated tripod of the oracle. But in the symbolical language of Greece, a tripod and a goblet (crater) were synonymous terms 123: and the grammarians have informed us, that from this combat between the brothers, and their subsequent reconciliation, arose the prophetic powers of Hercules. however be remembered, that the translators of the Septuagint, in their version of the Hebrew text, have rendered the divining cup of Joseph by the Greek term "Condy." Of this vessel Athenæus has preserved the following account from Nicomachus. The name of this cup is Persian. It originally meant the celestial lantern of Hermes, which in form resem-

implied an urn, however much such an interpretation might be justified by analogy. We are not, however, to infer, that either of these utensils was the emblem of death or annihilation, or that this application to funereal purposes was in any way at variance with the Platonic doctrine of the text. For as the cup or vase was the symbol of vivific power, of generation, or an earthly existence, so also it was the type of regeneration, or a continued life in a happier and more exalted state. The savage is buried in his canoe, that he may be conveyed to the residence of departed souls; the

Greek was taught in the mysteries, that the Dionysic vase would be a passport to the Elysian fields; and the religion of Egypt enjoined, that every worshipper of Osiris should appear before his subterranean judge in the same kind of receptacle as that which had inclosed the mortal frame of this divinity. It only remains to observe, that a boat of glass was the symbol of initiation into the Druidical mysteries. Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 211.

122 Και το υπητήριον έν Διονύσου, τρίπους हैर्रों हैरे न्वर्रोंन क्लेक्टरेक क्वें Aterbeou, क्लेंच

neurifea. Athenæus ii. 143.

bled the world, and was at once the source of the divine marvels, and all the fruits that abound upon earth. On this account it is used in libations¹²⁴." The reader of Plato will have no difficulty in connecting this mundane cup with the first crater, in which the Demiurgus of the universe mixed the materials of his future creation; in which the soul of the world was tempered to its due consistency, and from whence the souls that animate corporeal substances were dispersed among the stars 125. The mention of this primary bowl gave rise among the Platonists to a second or distributive cup of souls, which they bestowed upon Dionysus, as lord of the sensitive universe; and hence the Nymphs, as ministrants and followers of this divinity, as the authorized inspectors of generation, were said to be supplied with the same symbol. According to some authorities, these goblets are placed at opposite points of the firmament, and are respectively the types of generation, or the soul's descent into this realm of sensual pleasure, and of palingenesy, or the soul's return to those celestial regions from whence it sprang. The former stands between the signs of Cancer and Leo, immediately before the human portal; and a draught of the oblivious beverage it contains occasions forgetfulness of those pure delights in which the soul had previously lived, and excites a turbulent propensity towards a material and earthly existence 127. The latter is placed at one

nus on the subject. Compare also Porphyry's interesting tract De Antro Nympharum, and Macrobius's Somnium Scipionis.

187 See Macrobius S. Scip. i. c. 12. The cauldron of Ceridwen, if founded on a genuine record, appears to occupy the same place in Celtic mythology. (See the Hanes Taliessin in Mr. Davies's Celtic Mythology.) Ceridwen, we are told, was "the goddess of various seeds," from whose cauldron was derived every thing sacred, pure and primitive. Gwyon the Little sits watch-

Athenseus xi. 478. The present scattered notices of Proclus and Ploti**erson is founded** on the correction of Mr. Creuzer, who has at length rendered this passage intelligible by reading Low irros, where both Casaubon and Schweighauser have Equirmos. The latter critic has acknowledged the advantage of this emendation. See Dionysus, &c. p. 26 et seq. Nicomachus has used the term applied by Plato (Leg. i. 644.) to the whole animal creation, ran Italy rè Sainara.

Timæus, 41, 42.

See Mr. Creuzer's Symbolik, &c. vol. iii. 410, &c. who has collected the

extremity of the table of the gods (the milky way). It is held by Ganymede or Aquarius, the guardian of the southern fishes (king Pecheur?); and it is only by a favourable lot from this urn of destiny, that the soul is enabled to find a passage through the portal of the gods (Capricorn) to the circle of eternal felicity.

The sacred vessel of modern fiction is no less distinguished for its attributes. The seat reserved for it at the Round Table, was called "the siege perilous," of which a hermit had declared: "There shall never none sit in that siege but one, but if he be destroyed," [and that one] "shall win the Sancgreall." On the day this seat was to receive its ap-

ing the cauldron of inspiration, till three drops of the prectous compound alight on his finger. On tasting these, every event of futurity becomes unfolded to his view. This appears to be the " novum potum materialis alluvionis," the intoxicating draught which inspires the soul with an irresistible propensity to a corporeal existence. "Hec est autem hyle, que omne corpus mundi quod ubicumque cernimus ideis impressa formavit," (Macrob. 1, 12.) It is this which protrudes the soul into Leo, and furnishes it with a prescience of its future career, (" cum vero ad Leonem labendo pervenerint, illic conditionis futuræ auspicantur exordium." 10.) Gwyon is now pursued by Ceridwen, and transforms himself successively into a hare, a fish, and a bird, while the goddess becomes a greyhound-bitch, an otter, and a sparrow-hawk. Despairing of escape he assumes the form of a grain of wheat, and is swallowed by Ceridwen in the shape of a black high crested ben. Ceridwen becomes pregnant, and at the exniration of nine months brings forth laliessin, whom she exposes in a hoat or coracle. In this we appear to have the soul's progression through the various elements which supply it with the vehicles necessary for incorporation. " Tertius vero elementorum ordo, ita ad nos conversus, hobeatur, ut terram ultimam faciat, et exeteris in medium redactis in

terram desinat, tam ima quam summa postremitas · igitur sphæra Marus ignis habeatur, aer Jovis, Saturni aqua, terra. vero Aplanes, in qua Elysios campos esse puris animis deputatos antiquitas nobia intelligendum reliquit de his campis anima, cum in corpus emittitur, per tres elementorum ordines, trins morie, ad corpus usque descendit." (1b.) The pursuar of Ceridwen would then be a personification of that necessity, by which souls are compelled to descend, in order that the economy of the universe may be sustained. " For the sensitive life suffers from the external bodies of fire and air, earth and water falling upon it , and considering all the passions as mighty through the vileness of its life, is the cause of tumult to the soul." Procl. in Tim. as cited by Mr Taylor, ii p. 519. Another favourite figure of the same school is, that the soul is hurled like seed into the realms of generation. 1b. 510. The remainder of the tale is a piece of common mythology. Mr. Davies admits that the bardie lore was a compound of Pagan and Christian dogmas; and it therefore becomes a question, whether this Paganism was purely Druidical, or that syncretic system adopted by Pelagrun from the Platonizing fathers of the Eastern church. The theological teness of the triads (Williams's Poems, vol. ni.) are obviously derived from this source. 18 Morte Arthur, P. iii. c. 1.

pointed tenant, two inscriptions were found miraculously traced upon it: "Four hundred winters and four and fifty accomplished after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ ought the siege to be fulfilled:" and, "This is the siege of Sir Galahad the good knight." The healing virtues of the Graal are exemplified on the wounded persons of Sir Bors and Sir Percival¹⁵⁹, two of the knights destined to accomplish the Quest. A cripple of ten years suffering is restored to health by touching the table on which it is borne; and a nameless knight of perfeet and unspotted life is admitted to kiss it, and finds an instantaneous cure for his maladies. But the courage, prowess and chivalric accomplishments of Sir Launcelot are rendered unsvailing in the Quest, by his guilty commerce with Queen Grenever. He is permitted to see its marvellous effects upon the knight already mentioned, and who, less worthy than himself in earthly endowments, is yet uncontaminated by mortal sin; and once indeed he is suffered to approach the chamber containing it. But a voice forbids his penetrating to the interior of the sanctuary: yet, having rashly disregarded the admonition, he falls a victim to his fatal curiosity, and con-

On this occasion Sir Percival "had a glimmering of that vessel, and of the maiden that bore it; for he was perfeet and clene." (M. Arth. c. 14.) And again: "I wot wele what it is. It is an hely vessel that is borne by a maiden, and thereon is a part of the holy blood of our blessed Saviour." Ib. There is chue in the romance to the geneslogy of this damsel. But Mr. Creuzer has shown that "a perfect and clean maiden" who bore a holy vessel, was a well known character in Grecian story. Amymone, the blameless daughter of Denaus, was exempt from the punishment inflicted upon her father's children, because she had resisted the solicitations of a Satyr (sensual love). Hence she was permitted to draw the cooling reviving draught of consolation and bliss in a perfect vase. Her sisters who had yielded to temptation, who had

resigned themselves to Desire, were doomed to spend their time in fruitless attempts to fill a bottomless or broken vase, or a perforated sieve; and to become the standing types of the uninitiated, or souls wallowing in the mire of material existence. (The story of the murder was unknown to Homer and Apollodorus, and was doubtlessly a later fiction.) The Greeks also placed a vase upon the graves of the unmarried persons, as a symbol of celibacy; a practice that seems to illustrate the language of Joseph of Arimathy, to Sir Percival: "And wotest thou wherefore [our Lord] hath sent me more than other? for thou hast resembled me in two things; one is, that thou hast seen the Sancgreall, and the other is that thou hast been a clene maiden as I am." c. 103.

A similar punishment is inflicted upon king Evelake, who having "nighed so nigh" to the holy vessel "that our Lord was displeased with him," he became "blasted with excess of light," and remained "almost blind" the rest of his life. The most solemn instance of its agency in the presence of profane assembly, occurs on the day of Sir Galahad's assuming the siege perillous: "Then anon they heard cracking and crying of thunder, that hem thought the place should all torive. In the midst of the blast, entered a sunbeam, more clear by seven times than ever they saw day; and all they were alighted of the grace of the holy ghost." Then there entered

** The punishment here inflicted upon Sir Lancelot and king Evelake, is founded upon an idea, which seems to have pervaded the mythology of most nations, that the person of the Deity is too effulgent for mortal sight, and that any attempt at a direct inspection, is sure to be punished with a loss of vision or the senses. Hence the stones of Tiresias and Actaeon, of Herse and Aglauros, (Paus i. 18.) of Eurypylus (1b. vu. 19.) and Maneros, (Plut. de Isid. et Osind. c. 17.) and the explanation given to the disease called nympholopsy is clearly referable to the same opinion "Vulgo autem mendonæ proditum est, quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est, effigiem nymphæ viderint, furendi non fecisse finein, quos Greece voupelnerus, Latini lymphatos appellant." Festus. Hence also the eyes were averted on meeting a hero or heroical demon; and an Heroon was passed in silence. Schol. in Aristoph. Aves, 1490-3. The same opinion appears to have been current among the Germanic tribes who worshiped the goddess Hertha, Her annual circuit was made in a veiled car, but the servants who washed the body of the goddess on her return, and who consequently must have gazed upon her person, were reported to have been "swallowed up quick" by the earth. When Hercules demanded an epiphany of

the god Ammon, we are told this divinity assumed a ram's vizor, a fiction which seems to be connected with the same common opinion. (Hered. ii. 42.) The numerous veiled statues seen by Pausanias in his teur through Greece, the veiled goblet carried in the Dionysic procession at Alexandria (Athen. lib. v. 268.), and the general introduction of the Graal (wherein was "a part of the hely blood of our blessed Saviour") covered with samyte, may be considered as further illustrations.

in In the ancient world a cup or goblet was not only considered as the most suitable kind of vessel for libstions. but it was also regarded as an appropriate type of the Deity. This no doubt arose from the widely extended dogma, that the Demiurgus of the universe framed the world in his own image. The illustrations of this opinion, as exemplified in votive offerings, in the form of an egg, a globe, sphere, hemisphere, cup, dish, &c. would till a volume; and happily Mr. Creuzer by his "Dionysus" has rendered further proof on the subject unnecessary. In Egyptian processions a vase led the way as an image of Osiris (Plut. 496); a small urn was the effigy of last (Apuleius Metamorph, xi, p. 693); a bowl or goblet was borne on a charrote as the emblem of Dionysus, in the festival described by Calixenus (Athethere was none that might see it, nor who bare it; and then was all the hall full filled with good odours; and every knight had such meat and drink as he best loved in this world; and when the holy Grale had been borne through the hall, then the holy vessel departed suddenly, that they wist not where it became." (c. 35.) But these are the mere secular benefits in the power of the sacred cup to bestow. To those allowed to share in its spiritual advantages, who by a life of purity and blameless conduct had capacitated themselves for a more intimate communion with it, it became a cup of eternal life and salvation. On its first epiphany to Sir Galahad and his fellows, the great mystery of the Romish church is visibly demonstrated

was, v. 968); and hence the long canlegue of craters, tripods, &c. so cannon in the furniture of ancient That the same symbol was exhaustedged in other countries previsusly to any general intercourse with he Roman powers, is more than probable. Herodotus has stated of the handones, that they decorated the skulls of the departed with gold, reserving them as images (see Salmas. in Solin. p. 192) of their ancestors, when they performed those annual rites which the Greeks called ywine. From this we may infer that the Issedones entertained the same notions of the dead, that we find prevailing in almost every ancient and modern nation in a Pagan state; and that they enrolled their decaused relatives among those domestic deixies, who by a general system of eusherry have been called Sid xeneral, Di Manes, Gütichen and Guid Neigh-As the guardians of the family bearth, and the household gods of their descendants, the same class of spirits also termed by the Greeks and Barrers Sed saruzilia, Lares, sureja Sai and Dii Penates. (See Salmasius Exercit. Plin. p. 46.) Now the images st Lavinium, as the identical summes of the Penates brought to Italy by Eneas, consisted of unevalue eldness &

χαλαα, & πέςαμον Τςωϊκόν. (Dion. Hal. i. 67.) With the true or fictitious history of Æneas we are not concerned; it is sufficient to know the form of those symbols which were acknowledged in Italy as suitable representations of the Penates. For an explanation of the caduccal figures we may refer to Servius: "Nullus enim locus sine Genio est, qui per anguem plerumque ostenditur." The Trojan bowl and Issedonian skull will illustrate each other. Livy has also said: "Galli Boii caput ducis (Postumii) præcisum ovantes templo—intulere; purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvum auro cælavere: idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo solennibus libarent: poculumque idem sacerdoti esse ac templi antistitibus." It will be remembered that according to the Edda the skull of Ymir was converted into the canopy of heaven (Dæmesaga). Something is said on this subject at page xxxiv. below, which, though written without the passages above cited being in the Editor's recollection, he by no means wishes to retract, so far as the moderns are concerned. Through inadvertency the authorities for that note have been omitted, viz. Bartholin for the facts, and the "Transactions of the Scandinavian Society," page 323. 1813, for the correc-

before them. The transubstantiation of the sacred wafer effected in their presence, palpably and sensibly; the hall lowed "bread become flesh" is deposited in the cup; the Redeemer of the world emerges from it to administer his "knights servants and true children, which [were] conout of deadly life into spiritual life, the high meat which [they had so much desired." Still they "did not see that which they most desired to see, so openly as they were to behold in the city of Sarras in the spiritual place." Here Sir Galahad vision of the transcendent attributes of the Graal is perfected his participation in its hallowed contents is consummated the full extent of his wishes; he has now obtained the only meed for which this life is worth enduring-a certainty passing to a better: his earthly travails close, "his soul depart unto Christ, and a great multitude of angels" is seen to "beat it up to heaven. Also his two fellows saw come from heave a hand, but they saw not the body; and then it came right the vessel and took it and so bare it up to heaves Sithence was there never no man so hardy for to say that ___ had seen the Sangreall."

In the Arabic version the holy vessel is delivered by angel to Titurel, at whose birth another minister of heave attended, and foretold the infant hero's future glory, by die claring that he was destined to wear the crown of Paradiss By him a temple is built for its preservation upon Montsall vaez, "a sacred mountain, which stands in Salvatierra", district of Arragon, and lying adjacent to the valley of Rot cevalles and upon the high road from France to Compostella. The materials for this structure are of the most costly and inperishable description: they are all produced in their appro-

This Montsalvaez in Salvatierra
This would account for the castle
is in all probability the Salisberi of the
Luces Sieur de Gast being "pres d
Norman Romancers; the Mons salutis
(Sawles-byrig?) of the Christian world.

in which the Grael was preserved

rems and connection by the miraculous power of the and the outline of the building is unexpectedly dismean a rock of onym, which the day before had been of the weeds and herbage that encumbered it. The the sanctuary is rendered invisible to all, except the sw, by an impervious forest of cedar, cypress and ebony ling it. By the daily contemplation of the Grack. : life is prolonged to "more than five hundred years:" m glorious career of Jemshid was extended to nearly nturies from a similar cause; and he only sinks to the death, from omitting to visit it during the space of In Lohengrin, Montsalvaez assumes the place of Avaion in British romance 123; and forms the fabled retreat of Arthur and his followers. It is here that sh monarch awaits the hour of his re-appearance upon but far from remaining insensible to those chivalrie

street of Arthur to the isle forms an exact parallel to d has sung of the heroes who Trojan war, &c. (Op. et The skolion of Callitive to Harmodius and Aripoers how late this beautiful inued to be a favourite with In the Islands of the er of Semele being married menthus, and Helen to The offspring of this latter a winged boy, Euphorion, estroyed by Jupiter in the Melos. (Ptolem. Hephæst. Owen has said of "Arthur Uthyr Bendragon, that he plogical and probably allepasse, and the Arcturus or r of the celestial sphere. regretted that the Welsh have told us so little of this The Fins, one of the spean tribes, and whose debeen even more evil-starred of the Celts, retain the folcle of their ancient faith: soul is permitted to ascend es of Ursa Major, it passes

into the highest heaven, and the last stage of felicity. (Mone, ubi supra, 62.) Something of this kind is absolutely necessary to make many parts of the Morte Arthur intelligible; for that in this we have to do with the mythological Arthur, would be clear even to those who had no knowledge of an historical British prince. Not that the compilers of these fictions were at all aware of the ground they were treading, any more than Homer when he described the contest between Vulcan and the Scamander, believed himself "to be philosophizing Orphically," to speak with Philostratus. (Heroic. p. 100. ed. Boissonnade.) The writers of romance, like the great Mæonian (si licet componere, &c.), appear to have poured forth in song the sacred lore of an earlier period, but which having aiready received a secular or historical cast, was uttered as such by them with the most unsuspecting good faith.

sis, which formed so conspicuous an article of the Celtic creed, would be sufficient to account for the Breton tradition relative to Arthur's re-appear-

duties which rendered his court an asylum for injured beauty and distressed sovereigns, he still holds a communication with the world, and occasionally dispatches a faithful champion to grant assistance in cases of momentous need. Here also the Graal maintains the sanctity of its character; and becomes at once the register of human grievances and necessities, and the interpreter of the will of Heaven as to the best mode of redressing them. But even here its transcendent purity requires a similar degree of unblemished worth in those who consult its dictates: the attendant knights in Arthur's train are too corrupt and sensual to approach the hallowed fane; and the infant children of Perceval and Lancelot, and the daughter of the courteous Gawaine are alone considered fit to

A similar belief was ance upon earth. entertained respecting Ogier le Danois, whose identity with Helgi, a hero of Sæmund's Edda, has been already noticed. At the close of the song "Helgi and Svava" it is stated: that these persons were born again; and at the end of the second song concerning Helgi Hundings-bane, we have: It was believed in the olden time that men might be born again. Helgi and Sigrunr are said to have been regenerated. He was then called Helgi Haddingia-skate; but she, Kara Halfdens daughter." The compiler of this collection does not fail to add, that in his time this opinion was regarded as an old-wives' tale. The French Romances however have perpetuated the

Eschenbach assert, that his information respecting Arthur's "residence in the mountain, the manner in which the British monarch and his hundred followers were provided with food, raiment, horses and armour, and the names of the champions whom he had dispatched to aid the Christian world," was obtained from St. Brandan. Lohengrin or the "Chevelere Assigne" was one of these heroes. In this Arthur assumes the duty allotted to Proserpine, who according to Pindar, "having cleaned

the soul of its impurities, re-dispatches it to the upper sun, where it becomes distinguished for its wisdom or its power, and in after-time is ranked among the heroes of public veneration." See Plate's Meno 81. and Hermann's disposition of this fragment in the 3rd volume of Heyne's Pindar. In Germany this tradition respecting the Graal become localized: Four miles from Dann, &. Barbara's hill is seen to rise conically from the centre of a plain. By many infatuated Germans this hill is called the Graal, who also believe that it cantains numerous living persons, where lives will be prolonged till the day of judgement, and who pass their time there in a round of continued revelry and pleasure. Theodoric a Niem. Hb. E. de Schismat. c. 20. as cited by Praterius, i. 395.

The distress of Elsam von Barbant is made known to Arthur by her ringing a bell, a subject upon which there is no space to dilate. But the reader will not fail to remember that a brazen vessel (or bell) is sounded what Simsetha invokes Hecate (Theocrites, ii. 36.), and that a similar rite was elseved at Athens when the Hierophant invoked the same Goddens as Coré of Proserpine. See Apollodorus, as clinic by the Scholiast to Theocrites, and compare the preceding note.

within the sacred shrine. Perhaps this would be the the to connect these scattered fragments of general tradition, that a color a few remarks upon the import of a symbol which has the found its way into the popular creed of so many di-But a history of romantic fiction forms no part the present attempt, nor an exposition of those esoteric itaines which, taught in the heathen temple and perpetuated the early stages of the Romish church, have descended to in a less impressive but more attractive guise.

There is, however, one point upon which it may be necesto make a more explicit avowal, lest the general tendency receding remarks should be construed into an acquiwith opinions wholly disclaimed. Though the marpopular fiction, both in the ancient and modern world, thus been referred to the same common origin, it is by means intended to affirm, that the elements of fictitious mative in Greek and Roman literature are no where to be and embodied in the productions of the middle age 157. Such parection would be at variance with the most limited expethe subject, and might be refuted by a simple refeto the German tales of MM. Grimm. In the story of Serpent-leaf," the principal incident accords with the acdescription of Glaucus and Polyidus, as related by Apollodorus 158;

nce were well a *** the secient Greek and Latin poets." Miss. Rem. iii. p. 524.) But here his financiate figure in dialectic might Philips have been retorted upon him: **f ≥ 4 sominated** in the bond?

Compare Grimm's Kinder- und *Marchen, No. 16, with Apollod. "Mish iii. 3. 1. There is perhaps no while that has obtained a more extensive Another version when stary attributes the cure of Glau-Ecculapius (Hyg. Astron. 14.): **exacted** as cited by

Mr. Ritson has said, "Nothing Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib. xxv. c. 5.), it more probable than that the comformed a piece of Lydian history. A acquainted recent number of the Quarterly Review No.58.) has cited the following illustration of it from Roger Bacon's Opus Majus: "At Paris there was lately a sage, who sought out the scrpent's nest, and selecting one of the reptiles, he cut it into small pieces, leaving only as much undissected membrane, as was sufficient to prevent the fragments from falling asunder. The dying serpent crawled as well as it could until it found a leaf, whose touch immediately united the severed body; and the sage, thus guided by the creature whom he had mangled,

"Jew and the Skinker¹³⁹; and the slipper of Cinderella fi a parallel, though somewhat sobered, in the history of celebrated Rhodope¹⁴⁰. In another story of the same collect we meet with the fabled punishment of Regulus, inflicted the persons of two culprits¹⁴¹; Ovid's Baucis and Philet may be said to have furnished the basis of the Poor and Rich Man¹⁴²: the Gaudief and his Master contains the hist of the Thessalian Erisichthon¹⁴³; the Bosotian Sphinx exher agency in a variety of forms¹⁴⁴; and the descent of Rhpsinitus, and his diceing with Demeter, is shadowed forth series of narratives¹⁴⁴. Another of Ovid's fables, the hist of Picus and Circe, is in strict analogy with a considerportion of the "Two Brothers;" other incidents may be

was taught to gather a plant of inestimable virtue." While this sheet was passing through the press, a similar story was related to the Editor, of in old crone practising leech-craft in Glamorganshire at the present day. The ancient name of this valuable herb was balls or balls. (Comp. Pliny with the Etymol. Magnum.) In the Lai d'Eliduc, two weasels are substituted for the serpents of the ancient fiction

45 Grimm, No. 115. Cic. Tusc. 4.

c. 48.

10 Grimm, No. 21 Ælian. Var. Hist.

lib, zin. c. 32.

bycls. In the note to the "Three Mannikins in the Wood," it is stated from the Great Chronicle of Holland, that this punishment was indicted on Gerhard van Velzen, for the murder of Count Florence V. of Holland (1296). After being rolled in the cask for three days, he was asked how he felt, when he intropidly replied.

Ich ben noch dezelve man, Die Graaf Floris zyn leven nam.

I am still the self-same man, who took away the life of Count Florence! The same punishment is also mentioned in the Swedish populat ballads publiby Geyer and Afselius, i. No. 31 Danish Kiempe Viser, No. 165. intrault's Fairy Tale "Les Fées," and Pentamerone iii. 10. (Gramm.)

679, where the presence of a drving manifested by a miracle running threthe fictions of every country

Intered, quoties haustum craters, re Sponte sud, per seque vident succe vina,

Attoniti, &c.

Compare note 105. p. (67) above.

18 Gricom, No. 68. Ovid. Met.

738. and Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 28.

the ancient world is given by Patter in. c. 26. who represents the Sphin a natural daughter of Laius, introvith a secret delivered to Cadmuthe oracle at Delphi. The rightful to the throne was in possession of solution to this mystery; the illegiting preteoders were detected by their intace of it, and suffered the penalty to their deceit.

No. 62, and the note taining the several variations of the

Herodotus ii. 122.

to have been borrowed from the account of the same enchanters in the Odyssey: the annual sacrifice of a virgin to the destructive dragon, forms a pendant to the story in Pausanias concerning the dark demon of Temessa; and the test of the haro's success, the production of the dragon's tongue, which also occurs in the romances of Wolf-dietrich and Tristram, is to be met with in the local history of Megara 146. The mysterious cave of "Gaffer Death" receives its chief importance from its resemblance to a similar scene in the vision of Timarchus "; and the most interesting tale in the whole collection—whether we speak with reference to its contents, or the adminable style of the narrative—the Machandel Boom 148—is but

Grimm, No. 60. Ovid. Met. xiv. 27. Od. x. 230-335. Comp. Ovid. xiy. 270. Pausapias vi. c. 6. (See note 57. A (42) above.) Weber's Northern Antiquities, p. 123. Sir Tristram, fytte 2. #. 87. The scholisst to Apollonius Rhodies relates, on the authority of the Methe Alcathous the son of Pelops, ing elsin Chrysippus, fled from Megara, and settled in some other town. The Megarman territory being afterwards uppged by a lion, persons were dispatchelse destroy it; but Alcathous meeting the monster, slew it, and cut out the tangue, with which he returned to Me-The party sent to perform the exploit also returned, averring the suceasy of their enterprise; when Alcathous stranced, and produced the lion's tengers, to the confusion of his adversaries. Schol in Apoll. Rhod lib. i. v. 517.

Grimm, No. 44. "Gaffer Death...

new led the physician into a subtermassa cavern, containing an endless
massar cavern, containing an endless
massar cavern, containing an endless
massar of many thousand thousand
lighted candles. Some were long, others
left-burnt, and others again almost out.

Poury instant some of these candles bemassar extinguished, and others lighted
massar; and the flame was seen to move
from one part of the cave to another.

Lack here! (said Death to his companion,) these are the vital sparks of
humas existence." In Plutarch's tract

De Genio Socratis," Timarchus is

made to address his mysterious guide thus: "But I see nothing except a number of stars shooting about the chasm, some of which are plunging into it, and others shining brilliantly and rising out of it." These are said to be the intellectual portions of the soul (Nous), or demoniacal intelligences, and the ascending stars souls upon their return from earth; the others, souls descending into life. c. 22. In this we receive the key to the attribute bestowed upon the ancient divinities who presided over generation and childbirth, such as Lucina, Artemis-Phosphorus, &c. and hence also the analogy between the stories of Meleager and Norna-Gest may be explained from a common point of popular faith.

This extraordinary tale will be found in the second volume of the German Stories, now on the eve of publication. To this the reader is referred, who will feel grateful that no garbled abstract of it is here attempted. The points of coincidence may be thus briefly stated. In the Cretan fable, the destruction of Zagreus is attributed to the jealousy of his step-mother Juno; and the Titans (those telluric powers who were created to avenge their mother's connubial wrongs) are the instruments of her cruelty. The infant god is allured to an inner chamber, by a present of toys and fruit (among these an apple),

a popular view of the same mythos upon which the Platonists have expended so much commentary—the history of the Cretan Bacchus or Zagreus. In Sweden, the story of Hero and Leander has become localized, and forms the subject of an interesting national ballad; the fate of Midas is to be found incorporated as an undoubted point of Irish history is; and the treasury of Rhampsinitus has passed from Egypt to Greece, and from Mycenæ to Venice. The youthful history of Theseus bears a strong resemblance to many parts of Sir Degoré; the white and black sails, the emblems of his success or failure, are attached to the history of Tristram and fair Ysoude; the ball of silk given him by Ariadne, has passed into the hands of the Russian witch Jaga-Baba; and the heroic feat which was to establish the proof of his descent, has been inserted in the lives of Arthur, and the Northern Sigurdr. The talis-

and is forthwith murdered. The dismembered body is now placed in a kettle, for the repast of his destroyers; but the vapour ascending to heaven, the deed is detected, and the perpetrators struck dead by the lightning of Jove. Apollo collects the bones of his deceased brother, and buries them at Delphi, where the palingenesy of Bacchus was celebrated periodically by the Hosii and Thyades. (Compare Clemens Alex.) Protrept. p. 15. ed. Potter; Nonnus Dionys. vi. 174, &c. and Plutarch de Isid. et Osirid. c. 35. et De Esu Carnium, i. c. vii.) But this again is only another version of the Egyptian mythos relative to Osiris, which will supply us with the chest, the tree, the sisterly affection, and perhaps the bird (though the last may be explained on other grounds). (Plut. de Isid. &c. c. 13. et seqq.) Mr. Grimm wishes to consider the "Machandel-Boom" the juniper-tree; and not the "Mandel," or almond-tree. It will be remembered, that the latter was believed by the ancient world to possess very important properties. The fruit of one species, the Amygdala, impregnated the daughter of the river Sangarius with the Phrygian Attys (Paus. vii.

17); and another, the Persea, was the sacred plant of Isis, so conspicuous on Egyptian monuments. (For this interpretation of the Perses, see S. de Sacy's Abd-allatif Relation de l'Egypte, p. 47-72, and the Christian and Mahommedan fictions there cited.) This story of dressing and eating a child is historically related of Atreus, Tantalus, Procne, Harpalice (Hyginus ed. Staveren, 206), and Astyages (Herod. i. 119); and is obviously a piece of traditional scandal borrowed from ancient mythology. The Platonistic exposition of it will be found in Mr. Taylor's tract upon the Bacchic Mysteries, (Pamphleteer, No. 15.)

ie Keating's Hist, of Ireland, as cited

by MM. Grimm, iii. 391.

in Aristoph. Nub. 508. and the notes

to Childe Harold, canto iv.

151 Compare Plutarch's Life of Theseus with Sir Degoré, as published in the "Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry;" Scott's Sir Tristram, p. 199; Prince Wladimir and his Round Table, a collection of early Russian Heroic Songs, Leipzig 1819, 8vo. as cited by Mone 130; the Morte Arthur, P. I. c. 4; and the Volsunga Saga, Müller, p. 31.

men of Meleager—" Althæa's firebrand"—has been conferred upon the aged Norna-Gest, a follower of king Olaf 152; the artifice of Jack the Giant-killer, in throwing a stone among his enemies, occurs in the histories of Cadmus and Jason 153; and the perilous labour of Alcmene is circumstantially related in the Scottish ballad of Willie's Lady¹⁵⁴. Among the marvellous tales with which the traveller Pytheas chose to enliven the parrative of his voyage, at the risk of sacrificing his character for discernment and veracity, the following has been preserved by the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius. "Vulcan appears to have taken up his abode in the islands of Lipara and Strongyle.....and it was formerly said, that whoever chose to carry there a piece of unwrought iron, and at the same time deposited the value of the labour, might on the following morning come and have a sword, or whatever else he wished, for it 155." This fiction has a double claim upon our attention, both from the manner in which it became localized at a very early period in England, and from the interest it has recently excited, by its reception into one of those unrivalled produc-

to have held a similar opinion relative to Galinthias, whom they considered a ministrant of Hecate, and to whom the first sacrifice was performed during the festival of Hercules. (Anton. Lib. c. 29.) They were hence reputed to worship a weasel (Ælian. Hist. Nat. xii. v.), an animal of an exceedingly ominous character in the ancient world. (Theophrastus Charact. 17.) In the reputed house of Amphitryon, Pausanias (ix. 11.) saw a relievo representing the Sorceresses (Pharmacides) sent by Juno to obstruct Alcmene's labour. According to him (and he gathered the account at Thebes), they were defeated by Historis, a daughter of Tiresias; which again confirms the analogy between the ancient and modern fiction, for Tiresias and his family move in Theban story with all the importance of tutelary divinities. 33 Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 761.

Apollod. Biblioth. i. c. 8. 1. "At length Gest told them the reason of his being called Norna-Gest. Three Völar cast his nativity; the two first spaced every thing that was good, but the last became displeased, and said the child chould not live longer than the candle lasted which was then burning. Upon this the two Volar seized the light, and hade his mother preserve it, saying, it was not to be lighted till the day of his denth." Norna-Gest's Saga, Müller 113. Gest was more fortunate in his family connexions than the Grecian hero; for on the day king Olaf recommended him to try the experiment of lighting the candle, he was 500 years old. Ib.

Minstrelsy of the Border, vol. ii. Sir Walter Scott has observed, that the billieblind, who detects the mother's charm in this ballad, was a species of domestic spirit or Brownie. The Thebans appear

tions, which have given a new character to the literature of the day. In a letter written by Francis Wise to Dr. Mead "concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly the White Horse," an account is given of a remarkable pile of stones, to which the following notice is attached: "All the account which the country people are able to give of it is: At this place lived formerly an invisible smith; and if a traveller's horse had left a shoe upon the road, he had no more to do than to bring the horse to this place with a piece of money, and leaving both there for some little time, he might come again, and find the money gone, but the horse new shoed. The stones standing upon the Rudgeway, as it is called, I suppose gave occasion to the whole being called Wayland-Smith; which is the name it was always known by, to the country-people." The reader will have no difficulty in detecting here the previous recital of Pytheas, or in recognising in this simple tradition the germ of a more recent fiction, as it has been unfolded in the novel of Kenilworth. But he may not be equally aware, that the personage whose abilities it has so unostentatiously transmitted, is a very important character in early Northern poetry; and that the fame of "Wayland-Smith," though less widely extended than it now promises to become, was once the theme of general admiration, from the banks of the Bosphorus 166 to the Atlantic and Frozen oceans. The first historical song in the Edda of Sæmund—if it be lawful to give this name to a composition containing such a strong admixture of mythological matter-is devoted to the fortunes of a celebrated smith called Volundr. The Vilkina-Saga, a production of the fourteenth century, enters more fully into his

In the Vilkina-Saga he is called Velent: but the author adds, he bore the name of Volundr among the Varingar. These Ragings were mercenaries in the service of the Greek emperors. See Anna Comn, Codrin, &c. and Ducanges. Browngs. In the eleventh century

the Northern portion of this body-guard amounted to 500, according to the Flatæ Codex, c. 507-8, which makes a distinction between them and the French and Flemings in the Imperial service. Muller 149,

history; and he is spoken of by various writers between the minth and fourteenth centuries¹⁵⁷ as the fabricator of every carious weapon, or unusual piece of art. In the outline of his story there is a very strong analogy with the events that shine so marvellously in the life of Dædalus. The flight of Völundr from his native country, like that of the Athenian artist, is attributed to an act of violence upon the persons of two rival malamen. His first reception at the court of Nidung is attended by every demonstration of kindness and attention; but an accidental offence occasions the seizure and mutilation of his person, and he is compelled to labour incessantly in the daties of the forge for his tyrannical host. The double cruelties inflicted on him, in the loss of liberty and his bodily injuries, impire him with sentiments of revenge: the infant sons of his persecutor fall the victims of his artifice; their sister is seduced and publicly disgraced; and the triumphant artist, having attached wings to his person, takes his way through the air to seek a more friendly employer 158. It is not a little remarkable, that the only term in the Icelandic language to designate a lebyrinth is Völundar-hus—a Weland's house 159.

Some of these have been already noticed. (See Alfred's Boethius, and the poem of Beowulf, and note p. liv. below.) The following may be added from Müller's Saga-Bibliothek: "Et nisi duratis Vuelandia fabrica giris obstaret " from a Latin poem of the minth century, entitled "De prima Expeditione Attilæ regis Hunnorum in Gallia, ac de rebus gestis Waltharii Aquitanorum principis." Lipsiæ 1780. In Labbe's Bibliothera MSS. Nova, tom. ii., the following notice occurs: "Gillermus Sector Ferri hoc nomen sortitus est, quia cum Normannis confligens venire solito conflictu deluctans, ense certo vel scorto durissimo, quem Valandus faber condiderat, per medium corpus loricatum secavit una percussione." Historia Pontificum et Comitum Engohismensium incerto auctore, (but who

was living in 1159,) p. 252. See also the romance of Horn-child and Maiden Riminild, in Ritson's Met. Rom. vol. iii. p. 295.

These circumstances are taken from the recital given in the Vilkina-Saga. (Müller 154.) The Eddaic song makes no mention of Völundr's flight to the court of Nithuthur (Nidung), nor of his killing his instructors the Dwarfs: a deed of mere self defence according to the Vilkina-Saga, since, his rapid improvement having excited their envy, they were devising a plan for destroying him.

The name of Volundr became a general name in the North for any distinguished artist, whether working in stone or iron. The same may be said of Dædalus in Greece (δαιδάλλων, δαίδαλα), whose labours are found to run through a

The resemblances here detailed are obviously too intimate to have been the result of accident, or a common development of circumstances possessing some general affinity. The majority, on investigation, will be found to have been derived, however indirectly, from sources of classical antiquity; and their existence in this dismembered state forcibly illustrates a remark of Mr. Campbell's, which is equally distinguished for its truth and beauty: "that fiction travels on still lighter wings [than science], and scatters the seeds of her wild flowers imperceptibly over the world, till they surprise us by springing up with similarity, in regions the most remotely divided 150.79 But while these resemblances tend to establish the fact, that popular fiction is in its nature traditive ia, they necessarily direct our attention to another important question—the degree of antiquity to be ascribed to the great national fables relative to Arthur, Theoderic, and Charlemagne. It will be almost needless to remark, that the admixture of genuine occurrences in all these romances, is so disproportionate to the fictitious materials by which it is surrounded, that without the influence of particular names, and the locality given to the action, we should never connect the events detailed with personages of authentic history. The deeds ascribed to Charlemagne, by a mere change of scene, become as "germane" to the life of the most illustrious of the Gothic kings as any of the circumstances advanced in his own veracious Vilkina-Saga. A similar

succession of ages; and who, in addition to his numerous inventions, constructed such enormous works in Egypt, Sicily and Crete. In the former country he received divine honours (Diod. Sic. i. p. 109.), the mythologic character of Volundr is clear from the Edda, and Pratorius speaks of Spirits Volands and Water-Nixen as synonymous terms. If we allow the daughter of Nidung to take the place of Pasiphase, the Athenian proverb will be

fully substantiated - is warri mily and ve

Suidas, i. p. 752.

*** Essay on English Poetry, p. 30.

To this may be added the doctrine of an ancient aphonsm cited by Demosthenes (De falsa legatione): Фарт в об сіх фармах ажелдитац прегод Ante Onjulener. Itas su vie bert and norm.

¹⁰ Suppose we on things teaditive divide, And both appeal to Scripture to decide. - Dayoux

transference might be effected, in the "most antient and famous history of Prince Arthur," without violating the probebility or disturbing the accuracy of the account: and the same process might be applied, with equal success, to almost every other romance laying claim to an historical character. But though all parties may be agreed, that the sub-structure of these recitals is essentially fabulous, the great point to be investigated, is the æra when each fable first obtained a circu**lation.** Are the fictitious memorials thus united to the names of these several European kings, the sole invention of an age posterior to their respective reigns? or the accumulated traditions of a long succession of centuries, both antecedent and subsequent to the period in which the events are placed? It cannot be expected that such an extensive subject will receive the discussion it merits, on the present occasion; but as some of the preceding remarks are founded on an assumption that the latter position is demonstrable, the general question may be illustrated by one example out of many, of the mode in which this amalgamation has been effected in Northern Romance.

The life of Theoderic of Berne, the mirror of German chivalry, has been connected in later romance with the adventures of Siegfried, the hero of the Nibelungen Lied. The authentic history of this latter prince is wholly beyond the hope of recovery; but under the more decidedly Northern name of Sigurdr, he has been allowed the same distinction in Icelandic fiction, that attends him in the fables of Germany. In Sæmund's Edda his achievements are recorded in a series of simple narrative songs; and the Volsunga-Saga is wholly devoted to the fortunes of his family. The ground-work of Siegfried's story is indisputably the fatal treasure, originally the property of Andvar the dwarf; but which extorted from him by violence, as a ransom for three captive deities,

receives a doom from the injured Duergr, which involves every after-possessor in the same inevitable ruin as the necklace of Eriphyle in Grecian story. In the Nibelungen Lied the previous history of the "hoard" is wholly overlooked; and its acquisition by Siegfried, notwithstanding the important part assigned it in the subsequent stages of the recital, forms only a subsidiary argument. The Edda dwells with a spirit of eager yet mournful pleasure, upon the successive acts of iniquity, by which the threat of Andvar is substantiated; and the iron mask of destiny obtrudes itself at every step, with the same appalling rigour as in the tragic theatre of Greece. But in either narrative the hero of the tale, whether Sigurdr or Siegfried, is spoken of as the son of Sigmund; and to him are attributed the destruction of the dragon, and the consequent spoliation of the treasure. A document nearer home, but which has evidently wandered to these shores from the North, the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, gives a different version of the story. In this interesting record of early Danish fable, the discomfiture of Grendel gives occasion for the introduction of a Scop, or bard, who, like Demodocus in the Odyssey, entertains the warriors at Hrothgar's table with an account of deeds of earlier adventure. In compliment to Beowulf, he selects the most distinguished event in Northern history; and the subject of his song is the slaughter of the dragon, and the seizure of the treasure by Sigmund the Weelsing 12. We are not to consider this as an accidental variation, either intentionally or ignorantly supplied by the Christian translator or renovator of the poem; the celebrity of Sigmund is supported by the

The present text as printed by Thorkelin reads,

That he framsige Munde seegan &c. p. 68. The manuscript,

That he fram Sigemunde Socgan hyrde.

Mr. Grundtvig, a Danish poet, has the merit of first making known the connection between this song and the Edda, by a communication inserted in the "Kjöbenhavns Skilderi." (Muller, p. 381.) It was detected in the first sheets sent to this country as a specimen of the forthcoming publication.

mention of his name in other Northern documents. In the Hyadla-Lieth he is connected with Hermod 35 as a favourite of the Gods, upon whom Odin had bestowed a sword as a mark of his approval. And in the celebrated Drapr upon the death of Eric Blodoxe, who was slain in a descent upon the English coast during the tenth century, and which is perhaps the eldest Icelandic poem having reference to a contemporary historical event, Sigmund is summoned by Odin, as the most distinguished member of Valhalla, to advance and receive the Nerwegian king. But independently of this collateral testimony, the song of the Anglo-Saxon scop contains internal evidence of its fidelity to the genuine tradition. The Edda and the Volsunga-Saga make Sigmund the son of a king Volsungr, whom they place at the head of the genealogic line; and consider as the founder of the Volsunga dynasty. however certain, that this Volsungr is a mere fictitious personage; since, on every principle of analogy, the Volsunga race must have derived their family appellative from an ancestor of the name of Vols, just as the Skioldings obtained theirs from Skiold, the Skilfings from Skilf, and the Hildings from Hildr. Now this is the genealogy observed by the Anglo-Saxon scop; who first speaks generally of the Wælsing race, and then specifically of Sigmund the offspring of Wæls 165.

Gaf han Hermothi
Hialm ac bryniu,
En Sigmundi
Sverth at thiggis.

Dedit Hermodo Galeam et loricam, At Sigmundo Ensem accipere (ferre, habere).

This is clearly the Sigmund of the Anglo-Saxon scop, who immediately passes to the history of Hermod. The same may be said of the Sigmund mentioned in King Eric's drapr, where he is conjoined with his son Sinfiotli. (Compare Sinfiotla-lok in Sæmund's Edda.)

Wælsinges gewin-Wælses eafera, ed. Thorkelin, p. 68, 69. Of the Icelandic Völundr, the Anglo-Saxons made Weland, as they have made Wæls of Vols. -Any objection that might be raised to the antiquity of the Edda from this circumstance would only apply to the Introduction to the song, which is confessedly of a more recent date. It will hence be clear, that at the time when these poems were collected, the fiction was of such antiquity that it had become corrupted at the source. The authenticity of the Edda certainly does not stand in need of the additional support here given; but it must be gratifying to those who have favoured the integrity of

From this it will be clear that Sigurdr or Siegfried in the great event of his history has been made to assume the place of his father Sigmund, upon the same arbitrary principle that the Theban Hercules has gathered round his name the achievements of so many earlier heroes. Nor is this perhaps the only mutation to which the Northern fiction has been subjected. The catastrophe of the fable, as we have already seen, is wholly dependent upon the treasure of Andvar; and the founder of the Wælsing dynasty bears a name, which in the Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon language is nearly synonymous with wealth or riches 156.

The great length to which the precedingre marks have been carried, will make it necessary to be less excursive in considering the second of Mr. Ritson's objections; and fortunately the previous labours of Mr. Ellis 167 have rendered

firmed by such conclusive and unimpeachable testimony. Mr. Müller, in the interesting volume so repeatedly referred to in various parts of this preface, has satisfactorily accounted for the silence of Saxo Grammaticus upon this branch of fabulous Northern history. In his day the fiction had become localized on the Rhine, and was received by him as a portion of authentic German story. (Saga-Bibbothek, n. p. 401.)

" Upon a future occasion the Editor will offer his reasons for believing that the present song has been transposed from its proper place, to make way for an episode upon the exploits of Hengest, inserted at p. 82, ed. Thorkelin. The subject of this latter document is evidently taken from a larger poem, of which a fragment has been published by Hickes, and is known under the name of the Battle of Finsburb. In Beowulf the actors are Fin, Hoaf, Hengest, Guthlaf and Oslaf; in the fragment the same names occur, with the substitution of Ordlaf for O-laf The scene in either piece is Finues-ham, or Finnesburh, the residence of the before-monnoned Fin. That in these we have an allusion to the founder of the kingdom

these Songs, to find their opinions con- of Kent, and not to a purely fabulous personage of the same name, will be rendered probable, on recollecting that the events recorded contain no admixture of marvellous matter. Both productions are clearly of the same historical class, and written in the same sober spirit, with the fragment of Brythnoth; for the Eotena-cyn of Beowulf, over whom Fin is said to reign, is a general term in Northern poetry for any bostile nation not of the Teutonic stock. From hence it is desired to make two deductions: First, that the events alluded to are anterior to the close of the fifth century; and Secondly, that the introduction of this episode into the present poem was not likely to be made after the year 723, when Egbert expelled the last monarch of Kent and dissolved the heptarchy. For this last deduction more explicit reasons will be given as before stated on another occasion. It only remains to observe, that the Hengest mentioned in Beowulf was a native of Friesland, and to ask whether Fin was a Celt? and can the Gaelic antiquaries, connect him with any Erse sovereign bearing this name?

167 See Metrical Romances, vol. i. In-

troduction.

any discussion of the subject almost superfluous. The fidelity of Geoffrey of Monmouth in the execution of his labours-at least his scrupulous exactness in preparing the reader's mind for any important deviations from, or suppression of, his original—has been so satisfactorily established, that we might cite his example as an instance of good faith that would have done honour to a more critical age, and shining conspicuously amid the general laxity of his own 168. The licences he has allowed himself, in the shape of amplification, are to all appearance nothing more than a common rhetorical exercise, inherited by the middle ages from the best days of antiquity: and the letters and speeches introduced, admitting them to be of his own composition, are the necessary appendage of the school in which he was disciplined. To charge him with "imposture and forgery" for pursuing such a course, is as just as it would be to doubt the general probity of Livy, for a similar practice in the Roman History: and to question his veracity, because the subject of his translation is a record of incredible events, is a degree of hypercriticism which could only have been resorted to by a mind eager to escape con-

Mr. Sharon Turner (in a recent work) has persevered in his objections to Geoffrey's fidelity: "Several of Jeffery's interspersed observations imply, that he has rather made a book of his own, than merely translated an author. If he merely translated, why should he decline to handle particular points of the history, because Gildas had already told them, or told them better? assumes here a right of shaping his work as he pleased, as he does also when he declares his intention of relating elsewhere the Armorican emigration." Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 448. It is difficult to understand why Geoffrey was more or less a "mere" translator for these omissions, or how such a practice could make him an original writer.— The editor has to apologize for not having referred to this interesting work of Mr. Turner's in the early portion of

Warton's History: but an absence from his native country at the period of its publication, and for some years afterwards, caused him to be unacquainted with its contents. It will be needless to add, how much he might have been benefited personally by an earlier knowledge of its existence, and the trouble he might have been spared in travelling over much of the same ground Mr. Turner has now so agreeably shortened to every future inquirer. While thus reading his confession, the editor will also express his regret at being unacquainted (from the same cause) with a most valuable Essay on the Popular Mythology of the Middle Ages contained in the Quarterly Review for January 1820, and to which his attention was directed by a general reference in a foreign publication, Grimm's Kinder-Märchen.

viction. But in this, as in almost every thing else which was exposed to the reprobation of Mr. Ritson, there was a secondary design in the back-ground, of more importance than the original proposition; and an unqualified denial of Geoffrey's Armorican original was an indispensable step towards advancing a favourite theory of his own. The substance of this theory may be given in the language of its author: "That the English acquired the art of romance-writing from the French seems clear and certain, as most of the specimens of that art in the former language are palpable and manifest. translations of those in the other: and this too may serve to account for the origin of romance in Italy, Spain, Germany. and Scandinavia. But the French romances are too ancient to be indebted for their existence to more barbarous nations 100.70 With the truth or fallacy of this hypothesis we are not at present concerned. But it will be obvious that its success must at any time have depended upon the degree of credit assigned to the repeated declarations of Geoffrey, and the claims possessed by Armorica to an original property in the British A sweeping contradiction therefore, without the

Metrical Romances, i. p. c. It may be as well to subjoin the succeeding paragraph in Mr. Ritson's dissertation, for the benefit of those who can reconcile the contradiction it contains, to the doctrine avowed in the passage cited above "It is, therefor, a vain and futile endeavour to seek for the origin of romance in all agrees and countrys, where literature has been cultivateed, and genus and taste have inspire'd, whether in India, Persia, Greece, Italy or France, the earlyest product of that cultivation, and that genius and taste, has been poetry and romance, with reciprocal obligations, perhaps, between one country and another. The Arabians, the Persians, the Turks, and, in short, almost every nation in the globe abound in romancees of their own invention." Ib. ci.

There are those who will say, If

the Norman minstrels could thus descend to peach upon Armoneun ground, they might also have gleaned their intelligence relative to Bevis of Hampton and Guy of Warwick on an English soil. But this again would destroy the sneer against the "historian of English Poetry," who has called these redoubted champions "English heroes."—
"Wis" is a genuine Saxon name occurring in the Chronicle, and Beo-wis might be formed on the analogy of Beo-wulf. That the Norman ministrels, like their brothers of Germany and Scandinavia, shoul Have sought in every direction for subjects of remaintic adventure, will be considered no disparagement to their genius, except by that gentle band of crities who believe that the dramatist who borrows his plot is inferior to the play-wright who invents one.

shadow of proof—as if proof in such a case would have been an insult to the reader's understanding—was to destroy every belief in the former; while a constant call for proof, a most vehement "iteration" for the original documents, and an unmeaning speculation upon the physical inabilities of the whole Armorican nation, from the ruggedness of their language, to cultivate poetry, was to silence every pretension of the latter. A more candid spirit of criticism has at length conceded, that * general charge of imposture unsupported by testimony, or even a showing of some adequate motive for the concealment of the truth, is not to overrule the repeated affirmations of a writer no ways interested in maintaining a false plea; and that, however much the tortuous propensities of one man's mind might incline him to prefer the crooked policy of fraud to the more simple path of plain-dealing, the contagion of such a disease was not likely to extend itself to a long list of authorities, all of whom must have been injured rather than benefited by the confession, who could have had no common motives with the first propounder of the deceit, and who were divided both by time and situation from any connexion with him, and generally speaking from any intercourse with each other. The concurrent testimony of the French romancers is now admitted to have proved the existence of a large body of fiction relative to Arthur in the province of Brittany: and while they confirm the assertions of Geoffrey in this single particular, it is equally clear they have neither echoed his language, nor borrowed his materials. Every further investigation of the subject only tends to support the opinion pronounced by Mr. Douce; that "the tales of Arthur and his knights which have sppeared in so many forms, and under the various titles of the St. Graal, Tristan de Leonnois, Lancelot du Lac, &c. were not immediately borrowed from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but from his Armoric originals¹⁷."

¹⁷¹ See below, p. xvi.

The great evil with which this long-contested question appears to be threatened at the present day, is an extreme equally dangerous with the incredulity of Mr. Ritson—a disposition to receive as authentic history, under a slightly fabulous colouring, every incident recorded in the British Chronicle. An allegorical interpretation is now inflicted upon all the marvellous circumstances; a forced construction imposed upon the less glaring deviations from probability; and the usual subterfuge of baffled research, -erroneous readings, and etymological sophistry, -is made to reduce every stubborn and intractable text to something like the consistency required. It might have been expected that the notorious failures of Dionysius and Plutarch in Roman history would have prevented the repetition of an error, which neither learning nor ingenuity can render palatable; and that the havor and deadly ruin effected by these ancient writers (in other respects so valuable) in one of the most beautiful and interesting monuments of traditional story, would have acted as a sufficient corrective on all future aspirants. The favourers of this system might at least have been instructed by the philosophic example of Livy,—if it be lawful to ascribe to philosophy a line of conduct which perhaps was prompted by a powerful sense of poetic beauty,—that traditional record can only gain in the hands of the future historian, by one attractive aid, the grandeur and lofty graces of that incomparable style in which the first Decade is written; and that the best duty towards antiquity, and the most agreeable one towards posterity, is to transmit the narrative received as an unsophisticated tradition, in all the plenitude of its marvels, and the awful dignity of its supernatural agency. For however largely we may concede that real events have supplied the substance of any traditive story, yet the amount of absolute facts, and the manner of those facts, the period of their occurrence, the names of the agents, and the locality given to the scene-are all combined upon principles so wholly

beyond our knowledge, that it becomes impossible to fix with certainty upon any single point better authenticated than its fellow. Probability in such decisions will often prove the most fallacious guide we can follow; for, independently of the acknowledged historical axiom, that "le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable," innumerable instances might be adduced, where tradition has had recourse to this very probability, to confer a plausible sanction upon her most fictitious and romantic incidents. It will be a much more useful labour, wherever it can be effected, to trace the progress of this traditional story in the country where it has become located, by a reference to those natural or artificial monuments which are the unvarying sources of fictitious events. and, by a strict

The story of the doves at Dodome and the origin of the oracle there, is too well known to require a repetition. There is a connexion and propriety in the solution given by Herodotus, which can a first perusal carries conviction to the reader's mind. Yet nothing can be more questionable than the whole re-The honours of the sacred oak were shared in common with Jupiter, by Dione, whose symbol, a golden dove, like the golden swallows on the brazen roof of Apollo at Delphi, (Pind. Frag. vol. iii. p. 54.) was seen suspended from the branches of the venerable tree. (Philestrat. Icon. ii. 34. p. 858-9.) Hence the tradition. The explanation of the Egyptian priesthood is rendered intel**ligible by a passage** in the Horapollo (ii. 32.), where it is stated that a black dove was the sacred symbol, under which these people expressed a woman maintaining her widowhood till death. That this obvious source of the Dodongan fable should have yielded to the improbable dictum of the Theban priesthood, will not appear remarkable, when we remember that the same class of men had told Solon, "You Greeks are always children" (Plato Tim. p. 22.): and that the Greeks, who believed every tale these artful foreigners chose to impose upon them, were proverbial for their admiration of the wondrous out of their

own country. (Vid. Paus. ix. c. 36.) This strong predilection for Egyptian marvels did not escape the notice of Heliodorus. Αἰγύπτων γὰς ἔπουσμα παὶ διάγημα πᾶν. Ἑλληνικῆς ἐποῆς ἰπαγότατον. Lib. ii. p. 92. ed. Coray. A desire of tracing every thing to an Egyptian origin is as conspicuous in the whole body of Grecian story, as the propensity of the middle ages to trace their institutions and genealogic stock to king Priam. According to Sir Stamford Raffles, the Malays universally attempt to trace their descent from Alexander and his followers. Pamphleteer, vol. 8.

¹⁷³ Higden will inform us how busily tradition works in this way: "There is a nother sygne and token before ye Popes palays, an horse of bras, and a man syttyng theron, and holdeth his right honde as though he spake to the peple, and holdeth his brydell in his lyfte honde, and hath a cucko bytwen his And a seke dwerf under hors heres. his feet. Pylgryms callen that man Theodericus. And the comyns call him Constantinus; but clerkes of the courte calle hym Marcus and Quintus Curtius. They that calle hym Marcus, telle this reson and skyll. was a dwerf of the kynred of Messenis, his craft was Nygromancye. Whan he had subdewed kynges that dwelled nyghe hym, and made hein subgette to comparison of its details with the analogous memorials of other nations, to separate those elements which are obviously of native growth, from the occurrences bearing the impress of a foreign origin 174. We shall gain little perhaps by such a course for the history of human events; but it will be an important accession to our stock of knowledge on the history of the human mind. It will infallibly display, as in the analysis of every similar record, the operation of that refining principle which is ever obliterating the monotonous deeds of violence that fill the chronicle of a nation's early career; and exhibit the brightest attribute in the catalogue of man's intellectual endowments-a glowing and vigorous imagination, -bestowing upon all the impulses of the mind a splendour and virtuous dignity, which, however fallacious historically considered, are never without a powerfully redeeming good, the ethical tendency of all their lessons.

The character of the specimens interspersed throughout

hym, theune he wente to Rome, to warre with the Romayns. And with his craft he benam the Romayns power and might for to smyte, and beseged hem longe tyme telosed within the cyte. This dwerf went every day tofore the sonne rysyng in to the felde for to do his crafte. Whan the Romayns had espyed that maner doynge of the dwerf, they spake to Marcus, a noble knyght, and behyght leym lordsbyp of the cyte, and a memoryall in myade for evermore, yf he wolde defende hem and save the cyte. Thenne Marcus made an hole thrugh the walle, longe er it were daye, for to abyde his crafte to cache this dwerf. And whan it was tyme, the cucko sange, and warned hym of the daye. Thenne Marcus reysed to, and bycause he myght not bytte the dwerf with wepen, he caught bym with his bonde, and bare hym into the cyte-And for drede leste he sholde helpe hymselfe with his craft of he myght speke, he threwe hym under the hors feet, and the horse al to-trade hym And therfor that ymage was made in remem-

the account of those who called it Q. Curtius. Trevisa's Translation, p. 24.

171 The manner in which national fable swelled its mass of incident in the ancient world, by having recourse to this practice, has been aircraly noticed at page (29). With the Greeks and Romans, every hero whom they found celebrated in a foreign soil for his prowess against wild beasts, robbers or tyrants, was their own divinity Hercules; and every traveller who had touched on a distant coast, Llyssea. This system of appropriating the native traditions of their neighbours was not confined to the ancients. The followers of King Sigurd Iorlafar, who visited Constantinople in the year IIII, on their return from the holy land, brought an account to Norway, that they had seen the images of their early kings the Asæ, the Volsungæ, and the Guakings erected in the Hoppodrome of the Imperial city. Hennskringla, vol. iii, p. 945.

Warton's History, is a subject of more immediate moment, sit is intimately connected with a question which must be previously adjusted, before we can hope to see any advances towards a history of the English language. The most zealous friend of his fame will readily admit, that his extracts from our early poetry have not been made with that attention to the orthography of his manuscripts, which the example and suthority of Mr. Ritson have since established as an indispensable law. There are occasional instances also, where inadvertency has produced some confusion of the sense, by erromeous readings of his text; and a few errors involving the same results, from indistinctness in the manuscript, or the difficulty of decyphering correctly some unusual or obsolete For the last of these deficiencies no further justification will be offered, than that they are of a kind which every publisher of early poetry must be more or less exposed to; that they are neither so important nor so numerous as they are usually considered; and that some allowance is due to the lax opinions entertained upon the subject when Warton's History made its appearance. The former will require a more minute investigation, both from the obloquy cast upon his reputation for omitting to observe it, and the importance it has been made to assume in the labours of every subsequent antiquary. The golden rule of Mr. Ritson, enforced by the precept and example of twenty years, and scrupulously adhered to by his disciples, is "integrity to the original text." The genius of the language, the qualifications of the transcriber, and the power of oral delivery upon the original writer, have been considered so subsidiary to this primary and elemental point, that they are scarcely noticed, or wholly omitted, in the discussion of the question. Every thing written has had conferred upon it the authority of an explicit statute, and fidelity to the letter of a manuscript is only to be infringed under certain ob-

wives fimitations. There might have been something to colour the rigid course thus prescribed, if it had been either proved or found that there was a general consistency observed in any single manuscript with itself, or that the various modes of writing the same word in one document were countenanced by a systematic mode of deviation in another. But so far is this from being the case, that a single line often exhibits a change in the component letters of the same word (and which may have been written in the previous pages with every variety it is capable of); and no diligence or ingenuity can establish a rule, which will reconcile the orthography of one manuscript to that of its fellow, upon any principle of order or grammatical analogy. There is, however, nothing singular in this state of our early English texts, or of a nature not to admit of a comparatively easy solution. By far the greater number of these discrepancies may be fairly ascribed to the inattention of transcribers, a class of men whose heedless blunders have cast a proverbial stigma upon their labours, and who, to pass over the charges left against them by the ancient world, have been successively exposed to the anathemas of Orm and the censures of Chaucer. For the rest, we must refer to the circumstances under which the original documents were written, or the autographs as they were dismissed from the hands of their respective authors.

At whatever age we assume the subject, subsequent to the Norman conquest, and previous to the invention of printing, the very absence of this most important of human arts might of itself assure us, that the forms of orthography would be nowe or less fluctuating, from the total want of any considerable number of copies following one general principle in the composition of their words. There never could have been, as at the present day, any multiplied exemplars of the same work, the literal fac-similes of each other,—and consequently

the reciprocal guarantees of their respective integrity and fidelity to the original text; nor any acknowledged standard of appeal which was to direct the mind in cases of dubious Hence every writer would of course adopt the genered style acquired during his school instruction; and where this chanced to be defective, he would naturally fly to analogy as the best arbitrator of his doubts. Now, though nothing is more certain than that the existing laws of our language are the consequences of some antecedent ones, and that all are governed by an analogy systematic in its constitution; yet nothing also is more clear, than that unless we pursue this analogy according to its governing principle, it will lead us to the most erroneous and indefensible conclusions. Let any one for example assume some particular letters, as the unvarying representatives of any determinate sound; and having applied them in conjunction with the remaining symbols making up the different words in which this sound recurs, compare his novel mode of association, with that generally received: The result will give him a language strongly resembling the written compositions of all our early manuscripts, with one grand distinction,—that though this kind of analogy has been chiefly followed, it was never systematically adhered to; and that the exceptions to the rule have been hardly less numerous, than the cases in which it has been applied. This we may readily conceive to have arisen from the influence of the style acquired enforcing one kind of analogy, and the unbiassed judgement of the writer,—unbiassed except by the natural power of oral delivery,—giving direction to another. The latter indeed must have been the universal guide in all cases of uncertainty; and, for the reason before given, both a varying and unsatisfactory one. In addition to these difficulties, there was another co-operating cause, which will of itself explain a large body of minor variations. The study of the English

language, in common with that of every vernacular dialect in Europe, was the offspring of comparatively recent ages; and of the component parts which fill the measure of this study orthography was nearly the last to occupy public attention That it would have followed in the order of time, without the invention of printing, is clear from the attention bestowed upon it by the ancient world 175. But it never could have demanded any share of serious notice, until the literature of the country had been to a certain degree matured; until grammar as science had become sedulously pursued; and the labours of grammarians had established certain rules of orthoepy, which every writer would have willingly followed. From a combination of these causes, therefore, the unsettled state of early orthography is easily deducible. The confusion it has originated will be evident on the perusal of a single page in Mr. Ritson's Romances: but the corollary which has been drawn from it,that the manuscripts exhibit a text whose integrity ought invariably to be preserved,—can only be admitted under a presumption that the enunciation of those who wrote them was as fluctuating as their graphic forms. The latter proposition is an inevitable consequence of the previous inference (and is a position in itself so unwarrantable and incredible, that it needs only to be considered with reference to its practicability, to receive the condemnation it merits.

It is true, a great deal of traditionary opinion might be cited in favour of such an hypothesis, and several distinguished writers of our own day have been found to lend it the countenance of their names. Mr. Mitford has declared, that the Brut of Layamon displays "all the appearance of a language thrown into confusion by the circumstances of those who spoke it176;" and Mr. Sharon Turner has observed of our lan-

¹⁷⁵ The state of our Anglo-Saxon ma- 176 See Mr. Mitford's Harmony of nuscripts and the labours of Ælfric alone Language. The expressions in the might be cited in proof of these positions, text have been taken from Mr. Camp-

guage, in a still earlier stage: "the Saxon anomalies of grammar seem to have been so capricious, and so confused, that their meaning must have been often rather conjectured, than understood; and hence it is, that their poetry, especially in Beowulf, is often so unintelligible to us. There is no settled grammar to guarantee the meaning; we cannot guess so well por so rapidly as they, who, talking every day in the same phrases, were familiar with their own absurdities. Or perhaps when the harper recited, they often caught his meaning from his gesticulation, felt it when they did not understand it, and thought obscurity to be the result of superior ability "." It will be no disparagement to the talents of these distinguished historians, that a subject unconnected with the general tenor of their studies, and only incidentally brought before them, should have eluded their penetration; or that a plausible theory, rather extensively accredited, should have surprised them into an acquiescence in its doctrines. But when it is asserted, under the authority of a name so deservedly

bell's citation, in his Essay on English Poetry, p. 33: where the reader will also find an able refutation of Mr. Ellin's opinions upon the progress of the English language.—It is impossible that Mr. Campbell should not at all times be awake to the spirit of genuine poetry, bowever disguised by the rust of antiquity. And if some of the criticisms in this genial Essay prove rather startling to the zealous admirer of our early burature, he will rather attribute them to the same cause which during an age of romantic poetry makes the effusions of Mr. Campbell's muse appear an echo of the chaste simplicity and measured energy of Attic song.

History of England, vol. i. p. 564. All opinions of this kind are evidently founded upon the belief, that language is the product of man's invention; and that the succession of time alone has perfected the first crude conceptions of his mind. To such a belief we may apply the argument opposed to those,

who conceive the human race to have grown out of the earth like so many cabbages. Bring forward your proof that this phenomenon had a real existence, and your reasons for its discontinuance. Both propositions are equally defensible, and entitled to the same degree of credence. It is a common piece of address with the favourers of this theory, to refer us to the language of some savage Indian tribe, of whom we know as much as the traveller has been pleased to inform us. The personal qualifications of the latter to speak upon the question we have no means of deciding. In a parallel case, Dr. Johnson justly charged Montesquieu with want of fairness, for deducing a general principle from some observance obtaining in Mexico or Japan, it might be, for which he could adduce no better authority than the vague account of some traveller whom accident had taken there.

esteemed as Mr. Mitford's, that political disturbances have produced a corresponding confusion in the structure of a nation's language, and that a disjointed time has been found to subvert the whole economy of a dialect, we are in justice bound to inquire, by what law of our nature these singular results ensue, and in what degree the example given will warrant such a conclusion. We may readily grant the learned advocate of this hypothesis any state of civil confusion he chooses to assume, in the ages immediately following upon the Norman conquest; and still, with every advantage of this concession, the position he has adopted must preserve all the native nakedness of its character. For, until it shall be shown that political commotions have a decided tendency to derange the intellectual and physical powers, in the same degree that they disorganize civil society; and that, under the influence of troubled times, men are prone to forget the natural means of communicating their ideas, to falter in their speech, and recur to the babble of their infancy,—we certainly have not advanced beyond the threshold of the argument. That such effects have ever occurred from the cause alleged, in any previous age, remains yet to be demonstrated; that they do not occur in the existing state of society,—that they are not therefore the necessary results of any acknowledged law of our nature,—the experience of the last thirty years of European warfare and political change may at least serve as a testimony.

An influx of foreigners, or a constant intercourse with and dependence upon them, may corrupt the idiom of a dialect to a limited extent, or charge it with a large accumulation of exotic terms; but this change in the external relation of the people speaking the dialect, will neither confound the original elements of which it is composed, nor destroy the previous character of its grammar. The lingua franca as it is called, of

the shores washed by the Mediterranean sea, contains an admixture of words requiring all the powers of an erudite linguist to trace the several ingredients to their parent sources; yet with all the corruptions and innovations to which this oddly assorted dialect has been subjected, it invariably acknowledges the laws of Italian grammar. A similar inundation of foreign terms is to be found in the German writers of the seventeenth century, where the mass of Latin, Greek and French expressions almost exceeds the number of vernacular words: yet here again the stranger matter has been made to accommodate itself to the same inflections and modal changes as those which govern the native stock. In considering the language of Layamon, however, there is no necessity for having recourse to this line of argument. In the specimen published by Mr. Ellis, not a Gallicism is to be found, nor even a Norman term: and so far from exhibiting any "appearance of a language thrown into confusion by the circumstances of those who spoke it," nearly every important form of Anglo-Saxon grammar is rigidly adhered to; and so little was the language altered at this advanced period of Norman influence, that a few slight variations might convert it into genuine Anglo-Saxon. That some change had taken place in the style of composition and general structure of the language, since the days of Alfred, is a matter beyond dispute; but that these mutations were a consequence of the Norman invasion, or were even accelerated by that event, is wholly incapable of proof; and nothing is supported upon a firmer principle of rational induction, than that the same effects would have ensued if William and his followers had remained in their native soil. The substance of the change is admitted on all hands to consist in the suppression of those grammatical intricacies, occasioned by the inflection of nouns, the seemingly arbitrary distinctions of gender, the government of prepositions, &c.

How far this may be considered as the result of an innate law of the language, or some general law in the organization of those who spoke it, we may leave for the present undecided but that it was no way dependent upon external circumstances, upon foreign influence or political disturbances, is established by this undeniable fact, -that every branch of the Low German stock, from whence the Anglo-Saxon sprang, displays the same simplification of its grammar. In all these languages, there bas been a constant tendency to relieve themselves of that precision which chooses a fresh symbol for every shade of meaning, to lessen the amount of nice distinctions, and detect as it were royal road to the interchange of opinion. Yet in thus diminishing their grammatical forms and simplifying their rules, in this common effort to evince a striking contrast to the usual effects of civilization, all confusion has been prevented by the very manner in which the operation has been conducted: for the revolution produced has been so gradual in its progress, that it is only to be discovered on a comparison of the respective languages at periods of a considerable interval.

The opinions of Mr. Turner "s upon the character of the

Fig. 1t would take a much greater space, to offer a detailed refutation of Mr. Turner's opinions, than is occupied in the original recital of them. But in a future publication, when examining Mr. Tyrwhitt's Fissay on the Longuage and Versification of Chaucer, the editor pledges himself to substantiate by the most irrefragable proofs all that he has advanced. In the present state of the question, he can only appeal to the common sense and daily experience of the reader, coupled with an assurance that the counsel and practice of Junius and Hickes are directly opposed to this novel theory. It may be as well perhaps to offer one instance out of a thousan!, In proof of the assistance to be gained by a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon grammar. The following passage, as it stands in our present text,

is false in its grammatical construction; and defective in alliteration.

> Gif thu Grendles dearst Night longne Fyrstne anbidan.

Mr. Turner's translation:

If thou darest the Grendel
The space of a long night
Awaits thee.

Restore the grammar, and we obtain the alliteration, without changing a letter of the text.

Gif thu Grendles dearst Night-longue fyrst Nean bidan,

If thou darest Grendles (encounter, gething, of the context)
(A) might long space
Neur abide.

Anglo-Saxon language might be safely left to the decision of the practical inquirer, who, without allowing himself to be dazzled by the brilliancy of an abstract speculation, or to be swayed by the influence of a long-established prejudice, considers every theory with reference to man in society. To him we might appeal for the solution of our doubts, as to the posshility of conducting the commonest concerns of life, with these imperfect means of communicating our wants; or how the Babel-like confusion attendant upon a people, who had "no settled grammar to guarantee their meaning, who were compelled to guess the import of their mutual absurdities," was not to involve a second dissolution of the social compact, and another separation of the families of the earth so visited. But fortunately Mr. Turner, in the same spirit of candour that attends all his investigations, has supplied us with the proofs upon which his conclusions are gounded; and in so doing has afforded us the most satisfactory means of producing a refutation of his opinions. It may appear surprising, but it is nevertheless true, that of the numerous specimens adduced in support of the "capricious anomalies" to be found in Saxon grammar, not a single instance occurs which is not rigidly in unison with the laws of that grammar: and so strikingly consistent is the obedience they display to the rules there enforced, that any future historian of the language might select the same examples in proof of a contrary position. He would only have to apprise the reader of some peculiarities in those laws, which Mr. Turner seems to have misunderstood, or not to have been acquainted with; and to inform him that the simple rule observed in our own times respecting the genders of nouns, was not acknowledged in Saxon grammar; and consequently, that in this department there was a greater degree of complexity; that the inflection of nouns was governed by no single norm, but varied as in

the languages of the ancient world; that every class embraced in this same part of speech, was not alike perfectly inflected; that some exhibit a change of termination in almost every case, while others approach the simplicity of our present forms, having only a change in the genitive; that a difference in the sense produced a change in the government of the prepositions 179; and lastly, that the adjective was differently inflected, as it was used in conjunction with the definite or indefinite article. With these observances, a reader unacquainted with a single line of Anglo-Saxon, and only assisted by the paradigm of declensions contained in any grammar, might reduce Mr. Turner's anomalies to their original order; and collect from the regularity with which they conform to the standards given, the general spirit of uniformity that obtained throughout the language. Indeed there is nothing more striking, or more interesting to the ardent philologer, than the order and regularity preserved in Anglo-Saxon composition, the variety of expression, the innate richness, and plastic power with which the language is endowed; and there are few things more keenly felt by the student of Northern literature, or a mind strongly alive to the same qualities as they are retained in the language of Germany, than that all these excellencies should have disappeared in our own. But it will be better to remain silent on a subject of such vain regret, and to avail ourselves of the only advantage to be derived from the knowledge of it. It is capable of demonstration, that in the golden days of Anglo-Saxon literature, the æra of Alfred, the language of written composition was stable in its character, and to all appearance continued so till the cultivation of it among the learned became no longer an object of emulation. mutations that ensued, it has been already asserted, were not

¹⁷⁹ Mr. Turner has noticed this pecu- was systematically observed; which is liarity, but then he has denied that it the point at issue.

the result of any capricious feeling, acknowledging no general principle of action; but a revolution effected upon certain and determinate laws, which, however undefined in their origin, re sufficiently evident in their consequences. The general result has been, a language whose grammatical rules have been long ascertained, at least in every particular bearing upon the present subject; and we are thus supplied with two unvarying standards of appeal at the extremes of the inquiry. Now, in such a state of the question, it will be obvious that every word which has retained to our own times the orthography bestowed mon it by the Anglo-Saxons, must during the intervening periods have preserved in the enunciation a general similarity of sound; and that however differently it may be written, a whatever additional letters or variations of them may have been conferred upon it by transcribers, there could have been one legitimate form of its orthography. The changes introduced could only have been caused by an attempt to re-Concile the orthography with the sounds emitted in delivery; and ought not to be considered as in any degree indicative of fuctuation in the mode of pronouncing them. In another warmerous class of words, it is equally clear that a change of orthography from the Anglo-Saxon forms has arisen solely From the abolition of the accentual marks which distinguished the long and short syllables. As a substitute for the former, the Norman scribes, or at least the disciples of the Norman school of writing, had recourse to the analogy which governed the French language; and to avoid the confusion which would have sprung from observing the same form in writing a certain number of letters differently enounced and bearing a dif**ferent** meaning, they elongated the word, or attached as it vere an accent instead of superscribing it. From hence has emanated an extensive list of terms, having final e's and duplicate consonants; and which were no more the representatives of additional syllables, than the acute or grave accept in the Greek language is a mark of metrical quantity 180. . Qfin those variations which arose from elision, a change in the enunciation, or from the adoption of a new combination letters for the same sound, it is impossible to speak briefly and a diligent comparison of our early texts, and a clear understanding of the analogies which have prevailed in the constitution of words, can alone enable us to speak decisively. But with this knowledge before us of the real state of the question, it is high time to relieve ourselves of the arbitrage restrictions imposed by a critic wholly ignorant of the first principles by which language is regulated; whose acquaintance with the fountain head of "English undefiled" induced him to call it "a meagre and barren jargon which was incapable of discharging its functions," (though possessing all the natural) copiousness and plastic power of the Greek); and whose love for the lore itself seems rather to have arisen from a blind admiration of those barbaric innovations which make it repulsive to the scholar and the man of taste, than from any feeling of the excellencies that adorn it 181. The trammels of the Ritsonian school can only perpetuate error, by justifying the preconceived notions of "confusion and anomalies," from the very documents that ought to contain a refutation of such opinions; and we can never hope to obtain a legitimate series of specimens, duly illustrating the rise and progress of the language, till we recur to the same principles in establishing

The converse of this can only be maintained, under an assumption that the Anglo-Saxon words of one syllable multiplied their numbers after the conquest, and in some succeeding century subsided into their primitive simplicity.

Dr. Percy's corrections of the Reliques of English Poetry: "The purchaseers and peruseers of such a collection are

deceive'd and impose'd upon; the plansure they receive is derive'd from the idea of antiquity, which in fact is perfect illusion!" There is no parrying an objection of this kind, which, forcible as it may be, is not quite original. It is the language of that worthy gentlement M. la Rancune in the Roman Comique, troisieme partie, c. 9.

recent that have been observed by every editor of a Greek or Roman classic. With such a system for our guide, we may expect to see the natural order which prevailed in the enuncition of the language, restored to the pages recording it; and effectual check imposed upon the "multiplying spawn" of reprints, which, in addition to all the errors preserved in the first impression from the manuscript, uniformly present us with the further mistakes of the typographer. Whether such a principle was felt by Warton, in the substitution he has take of more recent forms in his text, for the unsettled orthography of his manuscripts, must now be a fruitless inquiry; but we shall have no difficulty in convincing ourselves, that his specimens would have been more intelligible to the age in which they were written, if enounced by a modern, than the truscripts of Mr. Ritson with all their scrupulous fidelity.

The glossarial notes of Warton form so small a portion of his labours, that they would not have required a distinct enumeration, had they not been made the subject of Mr. Ritson's minedversion. That they constituted no essential part of his undertaking, that his general views of our early poetry, and his opinions upon the respective merits of our poets, would have been as accurate and perspicuous without subjoining a single glossarial illustration, or failing to thrice the extest in which he has committed himself, will be felt by any Beral critic who will take the trouble of examining how few Warton's positions are affected by these deficiencies. mount of obsolete terms in any early writer, bears so small a proportion to the general mass of his matter, that his genius might be appretiated, and his excellencies pourtrayed, by a person unable to refer to a single gloss on the text. mistance thus acquired may develop particular beauties, or give a firmer comprehension of their effect; but the poetry which depends for its merit upon the felicity of single phrases,

be gathered from isolated terms, can want of ability to detect its disjointed purpose of an historian, Warton's skill in certainly sufficient; and, if not co-extensive acquirements of his opponent, it will lower in the scale of such attainments than There are few men at the have given their attention to this subject, mi mik otherwise than lightly of the "utmost care a sie glossary" to the Metrical Romances; and no advanced to any proficiency in the study, who wi as mair acknowledge the easy nature of such labours, success is to be considered as the result of mental industry.

it are only remains to give an account of the plan upon present edition has been conducted. The text of warm has been scrupulously preserved with the exception A & we unimportant corrections, of which notice is given by merpulations being printed within brackets. The specisees of early poetry have been either collated with MSS. in British Museum 183, or copied from editions of acknowtidelity "; and the glossarial notes corrected wherever

w Whenever Mr. Ritson felt disword a lecture on glossography, W:. Ellis was usually summoned bethe the magisterial chair. The folwatth amusing specimen may be cited be way of example:

The scycle the boy, Nys he but a wreache? What thar any man of hym recche?

Mister Ellis hath strangely misconwire'd this simple passage; supposeing served as it is there printed (i. e. un Ways Fabliaux) to be one word and the uneaning "He is not without his revenge (i. e. compensation) whatever any man may think of him." The boy bowever manifestly intends our seedy

knight no compliment in the question he asks: "Is he aught," says he, "but a wretch (or begerly rascal?) What does any one care for him?" Now simple as this passage may be, Mr. Ritson has contrived to "misconceive" it in two places: first by affixing a note of interrogation to wreche; and secondly by overlooking the verb "thar" (need). This obsolete term occurs frequently in Mr. Ritson's volumes, but finds no place in his glossary.

Mr. Park's collations of the Oxford MSS, will be found at the end of the respective volumes containing War-

ton's transcripts.

154 The section on the Rowleian controversy forms an exception. It was the editor's ability was equal to the task. But less attention he been directed to this latter subject than would otherwise have been bestowed upon it, from an intention long entertained driving a general glossary to the whole work, which should cabrace Warton's numerous omissions. The additional notes are such as appeared necessary, either for illustration or emendation of the subjects noticed: but the editor was early tenent that the former would comprise a small part of his daties, since, however lavish Warton may appear in the communication of his matter, it will be obvious to any one who trace him through his authorities, that he has been parsimonious rather than prodigal in the use of his resources. With such a hint, it was therefore considered incumbent to ie no additional illustration which could by possibility have been within his knowledge. To the First Dissertation such been added as could be conveniently introduced without interfering with Warton's theory; the second is so emplete in itself, that the editor has been unable to detect in the more recent labours of Eichhorn, Heeren, Turner and Berrington, any omission which may not be considered as in-The third relates to a subject of which Warton rather uncovered the surface than explored the depths, which, notwithstanding the subsequent and important beers of Mr. Douce, still awaits a further investigation. this edition, however, it has been made to follow those originally profixed by Warton to his first volume, from a conviction that i will be found equally useful in preparing the reader's mind in the topics discussed in the succeeding pages.

But though thus compelled to speak of his own labours as

is an appendix; but a new division is rolumes brought it to the close of second. It has been faithfully reliated from Warton's text with all the second of the first transcripts (as

they were gathered at the time from periodical publications), that the reader interested in the subject might form an estimate of the state of the question when Warton pronounced his decision. first in the order of time, and with reference to the disposition of the work, the editor has the pleasing task of communicating that the most important contributions to these volumes have flowed from other sources. Nearly the whole of Warton first and second volume had been sent to the press when the publisher acquired by purchase the papers of Mr. Park, gentleman whose general acquaintance with early English literature is too well known to need remark, and whose attertion for many years has been directed to an improved edition of the History of English Poetry. Among the accessions thus obtained were found some valuable remarks by Mr. Ritson Mr. Douce, and an extract of every thing worthy of notice in the copious notes of Dr. Ashby as, and an extensive body as illustrations either collected or written by Mr. Park, of which it would be presumption in a person so little qualified as the present editor to offer an opinion. To have incorporated this newly acquired matter in the respective pages to which it refer was found impossible, without cancelling nearly the whole in pression, and it has therefore been subjoined in the shape additional notes at the close of each volume. Fortunately, how ever, the greater share of Mr. Park's commentary was directs to the contents of Warton's Third Volume, and was cons quently obtained in time to be inserted beneath the original text For this portion of the edition, indeed, Mr. Park may be considered responsible, as the editor's notes were withdraw wherever they touched upon a common subject, and those remaining are too few to need any specific mention. It would have been more agreeable if such an opportunity had present itself in an earlier stage of the work; but however much might have been gained by having the same information communicated in a more pleasing form, this was not thought sufficient

The papers of Dr. Ashby were found to contain anything of contains purchased at the same time (at quence which had not been previous no small expense); but they were not used by Mr. Park.

against the work for its extensive repetitions. Wherever therefore Mr. Park's remarks on the previous volumes referred to a common subject without supplying any further illustration of it, they have been suppressed: but this, with the exception of a few animadversions of a sectarian tendency, and one or two notes copied from other writers, and obviously inaccurate, forms the whole that has been withdrawn from the public eye.

In the progress of his duties, a variety of subjects presented themselves to the editor's mind, as requiring some further illustration than could be lawfully comprised within the limits of a note; and under this impression he more than once ventured to promise a further discussion of the points at issue, in some subsequent part of the work. But the materiels connected with these topics have so grown under his hands, that he has been compelled to relinquish the intention, and to reserve for a separate and future undertaking the inquiries to which they relate. The promised account of the distinctions of dialect in the Anglo-Saxon language, and the state of their poetry 186, has been in part withheld for the same reasons; and partly from a knowledge subsequently obtained that the subject was in much better hands. A volume containing numerous specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman poetry, with translations and illustrations by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, is on the eve of publication.

Note omitted at p. (96.) l. 13.

For the same reason (want of space) it has been found necessary

The Anglo-Saxon ode given at p. lxxxvii. will be considered a substitute perhaps for this omission. One of the obscurities in that poem may be removed by a slight emendation of the text. If for "werig wiges sæd," we

read "werig and wiges sæd," weary, and sad of (on account of, the) war, the present difficulty vanishes, and the expression may be justified by the "hilde sædne" of Beowulf, ed. Thorkelin, p. 202.

to omit any examination of the general style of the romantin tale, and the tone and colouring of its events, as compared with similar productions of the ancient world. The latter indeed are only preserved to us in the meagre notices of the gramme. rians; but even these inadequate memorials contain the traces of all those lineaments which have been supposed to confer an original character upon the poetry of modern Europe. The same love of adventure, of heroic enterprise, and gallant daring; the same fondness for extraordinary incident and marvellous agency obtrudes itself at every step: and to take one example out of many, the Life of Perseus might be made to pass for the outline of an old romance or the story of a genuine chevalier preux. Let the reader only remember the illegitimate but royal descent of this hero, his exposure to almost certain death in infancy, his providential escape, the hospitality of Dictys, the criminal artifices of Polydectes, the gallant vow by which the unsuspecting stranger hopes to lessen his obligation to the royal house of Seriphus, the consequences of that vow, the aid be receives from a god and goddess, the stratagem by which he gains a power over the monstrous daughter of Phorcys-who alone can instruct him in the road which leads to the dwelling of the Nymphs—the gifts conferred upon him by the latter, the magic scrip (which is to conceal the Gorgon's head without undergoing petrifaction), the winged sandals (which are to transport him through the air), the helmet of Pluto (which is to render him invisible), the sword of Mercury, or according to other traditions of Vulcan, and the assistance given him by Minerva in his encounter with the terrific object of his pursuit,-let the reader only recall these circumstances to his memory, and he will instantly recognise the common details of early European romance. Again: his punishment of the inhospitable and wily Atlas, the rescue of Andromeda, and the slaughter of the monster

shout to devour her; the rivalry and defeat of Phineus, the delivery of Danaë from the lust of Polydectes, and the ultimate succession of Perseus to the throne of Argos, which he forgoes that he may become the founder of another kingdom, -only complete the train of events, which make up the successful course of a modern hero's adventures. A mere change of names and places,—with the substitution of a dwarf for Mercury, and a fairy for Minerva, of a giantess for the Phorcycles, of a mild enchantress for the Nymphs, a magician for Atlas, and the terrific flash of the hero's eyes for the petrifying power of Medusa's head—an Icelandic romance would say "at hefe segishialmr i augom,"—with a due admixture of all the pageantry of feudal manners, would give us a romance which, for variety of incident and the prolific use of supernatural agency, might vie with any popular production of the middle-The extraordinary properties of the sandals and helmet have already been shown to occupy a conspicuous rank among the wonders of modern romance; the sword of Mercury was called Harpé, as that of Arthur was named Excalibor; while to prove the affinity of this singular story with the genuine elements of popular fiction, all its incidents are to be found in the life of the Northern Sigurdr, or the Neapolitan tale of Lo Dragone. (Pentamerone Giorn. iv. Nov. 35.)

There is another point connected with the present subject, upon which a similar silence has been observed, and found exclusively in modern romance,—the tone of chivalric devotion to the commands and wishes of the softer sex, and the general spirit of gallantry, which without the influence of passion acknowledged their rights and privileges. On a future occasion it will be shown, that in considering this question, the expressions of Tacitus in his Germany have been too literally interpreted. There is little in this valuable tract, relative to the female sex, which does not find a parallel in the institu-

tions of other nations of the ancient world, wherever we find a notice of them, under a similar degree of civilization. The respect paid to female inspiration ought not to receive a more enlarged acceptation than is given to the remark of Pythagoras: "He farther observed, that the inventor of names.... perceiving the genus of women is most adapted to piety, gave to each of their ages the appellation of some Deity. In conformity to which also, the oracles in Dodona and at Delphi are unfolded into light by a woman." (Iamb. Life of Pythagoras, c. xi. Taylor's Transl.) Indeed the customs of the Doric States have been wholly overlooked in settling this question, and the Attic or Ionic system of seclusion taken for the general practice of all Greece. Is there any thing in Tacitus more decidedly in favour of female rights, than the apophthegm of Gorgo preserved by Plutarch (and quoted from memory)? "Of all your sex in Greece," said a stranger, "you" Lacedæmonian women alone govern the men." "True," replied Gorgo; "but then we alone are the mothers of men." The elder Cato met a similar charge by observing: "Omnes homines mulieribus imperant, nos omnibus hominibus, nobis mulieres." But here again it was insufficient to check those results so mournfully pourtrayed by Tacitus in his Annals and his History. If, however, this feeling were of Northern or Germanic origin, we might naturally expect that it would be most apparent among those nations who were last converted to Christianity, and who are known to have preserved so many of their ancient opinions. Now Mr. Müller, who has just risen from the perusal of all the Northern Sagas, assures us, that there is no trace of romantic gallantry in any of these productions: and it is clear from his analysis of many, that the Scandinavian women in early times were cuffed and buffeted with as little compunction as Amroo and Morfri castigate Ibla. (See Antar. i. 334. ii. 71.) We might with equal

propriety attempt to trace to the forests of Germany all the subtleties of the scholastic philosophy (and which arose in the same age as the courts of Love), as to claim for their inhabitants that reverence and adoration of the female sex which has descended to our own times. This deference to female rights and the establishment of an equality between the sexes have in their origin been wholly independent of love as a passion, (whose language in all ages and among all nations has been the same,) and are manifestly the offspring of that dispensation, which has purified religion of every sensual rite, and which, by spiritualizing all our hopes and wishes of a future existence, has shed the same refining influence on our present institutions: "L'amour de Dieu et des dames" was not a mere form.

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THREE DISSERTATIONS:

- 1. OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.
- 2 ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.
- S ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.



ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION

IN EUROPE.

DISSERTATION I.

THAT peculiar and arbitrary species of Fiction which we commonly call Romantic, was entirely unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome*. It appears to have been imported into Europe by a people, whose modes of thinking, and habits of invention, are not natural to that country. It is generally supposed to have been borrowed from the Arabians †. But this

• [" It cannot be true," says Ritson, "that romance was entirely unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome; since, without considering the Iliad, Odyssey, Encid, &c. in that point of view, we have many ancient compositions, which clearly fall within that denomination: as the pastoral of Daphnis and Chloe by Longus; the Æthiopicks of Heliodorus; Xenophon's Ephesian History," &c. &c. (MS. note in Dr. Raine's copy of Wari's History, purchased from Ritson's library.) To these recollections, Mr. Douce has added the romance of Apuleius; the loves of Clitophon and Leucippe, by Achilles Tatius; and the very carious Adventures of Rhodanes and Sinonis, or the Babylonic Romance, of which an epitome is preserved by Photius in his Bibliotheca, Cod. xciv. "This," mys Mr. D., "is perhaps the oldest work of the kind, being composed by one Lamblicus, who lived under Marcus Aurelius."

"The progress of romance and the state VOL. 1.

of learning in the middle ages (says Gibbon, Decline and Fall,) are illustrated by Mr. Thomas Warton with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian. I have derived much instruction from the two learned dissertations prefixed to the first volume of his History of English Poetry."—Park.]

[This is a mere cavil of Mr. Ritson's, who could not believe a scholar of Warton's attainments to have been unacquainted with these erotic novels. Several of them are mentioned in vol. ii. p. 183. In the dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy, Warton is even reproached for describing another—the loves of Clitophon and Leucippe—as a "poetical novel of Greece." In fact, it is manifest from this expression, that Warton chose to exclude this and similar productions from the title of romantic fictions.—Edit.]

† [See Huet Traité de l'Origine des Romans, who has discussed this opinion at large.—Doucz.]

origin has not been hitherto perhaps examined or ascertained with a sufficient degree of accuracy. It is my present design, by a more distinct and extended inquiry than has yet been applied to the subject, to trace the manner and the period of its introduction into the popular belief, the oral poetry, and the literature, of the Europeans.

It is an established maxim of modern criticism, that the fictions of Arabian imagination were communicated to the western world by means of the Crusades. Undoubtedly those expeditions greatly contributed to propagate this mode of fabling in Europe. But it is evident, (although a circumstance which certainly makes no material difference as to the principles here established,) that these fancies were introduced at a much earlier period. The Saracens, or Arabians, having been for some time seated on the northern coasts of Africa, entered Spain about the beginning of the eighth century. Of this country they soon effected a complete conquest: and imposing their religion, language, and customs, upon the inhabitants, erected a royal seat in the capital city of Cordova.

That by means of this establishment they first revived the sciences of Greece in Europe, will be proved at large in another place^b: and it is obvious to conclude, that at the same time they disseminated those extravagant inventions which were so peculiar to their romantic and creative genius. A manuscript cited by Du Cange acquaints us, that the Spaniards, soon after the irruption of the Saracens, entirely neglected the study of the Latin language; and, captivated with the novelty of the oriental books imported by these strangers, suddenly adopted an unusual pomp of style, and an affected elevation of

b See the second Dissertation.

^{*} See Almakin, edit. Erpenius, p. 72.

* [The conquest of Spain by the Arabians becomes one of the most curious and important events recorded in history, when it is considered as having in a great degree contributed to the progress of civilization in Europe, and to the diffusion of science and art. (See this illustrated in the Arabian Antiquities of Spain, by

J. C. Murphy.) "But there is evidence, though not the most satisfactory," says Mr. Douce, "that the fabulous stories of Arthur and his Knights existed either among the French or English Britons, before the conquest of Spain by the Arabians."—PARK.]

diction. The ideal tales of these Eastern invaders, recommended by a brilliancy of description, a variety of imagery, and an exuberance of invention, hitherto unknown and unfamiliar to the cold and barren conceptions of a western climate, were eagerly caught up, and universally diffused. From Spain, by the communications of a constant commercial intercourse through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, they soon passed into France and Italy*.

In France, no province, or district, seems to have given these fictions of the Arabians a more welcome or a more early reception, than the inhabitants of Armorica+ or Basse-Bretagne, now Britany; for no part of France can boast so great a number of antient romances c. Many poems of high antiquity, composed by the Armorican bards, still remaind, and

" " Arabico eloquio sublimati," &c. De Cang. Gloss. Med. Inf. Latinitat.

ten. i. Præf. p. xxvii. §. 31.

• [Ritson avers, that there is not one single French romance now extant, and but one mentioned by any ancient writer, which existed before the first Crusade, under Godfrey earl of Bologne, afterand king of Jerusalem, in 1097.— PARK.

† [From Ar y-mor ucha', i. e. on the spper sea. See Jones's Relicks of the

Welsh Bards.—PARK.]

#["The lays of this country," says Ritson, "were anciently very celebrated, although not one, nor even the smallest vertige of one, in its vernacular language (a dialect of the Britanno-Celtic) is known to exist. The Bretons have but one single poem, of any consequence, in their native idiom, ancient or modern: the predictions of a pretended prophet, maned Gwinglass, the MS. whereof is dated 1450." Notes to Metric. Rom. iii. 529. Ritson afterwards expresses his belief, that by Bretagne and Bretons were meant the island and inhabitants of At the same time, it Great Britain. does not (he thinks) appear, that any nch lays are preserved in Wales any were than in Basse-Bretagne, if, in fact, they ever existed in either country. Ibid.

p. 332. In his Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy (p. xxiv.) Ritson adds two other Armoric poems to the predictions of Gwinglaff, viz. the life of Gwenolé, abbot of Landevenec, one of their fabulous saints; and a little dramatic piece on the taking of Jerusalem. Thus, our doughty critic, from being too positive and too peremptory, had cause to correct his own hallucinations as well as those of others.—PARK.]

^c The reason on which this conclusion is founded, will appear hereafter. [" It is difficult," says Mr. Douce, "to conceive, that the people of Britany could have been influenced by the Arabians at any

period."—PARK.]

4 In the British Museum is a set of old French tales of chivalry in verse, written, as it seems, by the bards of Bre-

tagne. MSS. Harl. 978. 107.

These tales were not written by the bards of Bretagne, but by a poetess of the name of Marie de France, of whom nothing is known. In one of these lais she names herself, and says that most of her tales are borrowed from the old British lais. The scenes of several of these stories are laid in Bretagne, which appears sometimes to mean Brittany in France, and sometimes Great Britain1.-Doucz. [Marie is not mentioned in Le Grand's

¹ See Note B. at the end of this Dissertation.

are frequently cited by Father Lobineau in his learned history of Basse-Bretagne. This territory was, as it were, newly peopled in the fourth century by a colony or army of the Welsh who migrated thither under the conduct of Maximus, a Roman

catalogue, though he has modernised and published her Fables in French, from king Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Esop. That she had written lays seems not to have been known to him. M. de la Rue has given a list of her lays in Archaeol. xio. 42. They are twelve in number, and one of them contains 1184 verses. She also wrote a history or tale in French verse, of St. Patrick's Purgatory, two copies of which are in the British Museum. This was early translated into English under the title of Owayne Miles (Sir Owen). Mr. Ellis, in his Specimens of early English metrical Romances, has introduced an abstract or analysis of the lays of Marie, which he informs us that Ritson either neglected to read, or was unable to understand; since he denied their Armorican origin. See his observations, vol. i. p. 137. Mr Way published an elegant version of the first of these lays (Guigemar) in his Fabliaux, and Mr. Ellis printed an early translation of the third (Lai le Fresue) from the Auchinleck MS. in his Romance Specimens .- PARE.

"TRISTIAM a WALES" is mentioned,

f. 171. b.

Tristram ki bien saveit Hanrein.

In the adventure of the knight Euouc, f. 172. b.

> En Bretaine ot un chevalier Pruz, e curteis, hardı, è fier.

Again, under the same champion, f. 175.

Il tient suu chemin tut avant. A la mer viert, si est passes, En Toteneis est arrivez; Plusurs réis ot en la tere, Entr'eus curent estrif è guere, Vers Excestre en cel pais—

Torunan is Totness in Devonshire.— Under the knight Malux, f. 166.

Milun fu de Suthwales nes.

He is eclebrated for his exploits in Ireland, Norway, Gothland, Lotharingia, Albany, &c.

Under LAUNVAL, f. 154. b. En Bretun l'apelent Lanval.

Under Guiorman, f. 141.

La caumbre ett painte tut entur; Venus le dieuesse d'amur, Fu tres bien mis en la peinture, Les traix mustrez e la nature, Cument hum deit amur tenir, E lealment e bien servir. Le livre Ovide à il ensegne, &c.

This description of a chamber painted with Venus and the three mystenes of nature, and the allusion to Ovid, prove the tales before us to be of no very high antiquity. But they are undoubtedly taken from others much older, of the same country.

(Mr. Douce observes that Warton has totally misunderstood these lines, in which there is nothing about the mysteries of nature; and they mean no more than that the chamber exhibited the description and manner how a man should fall in love, &c. Mustres is put for more

At the end of ELIDIC's tale we have

these lines. f. 181.

Del aventure de ces treis,
La auncien Barrex curteis
Firent le las pour remembrer
Que hum nel' deust pas oublier.
[Equitar?]

And under the tale of FRESNE, f. 148.

Li Bauron en firent un las.

At the conclusion of most of the tales is said that these Lais were made by the poets of Bretaigne. Another of the tale is thus closed, f. 146.

De cest conte k'oî avez Fu Gugemer le LAI troves Qui hum dist en harpe è en rote Bone en est a oir la note.

* Historian on Britagne, ii. tom. fold [Mr. Ritson says he repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, examined Lobinsau for them citations, and that Mr. Doucehad equally failed in discovering them.—Eprr.] seneral in Britain', and Conau lord of Meiriadoc or Denbighland's. The Armoric language now spoken in Britany is a dialect of the Welsh: and so strong a resemblance still subsists between the two languages, that in our late conquest of Belleisle (1756), such of our soldiers as were natives of Wales were understood by the peasantry*. Milton, whose imagination was much struck with the old British story, more than once alludes to the Welsh colony planted in Armorica by Maximus, and the prince of Meiriadoc.

Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos h.

And in the Paradise Lost he mentions indiscriminately the knights of Wales and Armorica, as the customary retinue of king Arthur.

This migration of the Welsh into Britany or Armorica, which during the distractions of the empire, (in consequence of the numerous armies of barbarians with which Rome was surrounded on every side,) had thrown off its dependence on the Romans, seems to have occasioned a close connexion between the two countries for many centuries k. Nor will it prove

Compare Borlase, Antiq. Cornwall,

b. i. ch. 10. p. 40.

h Mansus.

Maximus appears to have set up a separate interest in Britain, and to have segment an army of the provincial Britans on his side against the Romans. Not succeeding in his designs, he was chiged to retire with his British troops to the continent, as in the text. He had a considerable interest in Wales, having married Ellena daughter of Eudda, a poweful chieftain of North Wales. She was born at Caernarvon, where her chapil is still shown. Mon. Antiq. p. 166.

See Hist. de Bretagne, par d'Arguste, p. 2. Powel's Walks, p. 1, 2. Mand p. 6. edit. 1584. Lhuyd's Etymal p. 32 col. 3. And Galfrid. Mon. Har. Barr. lib. v. c. 12. vii. 3. ix. 2.

^{* [}Mr. Ellis further observes, that the Sclavonian sailors, employed on board of Venetian ships in the Russian trade, never fail to recognise a kindred dialect on their arrival at St. Petersburg. Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the English Poetry and Language, i. 8.—Park.]

Parad. L. i. 579. Compare Pelloutier, Mrm. sur la Langue Celt. fol. tom. i. 19.

k This secession of the Welsh, at so critical a period, was extremely natural, into a neighbouring maritime country, with which they had constantly traffick-

less necessary to our purpose to observe, that the Cornish Britons, whose language was another dialect of the antient British, from the fourth or fifth century downwards, maintained a no less intimate correspondence with the natives of Armorica: intermarrying with them, and perpetually resorting thither for the education of their children, for advice, for procuring troops against the Saxons, for the purposes of traffick, and various other occasions. This connexion was so strongly kept up, that an ingenious French antiquary supposes, that the communications of the Armoricans with the Cornish had chiefly contributed to give a roughness or rather hardness to the romance or French language in some of the provinces, towards the eleventh century, which was not before discernible ! And this intercourse will appear more natural, if we consider that not only Armorica", a maritime province of Gaul, never much frequented by the Romans, and now totally deserted by them, was still in some measure a Celtic nation; but that also the inhabitants of Cornwall, together with those of Devonshire and of the adjoining parts of Somersetshire, intermixing in a

ed, and which, like themselves, had dis-

claimed the Roman yoke.

That the British soldiers, enrolled by Maximus, wandered into Amourica after his death, and new named it, seems to be unfounded. I cannot avoid agreeing with Du Bos, that quantaux tems ou la peuplade des Britons insulaires s'est établie dans les Gaules, it was not before the year 519. Hist. Crit. il. 470.-Tuaben,]

It is not related in any Greek or Roman historian. But their silence is by no means a sufficient warrant for us to reject the numerous testimonies of the old British writers concerning this event. It is mentioned, in particular, by Lly-ware hen, a famous bard, who lived only one hundred and fifty years afterwards. Many of his poems are still extant, in which he celebrates his twenty-four sons who were gold chains, and were all killed in battles against the Saxons.

Eight of the Elegies of Llyware-Hen, or Llyware the Aged, were selected and translated by Richard Thomas, A. B. of Jesus College, Oxford, but these translations being more distinguished by their elegance than fidelity, the learned Mr. Owen produced a literal version of the Heroic Elegies, and other pieces of thin prince of the Cambrian Britons, which was published with the original text in 1792. It comprises the poem mentioned by Mr. Warton, which is marked by many poetic and pathetic passages. Lly ware thourished from about A.D. 520 to 690, at the period of Arthur and Cad-

wallon. See Owen's Cambrian Bio-graphy.—PARK.]

1 M. l'Abbé Lebeuf. Rechenches

&c. Mem. de Litt. tom. xvii. p. 718

edit. 4to. "Je pense que cela dura jusqu'à ce que le commerce de ces provinces avec les peuples du Nord, et de l'Allemagne, et sur rour celui des mad MITANS DEL'ARMORIQUE AVEC L'ANGLOUS

vers l'onzieme siecle," &c.

* [Armorica was the north-west conner of Gaul, included between the Loire the Seine, and the Atlantic .- PARE.]

very slight degree with the Romans, and having suffered fewer important alterations in their original constitution and customs from the imperial laws and police than any other province of this island, long preserved their genuine manners and British character: and forming a sort of separate principality under the government of a succession of powerful chieftains, usually denominated princes or dukes of Cornwall, remained partly in a state of independence during the Saxon heptarchy, and were not entirely reduced till the Norman conquest. Cornwall, in particular, retained its old Celtic dialect till the reign of Elizabeth m.

And here I digress a moment to remark, that in the circumstance just mentioned about Wales, of its connexion with Armorica, we perceive the solution of a difficulty, which at first sight appears extremely problematical: I mean, not only that Wales should have been so constantly made the theatre of the old British chivalry, but that so many of the favourite fictions which occur in the early French romances, should also be literally found in the tales and chronicles of the elder Welsh bardsⁿ. It was owing to the perpetual communication kept up between the Welsh and the people of Armorica, who abounded in these fictions, and who naturally took occasion to interweave them into the history of their friends and allies. Nor are we now at a loss to give the reason why Cornwall, in the same French romances, is made the scene and the subject of so many romantic adventures. In the mean time we may observe,

Lbeyd's Arch. p. 253. [It did not entirely cease to be spoken till of late years, may be gathered from an account of the death of an old Cornish woman, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1785.—

The story of LE COURT MANTEL, OF the Boy AND THE MANTLE, told by an old French troubadour cited by M. de beinte Palaye, is recorded in many mapuscript Welsh chronicles, as I learn from wiginal letters of Lhuyd in the Ashmokan Museum. See Mem. Anc. Chev. i. 119. And Obs. Spenser, i. §. ii. p. 54.55.

See Camd. Brit. i. 44. edit. 1723. And from the same authority I am informed, that the fiction of the giant's coat composed of the beards of the kings whom he had conquered, is related in the legends of the bards of both countries. See Obs. Spens. ut supr. p. 24. seq. But instances are innumerable.

Ohence in the Armorican tales just quoted, mention is made of Totness and Exeter, anciently included in Cornwall. In Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose we have "Hornpipis of Cornewaile," among a great variety of musical instruments. v. 4250. This is literally from the French original, v. 3991. [The Cornwall men(what indeed has been already) implied, that a strict intercourse was upheld between Cornwall and Wales. Their languages, customs, and alliances, as I have hinted, were the same; and they were separated only by a strait of inconsiderable breadth. Cornwall is frequently styled West-Wales by the British writers. At the invasion of the Saxons, both countries became indiscriminately the receptacle of the fugitive Britons. We find the Welsh and Cornish, as one people, often uniting thems, selves as in a national cause against the Saxons. They were frequently subject to the same prince, who sometimes resided in Wales, and sometimes in Cornwall; and the kings or dukes of Cornwall were perpetually sung by the Welsh bards. Llygad Gwr, a Welsh bard, in his sublime and spirited ode to Liwellyn, son of Grunfludd, the last prince of Wales of the British line, has a wish, "May the prints of the hoofs of my prince's steed be seen as far as CORNWALL "." Traditions about king Arthur, to mention no more instances, are as popular in Cornwall as in Wales: and most of the romantic castles, rocks rivers, and caves, of both nations, are alike at this day distinguished by some noble atchievement, at least by the name, of that celebrated champion. But to return.

About the year 1100, Gualter, archdeacon of Oxford, learned man, and a diligent collector of histories, travelling through France, procured in Armorica an antient chronicle written in the British or Armorican language, entitled, BRUT-Y. BRENHINED, or THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN

tioned in the Romance of the Rose was more probably the "Pays de Cornuaille" in France, a name formerly given to a part of Bretagne.—Douce.

* The chronicle of the Abbey of Mont St. Michael, gives the year 513 as the period of the flight into Bretague Anno 513 veneront trai smarini Britanni in Armoricam, id est minorem Britanniam. The ancient Saxon poet (apud Duchesne Hist. Franc. Script. 2. p. 148.) also peoples Bretagne after the Saxon conquest.—Ti nwas.]

Who was sometimes chosen from Wales and Cornwall, and sometimes from

Amorica. Borlase, ubi supr. p. 403. See also p. 375, 377, 398. And Concil. Spelman, tom. i. 9, 112, edit. 1639, for Stillingflect's Orig. Brit. ch. 5, p. 344. seq. edit. 1688, foi. From Cornwall used by the Latin monkish historiant came the present name Cornwall. Borlase, thid. p. 825.

In the curious library of the family of Davies at Llanerk in Denbighshire there is a copy of this chronicle in the bandwriting of Guttyn Owen, a celebrated Welsh bard and antiquarian about the year 1470, who ascribes it to Tyssilia bishop, and the son of Brockman

This book he brought into England, and communicated it to Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welsh Benedictine monk, an elegant writer of Latin, and admirably skilled in the British tongue. Geoffrey, at the request and recommendation of Gualter the archdeacon, translated this British chronicle into Latin', executing the translation with a tolerable degree of purity and great fidelity, yet' not without some

Yeythroc prince of Powis. Tyssilio indeed wrote a History or Britain; but that work, as we are assured by Lheyd in the Archzologia, was entirely ecclesiastical, and has been long since lost.

The Brut of Tyssilio was published in the second volume of the Welsh Archwology. A translation by the Rev. P. Roberts has since appeared under the title of: A Chronicle of the British kings. The first book of Guttyn Owain's copy being much more ample in its demais than the other MSS., was incorporated by Mr. Roberts in his volume. The remaining books appear to contain so material variations.—Enr.]

See Galfr. Mon. L. i. c. i. xii. 1. 20. ix. 2. Bale, ii. 65. Thompson's Pref. to Geoffrey's Hist. Transl. edit.

Lond. 1718. p. xxx. xvi.

* Geoffrey confesses, that he took some part of his account of king Arthur's archievements from the mouth of his friend Gualter, the archdeacon; who probably related to the translator some of the traditions on this subject which he had heard in Armorica, or which at that time might have been popular in Wales Hist Brit Galfr. Mon. lib. xi. c i He also owns that Merlin's proshecies were not in the Armorican oriinal Ib. vii. 2. Compare Thompson's Pref. ut supr. p. xxv. xxvii. speeches and letters were forged by Geoffrey; and in the description of batties, our translator has not scrupled frequent variations and additions.

I am obliged to an ingenious antiquarian in British literature, Mr. Morris of Penbryn, for the following curious remarks concerning Geoffrey's original and his translation. "Geoffrey's Syrvics, in the British original, is Sirius, which in Latin would make Jurius. This illustrates and confirms Lain-

barde's Baurus Julius. Peramb. Kent, p. 12. See also in the British bards. And hence Milton's objection is removed. Hist. Engl. p. 12. There are no Flamines of Akchplamines in the British book. See Usher's Primord. p. 57. Dubl. edit. There are very few speeches in the original, and those very short. Geoffrey's Fulgraius is in the British copy Sulien, which by analogy in Latin would be Julianus. See Milton's Hist. Eng. p. 100. There is no Luil in the British; that king's name was LLEON. Geoffrey's CARRLISLE is in the British CARRILEON, or West-Chester. In the British, LLAW AP CYNFARCH, should have been translated Lzo, which is now rendered Lorn. This has brought much confusion into the old Scotch history. I find no Brainus in the British copy; the name is BELI, which should have been in Latin Belius, or Belgius. Geoffrey's BRENNUS in the original is Bran, a common name among the Britons; as Bran ap Dyfnwal, &c. See Suidas's Ben. It appears by the original, that the British name of CARAUSIUS WAS CARAWN; lience Tregaraun, i. e. Tre-GARON, and the river CARAUN, which gives name to Abercoan. In the British there is no division into books and Those chapters, a mark of antiquity. whom the translator calls Consuls of Rome, when Brennus took it, are in the original Twysogion, i. e. princes or generals. The Gwalenses, Gwalo, or GWALAS, are added by Geoffrey, B. xii. c. 19." To what is here observed about Silius, I will add, that abbot Whethamsted, in his MS. GRANARIUM, mentions Siloius the father of Brutus. "Quomodo Brutus Silon filius ad litora Anglia venit," &c. GRANAR. Part. i. Lit. A. MSS. Cotton. NERO, C. vi. Brit. Mus. This gentleman has in his possession a very antient manuscript of the original, interpolations. It was probably finished after the year 1138 [1128*].

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the period at which our translator's original romance may probably be supposed to have been compiled. Yet this is a curious speculation, and will illustrate our argument. I am inclined to think that the work consists of fables thrown out by different rhapsodists at different times, which afterwards were collected and digested into an entire history, and perhaps with new decorations of fancy added by the compiler, who most probably was one of the professed bards, or rather a poetical historian, of Armorica or Basse-Bretagne. In this state, and under this form, I suppose it to have fallen into the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth. If the hypothesis hereafter advanced concerning the particular species of fiction on which this narrative is founded, should be granted

and has been many years preparing mater als for giving an accurate and faithful translation of it and English. The manuscript in Jesus college blirary at Oxford, which Wynne pretends to be the same which Geoffrey himself made use of, is evidertly not older than the sixteenth century. Mr. Price, the Bodleian libraran, to whose frundship this work is much indebted, has two copies lately given him by Mr. Banks, much more antient and perfect. But there is reason to suspect, that most of the British manuscripts of this history are translations from Geoffrey's Latin. for Britannia they have BRITTAEN, which in the original would have been PRYDAIN. Geoffrey's translation, and for obvious reasons, is a very common manuscript. Compare Lhuyd's Arch. p. 265.

Thompson ways, 1128, this supreparts. Ocollie is age is ascertained beyond a loubt, even if other proofs were wanting, from the cotemporaries whom he me it over 5 seh as Itohert earl of Glocester, natural son of Henry the First, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, his patrons he mentions also William of Manneshury, and Henry of Huntingdon. Wharton places Geoffrey's death in the year 1154. Episc. Assay p. 306. Robert de Monte, who continued Sigebert's chromile down to the year 1183, in the preface to that work expressly says,

that he took some of the materials of him supplement from the Historia Barros NUM, lately translated out of British into Latin. This was manifestly Geoffrey book. Alfred of Beverly, who evidently Wrote his Annales, published by Hearne, between the years 1148 and 1150 [in the year 1129.—Terrer.] borrowed his account of the British kings from Geoffrey's Historia, whose words be sometimes literally transcribes. For rustance, Alfred, in speaking of Arthor's keeping Whitsuntide at Caerleon, says, that the Historia Battorum enumerated all the kings who cause thither on Arthur's invitation and these adds, " Proter bos non remansit princeps alicujus pretu citra Hispaniam qui ad istud edictum non venerat." Afared. Bev Annal, p. 68. edit. Hearne, These are Geoffrey's own words, and so much his own, that they are one of his additions to the Brush original. But the curious reader, who desires a complete and critical discussion of this point, may consultan enginal cetter of bishop Lloyd. preserved among Tanner's manuscripts at Oxford, num. 94.

(This letter was printed in Gutch's "Collectanea Curiosa," and in Owen's British Remains, and affords little information worthy of notice.—Dot ca.

* (See Mr. Turner's History of England, i. p. 457.—Eur.)

it cannot, from what I have already proved, be more antient than the eighth century: and we may reasonably conclude, that it was composed much later, as some considerable length of time must have been necessary for the propagation and establishment of that species of fiction. The simple subject of this chronicle, divested of its romantic embellishments, is a deduction of the Welsh princes from the Trojan Brutus to Cadwallader, who reigned in the seventh century. It must be acknowledged, that many European nations were antiently fond of tracing their descent from Troy. Hunnibaldus Francus, in his Latin history of France, written in the sixth century, beginning with the Trojan war, and ending with Clovis the First, secribes the origin of the French nation to Francio a son of Priam . So universal was this humour, and carried to such an absurd excess of extravagance, that under the reign of Justinian, even the Greeks were ambitious of being thought to be descended from the Trojans, their antient and notorious enemies. Unless we adopt the idea of those antiquaries, who contend that Europe was peopled from Phrygia, it will be hard to discover at what period, or from what source, so strange and improbable a notion could take its rise, especially among nations unacquainted with history, and overwhelmed in ignorance. The most rational mode of accounting for it, is to suppose, that the revival of Virgil's Eneid about the sixth or seventh century, which represented the Trojans as the founders of Rome, the capital of the supreme pontiff, and a city on various other accounts in the early ages of christianity highly reverenced and distinguished, occasioned an emulation in many other European nations of claiming an alliance to the same respectable original.

arrival in Britain. The archbishop very seriously advises them to boast no more of their relation to the conquered and fugitive Trojans, but to glory in the victorious cross of Christ. Concil. Wilkins, tom. ii. p. 106. edit. 1737. fol.

W It is among the SCRIPTORES RER. GERMAN. Sim. Schard. tom. i. p. 301. edit. Basil. 1574. fol. It consists of eighteen books.

This notion of their extraction from the Trojans had so infatuated the Welsh, that even so late as the year 1284, archbishop Peckham, in his injunctions to the diocese of St. Asaph, orders the people to abstain from giving credit to idle dreams and visions, a superstition which they had contracted from their belief in the dream of their founder Brutus, in the temple of Diana, concerning his

The monks and other ecclesiastics, the only readers and writers of the age, were likely to broach, and were interested in propagating, such an opinion. As the more barbarous countries of Europe began to be tinctured with literature, there was hardly one of them but fell into the fashion of deducing its original from some of the nations most celebrated in the antient books. Those who did not aspire so high as king Priam, or who found that claim preoccupied, boasted to be descended from some of the generals of Alexander the Great, from Prusias king of Bithynia, from the Greeks or the Egyptians. It is not in the mean time quite improbable, that as most of the Euro pean nations were provincial to the Romans, those who fancied themselves to be of Trojan extraction might have imbibed this notion, at least have acquired a general knowledge of the Trojan story, from their conquerors: more especially the Bris tons, who continued so long under the yoke of Rome*. But as to the story of Brutus in particular, Geoffrey's hero, it may be presumed that his legend was not contrived, nor the history of his successors invented, till after the ninth century: for Nennius, who lived about the middle of that century, not only speaks of Brutus with great obscurity and inconsistency, but seems totally uninformed as to every circumstance of the British affairs which preceded Cesar's invasion. There are other proofs that this piece could not have existed before the ninth century. Alfred's Saxon translation of the Mercian law is mentioned . Charlemagne's Twelve Peers, and by an anachronism not uncommon in romance, are said to be present at king Arthur's magnificent coronation in the city of Caerleon . It were easy to produce instances, that this chronicle was undoubtedly framed after the legend of saint Ursula, the acts of saint Lucius, and the historical writings of the venerable Bede, had undergone some degree of circulation in the world. At the same time it contains many passages which incline us to determine, that some parts of it at least were written after or about the eleventh century. I will not insist on that passage, in

^{*} See 10ft. Sucr. us. p. 131, 132. 1. iii. c. 13. 1. L. 11. c. 12.

which the title of legate of the apostolic see is attributed to Dubricius in the character of primate of Britain; as it appears for obvious reasons to have been an artful interpolation of the translator, who was an ecclesiastic. But I will select other ar-Canute's forest, or Cannock-wood in Staffordshire occurs; and Canute died in the year 1036. At the ideal corenation of king Arthur, just mentioned, a tournament is described as exhibited in its highest splendor. "Many knights," mys our Armoric fabler, "famous for feats of chivalry, were present, with apparel and arms of the same colour and fashion. They formed a species of diversion, in imitation of a fight on horseback, and the ladies being placed on the walls of the castles, darted amorous glances on the combatants. None of these ladies esteemed any knight worthy of her love, but such as had given proof of his gallantry in three several encounters. Thus the valour of the men encouraged chastity in the women, and the attention of the women proved an incentive to the soldier's bravery." Here is the practice of chivalry under the combined ideas of love and military prowess, as they seem to have subsisted after the feudal constitution had acquired greater degrees not only of stability but of splendor and refinement^b. And although a species of tournament was exhibited in France at the reconciliation of the sons of Lewis the Feeble, in the close of the ninth century, and at the beginning of the tenth, the coronation of the emperor Henry was solemnized with martial entertainments, in which many parties were introduced fighting on horseback; yet it was long afterwards that these games were accompanied with the peculiar formalities, and ceremopious usages, here described. In the mean time, we cannot

Lib. i. See Pitts, p. 122. Bale, x. 21. Usser. Primord. p. 17. This subject could not have been treated by so early a writer. ["Why so," says Mr. Ashby, "if Arthur reigned in 506?"—PARK.]

L vii. c. 4.
L iz. c. 12.

Piets mentions an anonymous writer under the name of ERRMITA BRITANNUS, who studied history and astronomy, and sourished about the year 720. He wrote, buides, a book in an unknown language, entitled, Sanctum Graal, De Rege Arthuro et rebus gestis ejus. Lib. i. De Mensa rotunda et Strenus Equitibus.

c See infr. SECT. iii. p. 111. xii. p. 182, 183. I will here produce, from that learned orientalist M. D'Herbelot, some curious traits of Arabian knighterrantry, which the reader may apply to

answer for the innovations of a translator in such a description The burial of Hengist, the Saxon chief, who is said to have been interred not after the pagan fashion, as Geoffrey render the words of the original, but after the manner of the SOLDANS is partly an argument that our romance was composed about the time of the crusades. It was not till those memorable came paigns of mistaken devotion had infatuated the western world that the soldans or sultans of Babylon, of Egypt, of Iconium and other eastern kingdoms, became familiar in Europe. No that the notion of this piece being written so late as the crus sades in the least invalidates the doctrine delivered in this discourse. Not even if we suppose that Geoffrey of Monmouth was its original composer. That notion rather tends to confirm and establish my system. On the whole we may venture to affirm, that this chronicle, supposed to contain the ideas the Welsh bards, entirely consists of Arabian inventions. And in this view, no difference is made whether it was compiled about the tenth century, at which time, if not before, the Arasi bians from their settlement in Spain must have communicated their romantic fables to other parts of Europe, especially to the French; or whether it first appeared in the eleventh century after the crusades had multiplied these fables to an excessive degree, and made them universally popular. And although the general cast of the inventions contained in this romance in alone sufficient to point out the source from whence they were derived, yet I chuse to prove to a demonstration what is here advanced, by producing and examining some particular passages.

The books of the Arabians and Persians abound with extravagant traditions about the giants Gog and Magog. These

the principles of this Dissertation as he

"BATTHALL.—Une homme hardi et vaillant, qui cherche des avantures tels qu'etoient les chevaliers errant de not anciens Romans." He adds, that Batthall, an Arabian, who lived about the year of Christ 740, was a warrior of this class, concerning whom many marvel-

lous feats of arms are reported, that his life was written in a large volume, "main qu'elle est toute remplie d'eraggerations et de menteries." Bibl. Oriental. p. 193. a. b. In the royal library at Paris, thene is an Arabian book entitled, "Scirat al Mogiah-edir," i. e. "The Lives of the most valuant Champions." Num. 1079.

they call Jagiouge and Magiouge; and the Caucasian wall, mid to be built by Alexander the Great from the Caspian to the Black Sea, in order to cover the frontiers of his dominion, and to prevent the incursions of the Scythians^d, is called by the orientals the Wall of Gog and Magoge. One of the

Compare M. Petit de la Croix, Hist.

Genghiscan, L iv. c. 9.

"Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 157. **291. 318. 438. 470. 528.** 795. 796. 811, ac. They call Tartary the land of Jaisage and Magiouge. This wall, some few fragments of which still remain, they persond to have been built with all sorts d metals. See Abulfaraj Hist. Dynast. edit. Pococke, p. 62. A. D. 1673. was an old tradition among the Tartars, that the people of Jagiouge and Magiouge were perpetually endeavouring to make a passage through this fortress; but that they would not succeed in their attempt the day of judgment. See Hist. Geneal des Tartars, d'Abulgazi Bahadet Khan, p. 43. About the year 808, the caliph Al Amin having heard wondefal reports concerning this wall or barrier, sent his interpreter Salam, with a guard of fifty men, to view it. adangerous journey of near two months, Salam and his party arrived in a desobied country, where they beheld the rains of many cities destroyed by the people of Jagiouge and Magiouge. ix days more they reached the castles near the mountain Kokaiya or Caucasus. This mountain is inaccessibly steep, perpetually covered with snows and thick douds, and encompasses the country of Jagiouge and Magiouge, which is full of cultivated fields and cities. At an opening of this mountain the fortress appears: and travelling forwards, at the dimace of two stages, they found another mountain, with a ditch cut through it one hundred and fifty cubits wide: and within the aperture an iron gate fifty cubits high, supported by vast buttresses, being an iron bulwark crowned with tron turrets, reaching to the summit of the mountain itself, which is too high to be seen. The valves, lintels, threshold, bolts, lock and key, are all represented of proportionable magnitude. The goversor of the castle, above mentioned,

once in every week mounted on horseback with ten others on horseback, comes to this gate, and striking it three times with a hammer weighing five pounds, and then listening, hears a murmuring noise from within. This noise is supposed to proceed from the Jagiouge and Magiouge confined there. Salam was told that they often appeared on the battlements of the bulwark. He returned after passing twenty-eight months in this extraordinary expedition. See Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. iv. B. i. § 2. pag. 15, 16, 17. And Anc. vol. xx. pag. 23. It is by no means improbable that the mention of Gog and Magog in the Apocalypse gave rise to their general notoriety both in the East and West. This prophecy must have been applied to the Huns under Attila at a very early period; for in the Anonymous Chronicle of Hungary, published by Schwandtner (Scriptor. Rer. Hungar. Tom. I.) we find it making a part of the national history. Attila is there said to be a descendant of Magog, the son of Japhet, (Genesis ch. x. ver. 2.) from whom the Hungarians are also called Moger. This is evidently not the production of the writer's own imagination, but the simple record of a tradition, which had obtained a currency among his countrymen, and which, combined with the subsequent history of Almus and Arpad, wears the appearance of being extracted from some poetic narrative of the events. - EDIT. Pliny, speaking of the Portæ Caucasiæ, mentions, "ingens nature opus, montibus interruptis repente, ubi fores obditæ ferratis trabibus," &c. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 2. Czar Peter the First, in his expedition into Persia, had the curiosity to survey the ruins of this wall: and some leagues within the mountain he found a skirt of it which seemed entire, and was about lifteen feet high. In some other parts it is still six or seven feet in height. It seems at first sight to be built of stone:

most formidable giants, according to our Armorican romance which opposed the landing of Brutus in Britain, was Goema got. He was twelve cubits high, and would unroot an our as easily as an hazel wand: but after a most obstinate encourter with Cormeus, he was tumbled into the sea from the sum mit of a steep cliff on the rocky shores of Cornwall, and dashed in pieces against the huge crags of the declivity. The place where he fell, adds our historian, taking its name from the giant's fail, is called LAM-GOEMAGOT, or GOEMAGOT'S LEAK to this day . A no less monstrous giant, whom king Arthur slew on Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall*, is said by this fabler to have come from Spain. Here the origin of these stories is evidently betrayeds. The Arabians, or Saracens, I have hinted above, had conquered Spain, and were settled there. Arthur having killed this redoubted giant, declared that he had combated with none of equal strength and prowess since he overcame the mighty giant Ritho, on the mountain

but it consists of petrified earth, sand, and shells, which compose a substance of great solidity. It has been chiefly destroyed by the neighbouring inhabitants, for the sake of its materials and most of the adjacent towns and villages are built outof its ruins. Bentinck's Notes on Abulgazi, p. 722. Engl. edit. See Chardin's Travels, p. 176. And Strays's Voyage, B. Dt. c. 20, p. 226. Oleanus's Travels of the Holstein Ambassad. B. vii. p. 403. Geograph Nubiens, vi. c. 9. And Act. Petropolit, vol. i. p. 405. By the way, this work probably preceded the time of Alexander at does not appear, from the course of his victories, that he ever came near the Caspian gates. The first and fabulous history of the eastern nations, will perhaps be found to begin with the exploits of this Greetan hero.

! Lib. t. c. 16.

Mr Roberts in his extreme zeal for stripping the British History of all its fictions, and every romanne allusion, conceives this name a fabrication from the mint of Geoffrey. The Welsh copies read Gogmagog, yet as Ponticus Virunnius, who lived in the fifteeath century, reads Goermagog, Mr. Robert has "little doubt but that the original was Cawr-Madog, t. e. the giant or gree warrior." Beliagog is the name of giant in Sir Tristram .- Epir.

· But there is a Saint Michael Mount in Normandy, which is called Tombelgine, and Geoffrey of Mormout says the place was called Tuniba His lenge, to which the combat is said have related .- Doscg.]

E L. x. c 3.

It is very certain that the tales of Arthur and his Knights, which have appeared in so many forms, and under the various titles of the St. Granl, Tristant de Leongois, Lancelot du Lac, &c. were not immediately borrowed from the work of Geoffrey of Moninouth, bei from his Armoric originals. The Sa Graal is a work of great antiquity, probably of the eighth century. There are Weish MSS, of it still existing, which though not very old, were probably co pied from earlier ones, and are, it is to be presumed, more genuine copies of the ancient romance, than any other extant -Douez.

Arabius, who had made himself a robe of the beards of the kings whom he had killed. This tale is in Spenser's Faerie A magician brought from Spain is called to the assistance of Edwin, a prince of Northumberlandh, educated under Solomon king of the Armoricans'. In the prophecy of Merlin, delivered to Vortigern after the battle of the dragons, forged perhaps by the translator Geoffrey, yet apparently in the spirit and manner of the rest, we have the Arabians named, and their situations in Spain and Africa. "From Conau shall come forth a wild boar, whose tusks shall destroy the oaks of the forests of France. The Arabians and Africans shall dread him; and he shall continue his rapid course into the most distant parts of Spain k." This is king Arthur. In the me prophecy, mention is made of the "Woods of Africa." In another place Gormund king of the Africans occurs!. In a battle which Arthur fights against the Romans, some of the principal leaders in the Roman army are, Alifantinam king of Spain, Pandrasus king of Egypt, Boccus king of the Medes, Evander king of Syria, Micipsa king of Babylon, and a duke of Phrygia^m. It is obvious to suppose how these countries became so familiar to the bard of our chronicle. The old fictions shout Stonehenge were derived from the same inexhaustible source of extravagant imagination. We are told in this romance, that the giants conveyed the stones which compose this miraculous monument from the farthest coasts of Africa. Every one of these stones is supposed to be mystical, and to contain a medicinal virtue: an idea drawn from the medical skill of the Arabians^a, and more particularly from the Arabian doctrine of attributing healing qualities, and other occult properties, to Merlin's transformation of Uther into Gorlois, and stones.

VOI. I.

The Cumbrian and Northumbrian Britons, as powerful opponents of the Saxons, were strongly allied to the Welsh and Cornish.

Lib. zii. c. 1. 4, 5, 6.

^k Lib. vii. c. 3.

¹ Lib. xii. 2. xi. 8. 10.

^{[&}quot;Gormund," says Mr. Ritson, "in

authentic history was a king of the Danes who infested England in the ninth century, and was defeated and baptized by Alfred." Dissertation on Romance, &c. p. 28.—Park.]

^m Lib. x. c. 5. 8. 10.

^{*} See infr. p. 11. And vol. ii. p. 214.

O This chronicle was evidently com-

of Ulfin into Bricel, by the power of some medical preparation, is a species of Arabian magic, which professed to work the most wonderful deceptions of this kind, and is mentioned at large hereafter, in tracing the inventions of Chancer's poetry. The attribution of prophetical language to birds was common among the orientals: and an eagle is supposed to speak at building the walls of the city of Paladur, now Shaftesbury The Arabians cultivated the study of philosophy, particularly astronomy, with amazing ardour q. Hence arose the tradition, reported by our historian, that in king Arthur's reign, there subsisted at Caer-leon in Glamorganshire a college of two hundred philosophers, who studied astronomy and other sciences: and who were particularly employed in watching the courses of the stars, and predicting events to the king from their observations¹. Edwin's Spanish magician above mentioned, by his knowledge of the flight of birds, and the courses of the stars, is said to foretell future disasters. In the same strain Merlin prognosticates Uther's success in battle by the appearance of comet'. The same enchanter's wonderfull skill in mechanical powers, by which he removes the giant's Dance, or Stonehenge, from Ireland into England, and the notion that this stupendous structure was raised by a profound philosophical know-LEDGE OF THE MECHANICAL ARTS, are founded on the Arabic literature t. To which we may add king Bladud's magicaloperations". Dragons are a sure mark of orientalism*. One of these in our romance is a "terrible dragon flying from the

piled to do honour to the Britons and were common, engaged their attention their affairs, and especially in opposition to the Saxons. Now the importance with which these romancers seem to speak of Stouchenge, and the many beautiful fictions with which they have been so studious to embellish its origin, and to aggrandise its history, appear to me strongly to favour the hypothesis, that Stonehenge is a British monament, and indeed to prove, that it was really erected in inemory of the three hundred British nobles massured by the Saxon Hengist. See Sacr. u. infr. p. 57. No Datidicat monument, of which so many remains

or interested them so much, as this NATIONAL memorial appears to have

- Lib. n. c. 9. See vol. ii. p. 247.
 See Diss. ii. And vol. ii. p. 237.
- * Lib. viii. c. 15. ' Lib. ix. c. 12.
- 1 Lib. viii. c. 10. See vol. ii. Secr. Evat
 - 4 Lib. ii. c. 10.
- * [The stability of Mr. Warton's assertion has been shaken by Sir Walter Scott, who states that the idea of this finbulous animal was familiar to the Celtic

west, breathing fire, and illuminating all the country with the brightness of his eyes." In another place we have a giant mounted on a winged dragon: the dragon erects his scaly tail, and wasts his rider to the clouds with great rapidity."

Arthur and Charlemagne are the first and original heroes of romance. And as Geoffrey's history is the grand repository of the acts of Arthur, so a fabulous history ascribed to Turpin is the ground-work of all the chimerical legends which have been related concerning the conquests of Charlemagne and his twelve peers*. Its subject is the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain: and it is filled with fictions evidently congenial with those which characterise Geoffrey's history *.

Some suppose, as I have hinted above, this romance to have been written by Turpin, a monk of the eighth century; who, for his knowledge of the Latin language, his sanctity, and gal-

tibes at an early period, and was borne on the banner of *Pendragon*, who from that circumstance derived his name. A daggen was also the standard of the removed Arthur. A description of this banner, the magical work of Merlin, occurs in the romance of Arthur and Marlin in the Auchinleck MS.

Merlin bar her gonfanoun;
Upon the top stode a dragoun,
Swithe griseliche a litel croune,
Fast him bibeld al tho in the toune,
For the mouth he had grinninge
And the tong out flatlinge
That out kest sparkes of fer,
Lato the skies that flowen cler; &c.

In the Welsh triads (adds the same sutherity) I find the dragon repeatedly mentioned: and in a battle fought at Bedford, about 752, betwixt Ethelbald king of Mercia and Cuthred king of Wessex, a golden dragon, the banner of the latter, was borne in the front of the combat by Edelheim or Edelhun, a chief of the West Saxons. Notes on Sir Tristan, p. 290.—Park.]

Among the Celtic tribes, as among the Finns and Sclavonians, the serpent appears to have been held in sacred estimation; and the early traditions of the South abound in fables relative to dragos who lay slumbering upon the gol-

den "hoard" by day, and wandered through the air by night. But as the heroes of Northern adventure are usually engaged in extirpating this imaginary race, it is not improbable that some of these narratives may have been founded on the conflicts between the Finnish and Scandinavian priesthoods.—EDIT.]

Lib. x. c. 2. Lib. vii. c. 4.

*["But this," says Ritson, "requires it to have been written before the year 1066, when the adventures and exploits of Charlemagne, Rowland and Oliverwere chaunted at the battle of Hastings; whereas there is strong internal proof that this romance was written long after the time of Charlemagne." Dissert. on Rom. and Minst. p. 47.—Park.]

Yell I will mention only one among many The christians under Charlemagne are said to have found in Spain a golden idol, or image of Mahomet, as high as a bird can fly. It was framed by Mahomet himself of the purest metal, who by his knowledge in necromancy had sealed up within it a legion of diabolical spirits. It held in its hand a prodigious club; and the Saracens had a prophetic tradition, that this club should fall from the hand of the image in that year when a certain king should be born in France, &c. J. Turpini Hist. de Vit. Carol. Magn. et Rolandi. cap. iv. f. 2. a.

lant exploits against the Spanish Saracens, was preferred to the archbishoprick of Rheims by Charlemagne. Others believe it to have been forged under archbishop Turpin's name* about that time. Others very soon afterwards, in the reign of Charles the Bald*. That is, about the year 870.

Voltaire, a writer of much deeper research than is imagined, and the first who has displayed the literature and customs of the dark ages with any degree of penetration and comprehension, speaking of the fictitious tales concerning Charlemagne, has remarked, "Ces fables qu'un moine ecrivit au onzieme siécle, sous le nom de l'archeveque Turpin 2." And it might easily be shewn that just before the commencement of the thirteenth century, romantic stories about Charlemagne were more fashionable than ever among the French minstrels. That is, on the recent publication of this fabulous history of Charlemagne. Historical evidence concurs with numerous internal arguments to prove, that it must have been compiled after the crusades. In the twentieth chapter, a pretended pilgrimage of Charlemagne to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem is recorded: a forgery seemingly contrived with a design to give an importance to those wild expeditions, and which would easily be believed when thus authenticated by an archbishop2.

There is another strong internal proof that this romance was written long after the time of Charlemagne. Our historian is speaking of the numerous chiefs and kings who came with their armies to assist his hero: among the rest he mentions earl Oell, and adds, "Of this man there is a song commonly sung among the minstrels even to this day." Nor will I believe, that

[&]quot;was Tilpin, and who died before Charlemagne; though Robert Gaguin, in his licentious translation of the work, 1527, makes him relate his own death. Another pretended version of this Pseudo-Turpin, said to have been made by one Mickius or Michael le Harnes, who lived in 1206, has little or nothing in common with its false original." Diss. on Rom. and Minst. p. 46.—PARK.]

² See Hist. Acad. des Inscript. &c. vii. 293. edit. 4to.

y See Catel, Mem. de l'Hist. du Languedoc, pag. 545.

Hist. Gen. ch. viii. Oeuvr. tom. i. p. 84. edit. Genev. 1756.

^{*} See infr. p. 127.

b "De hoc canitur in Cantilena usque ad hodiernum diem." cap. xi. f. 4. b. edit. Schard. Francof. 1566. fol. Chronograph. Quat.

the European art of war, in the eighth century, could bring into the field such a prodigious parade of battering rams and wooden castles, as those with which Charlemagne is said to have besieged the city Agennum^c: the crusades seem to have made these huge military machines common in the European armies. However, we may suspect it appeared before, yet not long before, Geoffrey's romance; who mentions Charlemagne's Twelve Peers, so lavishly celebrated in Turpin's book, as present at king Arthur's imaginary coronation at Caer-leon. Although the twelve peers of France occur in chronicles of the tenth centuryd; and they might besides have been suggested to Geoffrey's original author from popular traditions and songs of minstrels. We are sure it was extant before the year 1122; for Calixtus the Second in that year, by papal authority, pronounced this history to be genuine e. Monsieur Allard affirms that it was written, and in the eleventh century, at Vienne by a monk of Saint Andrew's f. This monk was probably nothing more than some Latin translator: but a learned French anti-

In the best MSS of Turpin, the shove passage refers to Oger king of Denmark, whose name is omitted in that followed by the editor of Turpin's history here cited. There is no work that is known to relate to Oel. The romance of Ogier Danois, originally written in rhyme, is here probably referred to.— Doscz.]—[The language of Turpin seems rather to imply a ballad or song at the achievements of this hero, such is still to be found in the Danish Kjempe Viser. The name, however Pritten, - Oger, Ogier, Odiger, Holger, -clearly refers to Helgi, a hero of the Edda and the Volsunga-Saga. In the earlier traditions the theatre of his actions is confined to Denmark and the **neighbouring countries;** but the later fictions embellish his career with all the marvels of romance; and after leading him as a conqueror over the greater part of Europe and Asia, transport him to the isle of Avalon, where he still resides with Morgan la faye.—Edit.]

* Ibid. cap. ix. f. 3. b. The writer adds, "Caterinque artificüs ad capicu-

dum," &c. See also cap. x. ibid. Compare Sect. iv. infr. p. 170. In one of Charlemagne's battles, the Saracens advance with horrible visors bearded and horned, and with drums or cymbals. " Tenentesque singuli TYMPANA, quæ manibus fortiter percutiebant." The unusual spectacle and sound terrified the horses of the christian army, and threw them into confusion. In a second engagement, Charlemagne commanded the eyes of the horses to be covered, and their cars to be stopped. Turpin. cap. xviii. f. 7. b. The latter expedient is copied in the Romance of RICHARD THE FIRST, written about the eleventh century. See SECT. iv. infr. p. 172. See also what is said of the Saracen drums, ibid. p. 177.

d Flodoard of Rheims first mentions them, whose chronicle comes down to 966.

Magn. Chron. Belgic. pag. 150. sub ann. Compare J. Long. Bibl. Hist. Gall. num. 6671. And Lambec. ii. p. 333.

f Bibl. de Dauphiné, p. 224.

quary is of opinion, that it was originally composed in Latin; and moreover, that the most antient romances, even those of the Round Table, were originally written in that language 5. Oienhart, and with the greatest probability, supposes it to be the work of a Spaniard. He quotes an authentic manuscript to prove, that it was brought out of Spain into France before the close of the twelfth century h; and that the miraculous exploits performed in Spain by Charlemagne and earl Roland, recorded in this romantic history, were unknown among the French before that period: except only that some few of them were obscurely and imperfectly sketched in the metrical tales of those who sung heroic adventures i. Oienhart's supposition that this history was compiled in Spain, the centre of oriental fabling in Europe, at once accounts for the nature and extravagance of its fictions, and immediately points to their Arabian origin k. As to the French manuscript of this history, it is a translation from Turpin's Latin, made by Michael le Harnes in the year 1207. And, by the way, from the translator's de-

* See vol. ii. p. 299. * See infr. p. 139.

¹ Arnoldi Oienharti Notit. utriusque Vasconize, edit. Paris. 1638. 4to. page 397. lib. iii. c. 3. Such was Roland's song, sung at the battleof Hastings. But see this romance, cap. xx. f. 8. b. Where Turpin seems to refer to some other fabulous materials or history concerning Charlemagne. Particularly about Galafar and Braiamant, which make such a figure in Boyardo and Ariosto.

La Innumerable romantic stories, of Arabian growth, are to this day current among the common people of Spain, which they call CUJENTOS DE VIEJAS. I will relate one from that lively picture of the Spaniards, RELATION DU VOYAGE D'Espagne, by Mademoiselle Dunois. Within the antient castle of Toledo, they say, there was a vast cavern whose entrance was strongly barricadoed. It was universally believed, that if any person entered this cavern, the most fatal disasters would happen to the Spaniards. Thus it remained closely shut and unentered for many ages. At length king Roderigo, having less credulity but more courage and curiosity than his ancestors, commanded this formidable recess to be opened. At entering, he began to suspect the traditions of the people to be true: a terrible tempest arose, and all the elements seemed united to embarrass him. Nevertheless, he ventured forwards into the cave, where he discerned by the light of his torches certain figures or statues of men, whose habiliments and arms were strange and uncouth. One of them had a sword of shining brass, on which it was written in Arabic characters, that the time approached when the Spanish nation should be destroyed, and that it would not be long before the warriors, whose images were placed there, should arrive in Spain. The writer adds, " Je n'ai jamais eté en aucun endroit, où l'on fasse plus de cas des contes pa-BULEUX qu'en Espagne." Edit. a la Haye, 1691. tom. iii. p. 158, 159. 12mo. See infr. SECT. iii. p. 114. And the LIFE of CERVANTES, by Don Gregorio Mayans. §. 27. §. 47, §. 48, §. 49. 1 See Du Chesne, tom. v. p. 60. And claration, that there was a great impropriety in translating Latin prose into verse, we may conclude, that at the commencement of the thirteenth century the French generally made their translations into verse.

In these two fabulous chronicles the foundations of romance seem to be laid. The principal characters, the leading subjects, and the fundamental fictions, which have supplied such ample matter to this singular species of composition, are here first displayed. And although the long continuance of the crusades imported innumerable inventions of a similar complexion, and substituted the atchievements of new champions and the wonders of other countries, yet the tales of Arthur and of Charlemagne, diversified indeed, or enlarged with additional embellishments, still continued to prevail, and to be the favourite topics: and this, partly from their early popularity, partly from the quantity and the beauty of the fictions with which they were at first supported, and especially because the design of the crusades had made those subjects so fashionable in which christians fought with infidels. In a word, these volumes are the first specimens extant in this mode of writing. No European history before these has mentioned giants, enchanters, dragons, and the like monstrous and arbitrary fic-And the reason is obvious: they were written at a time when a new and unnatural mode of thinking took place in Europe, introduced by our communication with the east.

Hitherto I have considered the Saracens either at their immigration into Spain about the ninth century, or at the time of the crusades, as the first authors of romantic fabling among the Europeans. But a late ingenious critic has advanced an hypothesis, which assigns a new source, and a much earlier

Mem. Lit. xvii. 737. seq. It is in the reyal library at Paris, Num. 8190. Probably the French Turpin in the British Museum is the same, Cod. MSS. Harl. 273. 23. f. 86. See infr. p. 139. See instances of the English translating prose Latin books into English, and sometimes French, verse. Secr. ii. infr. passim.

In the king's library at Paris, there is a translation of Dares Phrygius into French rhymes by Godfrey of Waterford an Irish Jacobin, a writer not mentioned by Tanner, in the thirteenth century. Mem. Litt. tom. xvii. p. 736. Compare Sect. iii. infr. p. 128. In the Notes.

date, to these fictions. I will cite his opinion of this matter is his own words. "Our old romances of chivalry may be derived in a LINEAL DESCENT from the antient historical songs of the Gothic bards and scalds.—Many of those songs are still preserved in the north, which exhibit all the seeds of chivalry before it became a solemn institution. - Even the common are bitrary fictions of romance were most of them familiar to the antient scalds of the north, long before the time of the crusades. They believed the existence of giants and dwarfs, they had some notion of fairies, they were strongly possessed with the belief of spells and inchantment, and were fond of inventing combats with dragons and monsters"." Monsieur Mallet, a very able and elegant inquirer into the genius and antiquities of the northern nations, maintains the same doctrine. He seems to think, that many of the opinions and practices of the Goths, however obsolete, still obscurely subsist. He adds, " May we not rank among these, for example, that love and admiration for the profession of arms which prevailed among our ancestors even to fanaticism, mad as it were through system, and brave from a point of honour?—Can we not explain from the Gothic religion, how judiciary combats, and proofs by the ordeal, to the astonishment of posterity, were admitted by the legislature of all Europen: and how, even to the present age, the people are still infatuated with a belief of the power of magicians, witches, spirits, and genii, concealed under the earth

m Percy, on ANTIENT META. Rom. i.

*For the judiciary combats, as also for common athletic exercises, they formed an amphitheatrical circus of rude stones. The remember of this base in a maphitheatrical circus of rude stones. The remember of this base in Quiedam saxal circus claudebant, in quibus gigantes et pugiles negations to prevented many innotes that it is remarkable, that circus of the care sort are still to be seen in Cornwall, so famous at this day for the athletic art in which also they sometimes to pay through the circus to pay the demption. In the yelletic art in which also they sometimes to pay the demption. In the yelletic art in which also they sometimes to pay the demption. In the yelletic art in which also they sometimes to pay the demption. In the yelletic art in which also they sometimes to pay the demption. In the yelletic art in which also they sometimes to pay the demption. In the yelletic art in which also they sometimes to pay the demption. In the yelletic art in which also they sometimes to pay the circus. The circus to pay the circus to pay the circus to pay the circus to pay the circus. The circus to pay the circus.

said to have been the first who commanded all controversies to be decided by the sword Worm, p. 68. In favour of this barbarous institution it ought to be remembered, that the practice of thus marking out the place of battle must have prevented much broodshed, and saved many innocent lives for if either combatant was by any accident forced out of the circus, he was to lose his cause, or to pay three marks of pure silver as a redemption for his life. Worm. p. 68, 69, In the year 987, the order! was substituted in Denmark instead of the duel; a mode of decision, at least in a political sense, less absurd, as it promoted mili-

or in the waters?—Do we not discover in these religious opinions, that source of the marvellous with which our ancestors filed their romances; in which we see dwarfs and giants, fairies and demons?" &c.º And in another place. "The fortresses of the Goths were only rude castles situated on the summits of rocks, and rendered inaccessible by thick misshapen walls. As these walls ran winding round the castles, they often called them by a name which signified SERPENTS or DRAGONS; and in these they usually secured the women and young virgins of distinction, who were seldom safe at a time when so many enterprising heroes were rambling up and down in search of adventures. It was this custom which gave occasion to antient romancers, who knew not how to describe any thing simply, to invent so many fables concerning princesses of great beauty guarded by dragons, and afterwards delivered by invincible champions p."

I do not mean entirely to reject this hypothesis; but I will endeavour to shew how far I think it is true, and in what manner or degree it may be reconciled with the system delivered sbove.

A few years before the birth of Christ, soon after Mithridates had been overthrown by Pompey, a nation of Asiatic Goths, who possessed that region of Asia which is now called Georgia, and is connected on the south with Persia, alarmed at the progressive encroachments of the Roman armies, retired in vast multitudes under the conduct of their leader Odin, or Woden, into the northern parts of Europe, not subject to the Roman government, and settled in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and other districts of the Scandinavian territory q. As they brought

P Ib. ch. ix. p. 243. tom. ii.

This and other similar passages in Mallet's lively history would form an excellent supplement to the Homeric allegaries of Heraclides Ponticus.—Edit.]

4 "Unicam gentium Asiaticarum Immigrationem, in orbem Arctoum factam, notes antiquitates commemorant. Sed

Verum circa eam tamen non primam. annum tandem vicesimum quartum ante natum Christum, Romanis exercitibus auspiciis Pompeii Magni in Asiæ parte, Phrygia Minore, grassantihus. Illa enim epocha ad hanc rem chronologi nostri utuntur. In cujus (Gylvi Suzciæ regis) tempora incidit Odinus, Asiaticæ immigrationis, factæ anno 24 ante natum Christum, antesignanus." Crymogwa,

[•] Mallet, Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarc, &c. tom. ii. p. 9.

with them many useful arts, particularly the knowledge of letters, which Odin is said to have invented, they were hospitably received by the natives, and by degrees acquired a safe and peaceable establishment in the new country, which seems to have adopted their language, laws, and religion. Odin is said to have been stiled a god by the Scandinavians; an appellation which the superiour address and specious abilities of this Asiatic chief easily extorted from a more savage and uncivilised people.

This migration is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of various historians: but there is no better evidence of it, than that conspicuous similarity subsisting at this day between several customs of the Georgians, as described by Chardin, and those of certain cantons of Norway and Sweden, which have preserved their antient manners in the purest degree. Not that other striking implicit and internal proofs, which often carry more conviction than direct historical assertions, are wanting to point out this migration. The antient inhabitants of Denmark and Norway inscribed the exploits of their kings and heroes on rocks, in characters called Runic; and of this prac-

Arngrim. Jon. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 30, 31. edit. Hamburg. 1609. See also Bartholin. Antiquitat. Dan. Lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 407. iii. c. 2. p. 652. edit. 1689. Lazius, de Gent. Migrat. L. x. fol. 573. 30. edit. fol. 1600. Compare Ol. Rudbeck. cap. v. sect. 2. p. 95. xiv. sect. 2. p. 67. There is a memoir on this subject lately published in the Petersburgh Transactions, but I chuse to refer to original authorities. See tom. v. p. 297. edit. 1738. 4to.

"" Odino etiam et aliis, qui ex Asia huc devenere, tribuunt multi antiquitatum Islandicarum periti; unde et Odinus Runhofdi seu Runarum (i. e. Literarum) auctor vocatur." Ol. Worm. Liter. Runic. cap. 20. edit. Hafn. 1651. Some writers refer the origin of the Grecian language, sciences, and religion to the Scythians, who were connected towards the south with Odin's Goths. I cannot bring a greater authority than that of Salmasius, "Satis certum ex his

colligi potest linguam, ut gentem, HEL-LENICAM, a septentrione et Scythia originem traxisse, non a meridie. Inde 14-TERE GRECORUM, inde MUSE PIERIDES, inde sacrorum initia." Salmas. de Hellenist. p. 400. As a further proof I shall observe, that the antient poet Thamyris was so much esteemed by the Scythians, on account of his poetry, zienewia, that they chose him their king. Conon. Narrat. Poet. cap. vii. edit. Gal. But Thamyris was a Thracian: and a late ingenious antiquarian endeavours to prove, that the Goths were descended from the Thracians, and that the Greeks and Thracians were only different clans of the same people. Clarke's Connexion, &c. ch. ii. p. 65.

[See also Mr. Pinkerton's Dissertation on the Goths, and Dr. Jamieson's Hermes Scythicus.—Edr.]

See Pontoppidan. Nat. Hist. Norway, tom. ii. c. 10. §. 1, 2, 3.

tice many marks are said still to remain in those countries t. This art or custom of writing on rocks is Asiatic^u. Modern travellers report, that there are Runic inscriptions now existing in the deserts of Tartary*. The WRITTEN MOUNTAINS of the Jews are an instance that this fashion was oriental. Antiently, when one of these northern chiefs fell honourably in battle, his weapons, his war-horse, and his wife, were consumed with himself on the same funeral pile, I need not remind my readers how religiously this horrible ceremony of sacrificing the wife to the dead husband is at present observed in the east. There is a very remarkable correspondence, in numberless important and fundamental points, between the Druidical and the Persian superstitions: and notwithstanding the evidence of Cesar, who speaks only from popular report, and without precision, on a subject which he cared little about, it is the opinion of the learned Banier, that the Druids were formed on the model of the Magi². In this hypothesis he is seconded by a modern antiquary; who further supposes, that Odin's followers imported this establishment into Scandinavia, from the confines of Persia². The Scandinavians attributed divine virtue to the misletoe; it is mentioned in their Edda, or system of religious doctrines, where it is said to grow on the west side of Val-hall, or Odin's elysium^b. That Druidical rites existed among the Scandinavians we are informed from many antient Erse poems,

^{*} See Saxo Grammat. Præf. ad Hist. Dan. And Hist. lib. vii. See also Ol. Worm. Monum. Dan. lib. iii.

Paulus Jovius, a writer indeed not of the best credit, says, that Annibal engaved characters on the Alpine rocks, as a testimony of his passage over them, and that they were remaining there two centuries ago. Hist, lib. xv. p. 163.

Z See Voyage par Strahlemberg, &c. A Description of the Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia. Schroder says, from Olaus Rudbeckius, that RUNES, or letters, were invented by Magog the Scythian, and communicated to Tuisco the celebrated German chieftain, in the year of the world 1799. Præf. ad Lexicon Latino-Scandic.

Y See Keysler, p. 147. Two funeral ceremonies, one of BURNING, the other of BURNING their dead, at different times prevailed in the north; and have distinguished two eras in the old northern history. The first was called the AGE OF FIRE, the second the AGE OF HILLS.

Mytholog. Expliq. ii. p. 628. 4to.

² M. Mallet. Hist. Dannem. i. p. 56. See also Keysler, p. 152.

b Edd. Isl. fab. xxviii. Compare Keysler, Antiquit. Sel. Sept. p. 304. seq. The Germans, a Teutonic tribe, call it to this day "the Branch of Spectres." But see Dr. Percy's ingenious note on this passage in the Edda. Northern Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 143.

which say that the British Druids, in the extremity of their affairs, solicited and obtained aid from Scandinavia. The Gothic hell exactly resembles that which we find in the religious systems of the Persians, the most abounding in superstition of all the eastern nations. One of the circumstances is and an oriental idea, that it is full of scorpions and serpents 4 The doctrines of Zeno, who borrowed most of his opinions from the Persian philosophers, are not uncommon in the Eppai Lok, the evil deity of the Goths, is probably the Arimanius of the Persians. In some of the most antient Islandic chronicles. the Turks are mentioned as belonging to the jurisdiction of the Scandinavians. Mahomet, not so great an inventor as is imagined, adopted into his religion many favourite notions and superstitions from the bordering nations which were the offspring of the Scythians, and especially from the Turks. Accordingly, we find the Alcoran agreeing with the Runic theology in various instances. I will mention only one. It is one of the beatitudes of the Mahometan paradise, that blooming virgins shall administer the most luscious wines. Thus in Odin's Val-hall, or the Gothic elysium, the departed heroes received cups of the strongest mead and ale from the hands of the virgin-goddesses called Valkyres. Alfred, in his Saxon account of the northern seas, taken from the mouth of Ohther, a Norwegian, who had been sent by that monarch to discover a north-east passage into the Indies, constantly calls these nations the ORIENTALS'. And as these eastern tribes brought with them into the north a certain degree of refinement, of luxury and splendour, which ap-

Spelm. Append. vi. [Oht-bere was not sent by Aifred. This voyage was undertaken for the gratification of his own curiosity, and the furtherance of his commercial views. He was doubtlessly ignorant of the existence of Asia. The Orientals, to use the language of the text, were those inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula, whose country lay upon his starboard quarter, while steering due north from Halgoland in Norway.—Epit.]

Ossian's Works. CATHUN, ii. p. 216. Not. edit. 1765. vol. ii. They add, that among the auxiliaries came many magicians.

d See Hyde, Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 399. 404. But compare what is said of the EDDA, towards the close of this Discourse.

Odin only, drank wine in Val-hall. Enn. Myth. xxxiv. See Keysler, p. 152.

See Preface to Alfred's Saxon Orosius, published by Speiman. (And since by Daines Barrington.) Vit. ÆLTREDI.

peared singular and prodigious among barbarians; one of their early historians describes a person better dressed than usual, by saying, "he was so well cloathed, that you might have taken him for one of the Asiatics." Wormius mentions a Runic incentation, in which an Asiatic enchantress is invoked. Various other instances might here be added, some of which will occasionally arise in the future course of our inquiries.

It is notorious, that many traces of oriental usages are found amongst all the European nations during their pagan state; and this phenomenon is rationally resolved, on the supposition that all Europe was originally peopled from the east. But as the resemblance which the pagan Scandinavians bore to the eastern nations in manners, monuments, opinions, and practices, is so very perceptible and apparent, an inference arises, that their migration from the east must have happened at a period by many ages more recent, and therefore most probably about the time specified by their historians. In the mean time we must remember, that a distinction is to be made between this expedition of Odin's Goths, who formed a settlement in Scandinavia, and those innumerable armies of barbarous adventurers, who some centuries afterwards, distinguished by the same name, at different periods overwhelmed Europe, and at length extinguished the Roman Empire.

LANDNAMA-SAGA. See Mallet. Hist. Dannem. c. ii.

Lit. Run. p. 209, edit. 1651. The Goths came from the neighbourhood of Colchis, the region of witchcraft, and the country of Medea, famous for her The eastern pagans from incantations. the very earliest ages have had their enchanters. Now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like mann r with their enchantments. Exod. vii. 11. See also vii. 18, 19. ix. 11, &c. When the people of Israel had overrun the country of Balak, he invites Balaam, a neighbouring prince, to curse them, or destroy them by magic, which he seems to have professed. And the elders of Moab departed with the rewards of DIVINATION in their hand. Num. Surely there is no enchant-MENT aguinst Israel. XXIII. 23. went out, as at other times, to seek for EN-

CHANTMENTS, XXIV. 1, &c. Odin himself was not only a warrior, but a magician, and his Asiatics were called Incantationum auctores. Chron. Norweg. apud Bartholin. L. iii. c. 2. p. 657. Crymog. Arngrim. L. i. cap. vii. p. 511. From this source, those who adopt the principles just mentioned in this discourse, may be inclined to think, that the notion of spells got into the ritual of chivalry. In all legal single combats, each champion attested upon oath, that he did not carry about him any herb, spell, or enchantment. Dugdal. Orig. Juridic. p. 82. See Hickes's account of the silver Dano-Saxon shield, dug up in the Isle of Ely, having a magical Runic inscription, supposed to render those who bore it in hattle invulnerable. Apud Hickes. Thesaur. Dissertat. Epistol. p. 187.

When we consider the rapid conquests of the nations which may be comprehended under the common name of Scythians, and not only those conducted by Odin, but by Attila, Theodoric, and Genseric, we cannot ascribe such successes to brutal courage only. To say that some of these irresistible conquerors made war on a luxurious, effeminate, and enervated people, is a plausible and easy mode of accounting for their conquests: but this reason will not operate with equal force in the histories of Genghizcan and Tamerlane, who destroyed mighty empires founded on arms and military discipline, and who haffled the efforts of the ablest leaders. Their science and genius in war, such as it then was, cannot therefore be doubted: that they were not deficient in the arts of peace, I have already hinted, and now proceed to produce more particular proofs. Innumerable and very fundamental errors have crept into our reasonings and systems about savage life, resulting merely from those strong and undistinguishing notions of barbarism, which our prejudices have hastily formed concerning the character of all rude nations i.

Among other arts which Odin's Goths planted in Scandinavia, their skill in poetry, to which they were addicted in a peculiar manner, and which they cultivated with a wonderful enthusiasm, seems to be most worthy our regard, and especially in our present inquiry.

As the principal heroes of their expedition into the north were honourably distinguished from the Europeans, or original Scandinavians, under the name of As E, or Asiatics, so the verses or language, of this people, were denominated ASAMAL, or ASIATIC speech *. Their poetry contained not only the praises of their heroes, but their popular traditions and their religious rites; and was filled with those fictions which the most exaggerated pagan superstition would naturally implant in the wild imaginations of an Asiatic people. And from this principle

Bee this argument pursued in the RUN SERMONEN; quod cum ex Asia Odmus secum in Daniam, Norwegiam, Succiam, aliasque regiones septentrious in Tythinis usus fuit, veteres appella- nales, invexent." Stepha Stephan. Præ-

second DISSERTATION.

^{* &}quot; Linguum Danicam antiquam, curunt ALAWAI, it est Ameticam, vel Asa- fat. ad Saxon. Grammat. Hist

alone, I mean of their Asiatic origin, some critics would at ence account for a certain capricious spirit of extravagance, and those bold eccentric conceptions, which so strongly distinguish the old northern poetry!. Nor is this fantastic imagery the only mark of Asiaticism which appears in the Runic odes. They have a certain sublime and figurative cast of diction, which is indeed one of their predominant characteristics m. I am very sensible that all rude nations are naturally apt to cloathe their sentiments in this style. A propensity to this mode of expression is necessarily occasioned by the poverty of their language, which obliges them frequently to substitute similitudes and circumlocutions: it arises in great measure from feelings undisguised and unrestrained by custom or art, and from the genuine efforts of nature working more at large in uncultivated In the infancy of society, the passions and the imagination are alike uncontrouled. But another cause seems to have concurred in producing the effect here mentioned. When obvious terms and phrases evidently occurred, the Runic poets are fond of departing from the common and established diction. They appear to use circumlocution and comparisons not as a matter of necessity, but of choice and skill: nor are these mecolourings so much the result of want of words, as of warmth of fancy n.

Thus, a rainbow is called, the bridge

of the gods. Poetry, the mead of Odin. The earth, the vessel that floats on ages. A ship, the horse of the waves. Ice, the wast bridge. Herbs, the fleece of the earth. A battle, a bath of blood, the hail of Odin, the shock of bucklers. A tongue, the sword of words. Night, the veil of cares. Rocks, the bones of the earth. Arrows, the hail-stones of helmets, &c. &c.

n In a strict geographical sense, the original country of these Asiatic Goths might not be so situated as physically to have produced these effects. Yet it is to be observed, that intercourse and vicinity are in this case sometimes equivalent to climate. The Persian traditions and superstitions were current even in the northern parts of Tartary. Georgia, however, may be fairly considered as a

¹ A most ingenious critic observes, that "what we have been long accusterned to call the oriental vein of poetry, because some of the EARLIEST pertical productions have come to us from the cast, is probably no more one-EFFAL than occidental." Blair's Crit. Diss. on Ossian, vol. ii. p. 317. But all the LATER oriental writers through all ages have been particularly distinguished for this very. Hence it is here charecteristical of a country, not of an age. I will allow, on this writer's very just **and penetrating principles, that an early** anthern ode shall be as sublime as an extern one. Yet the sublimity of the beter shall have a different character; * will be more inflated and gigantic.

Their warmth of fancy, however, if supposed to have preceeded from the principles above suggested, in a few generation after this migration into Scandinavia, must have lost much its natural heat and genuine force. Yet ideas and sentimental especially of this sort, once imbibed, are long remembered and retained, in savage life. Their religion, among other causes, might have contributed to keep this spirit alive; and to preserve their original stock of images, and native mode of expression, unchanged and unabated by climate or country. In the mean time we may suppose, that the new situation of these people in Scandinavia, might have added a darker shade and more savage complexion to their former fictions and superstitions; and that the formidable objects of nature to which they became familiarised in those northern solitudes, the piny precipices, the frozen mountains, and the gloomy forests, acted on their imaginations, and gave a tineture of horror to their imagery.

A skill in poetry seems in some measure to have been national science among the Scandinavians, and to have been familiar to almost every order and degree. Their kings and warriors partook of this epidemic enthusiasm, and on frequent occasions are represented as breaking forth into spontaneous songs and verses. But the exercise of the poetical talent was

part of Persia. It is equal in fertility to any of the eastern Turkish provinces in Asia. It affords the richest wines, and other luxuries of life, in the greatest abundance. The most beautiful virgins for the seraglio are fetched from this province. In the mean time, thus much at least may be said of a warm climate. exclusive of attemposed immediate physical influence on the human mind and temperament. It exhibits all the productions of nature in their highest perfection and beauty- while the excessive hest of the sun, and the fewer incitements to labour and industry, dispose the inhabitants to indolence, and to hiving much abroad in scenes of nature. These circumstances are favourable to the operations of fancy.

" Harold Hardrande, king of Norway,

composed axteen songs of his expedition into Africa. Asbiorn Pruda, a Danish champion, described his past life in nim strophes, while his enemy Bruce, a grant was tearing out his bowels. "1. 7% my mother Snanhita in Denmark, that she will not this summer comb the hair of her sont. I had promised her to return, but now my sule shall feel the edge of the sword is. It was far otherwise, when we sate a home in parth, chearing ourselves with the drank of ale, and coming from Hordeland passed the gulf in our ships, when we quaffed mead, and conversed of liberty. Now I alone am fallen into the narrow presons of the quants, ni, It was fat otherwise." & Every stanza is introduced with the same choral burden. Bartholm, Antiquit. Danie, L. i. cap. 10. p. 158. edit. 1689. [Asbiorn properly confined to a stated profession: and with their poetry the Goths imported into Europe a species of poets or singers, whom they called Scalds or Polishers of Language. This order of men, as we shall see more distinctly below, was held in the highest honour and veneration: they received the most liberal rewards for their verses, attended the festivals of heroic chiefs, accompanied them in battle, and celebrated their victories.

These Scandinavian bards appear to have been esteemed and

Prada lived at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. But his Saga, which abounds in the most marvellous adventures, and this celebrated death-song, were fabricated in the fourteenth century. See Suhm's History ef Denmark, vol. iii. p. 294.—Edit.] The noble epicedium of Regner Lodbrog is more commonly known. champion Orvar-Odd, after his expeditions into various countries, sung, on his death-bed, the most memorable events of his life in metre. [Orvar-Odd's Saga, from which Torfæus (Hist. Norv. P. i. **263—284)** has extracted the more sober parts of the narrative, is a roman**tic composition** of the fourteenth or freenth century. It is even very uncertain whether such a person ever ex-Hallmund, being mortally wounded, commanded his daughter to listen to a poem which he was about to deliver, containing histories of his victories, and to engrave it on tablets of Bartholin. ibid. p. 162. Grammaticus gives us a regular ode, **extered by the son of a king of Norway**, who by mistake had been buried alive, and was discovered and awakened by a party of soldiers digging for treasure. Sex. Grammat. L. 5. p. 50. There are instances recorded of their speaking in metre on the most common occurrences.

E-

J

₹.

The Sogdians were a people who lived eastward of the Caspian sca, not far from the country of Odin's Goths. Quintus Curtius relates, that when some of that people were condemned to death by Alexander on account of a revolt, they rejoiced greatly, and testified their joy by singing verses and dancing. When the king enquired the reason of their joy, they answered, "that being toon to be RESTORED TO THEIR ANCESTORS

by so great a conqueror, they could not help celebrating so honourable a death, which was the wish of all brave men, in their own accustomed songs." Lib. vii. I am obliged to doctor Percy for pointing out this passage. From the correspondence of manners and principles it holds forth between the Scandinavians and the Sogdians, it contains a striking proof of Odin's migration from the east to the north: first, in the spontaneous exercise of the poetical talent; and secondly, in the opinion, that a glorious or warlike death, which admitted them to the company of their friends and parents in another world, was to be embraced with the most eager alacrity, and the highest sensations of pleasure. This is the doctrine of the Edda. the same spirit, Ridens morian is the triumphant close of Regner Lodbrog's dying ode. See Keysler, ubi infr. p. 154.] I cannot help adding here another stroke from this ode, which seems also to be founded on eastern man-He speaks with great rapture of drinking, "ex concavis crateribus craniorum." The inhabitants of the island of Ceylon to this day carouse at their feasts, from cups or bowls made of the sculls of their deceased ancestors. Ives's Voyage to India, ch. 5. p. 62. Lond. 1773. 4to. This practice these islanders undoubtedly received from the neighbouring continent. Compare Keysler, Antiquitat. Sel. Septentr. p. 362. seq.

[Silius Italicus charges the Celts with indulging in a similar practice:

At Celtæ vacui capitis circundare gau-

Ossa (nefas) auro et mensis ea pocula servant.

And the Longobardic and Bavarian his-

entertained in other countries besides their own, and by the means to have probably communicated their fictions to various parts of Europe. I will give my reasons for this supposition.

In the early ages of Europe, before many regular govern ments took place, revolutions, emigrations, and invasions, were frequent and almost universal. Nations were alternately des stroyed or formed; and the want of political security exposes the inhabitants of every country to a state of eternal fluctuation That Britain was originally peopled from Gaul, a nation of the Celts, is allowed: but that many colonies from the northern parts of Europe were afterwards successively planted in Britain and the neighbouring islands, is an hypothesis equally rational and not altogether destitute of historical evidence. Nor was any nation more likely than the Scandinavian Goths, I mean in their early periods, to make descents on Britain. They possessed the spirit of adventure in an eminent degree. They were habituated to dangerous enterprises. They were acquainted with distant coasts, exercised in navigation, and fond of making expeditions, in hopes of conquest, and in search of new acquisitions. As to Scotland and Ireland, there is the highest probability, that the Scutes, who conquered both those countries, and possessed them under the names of Albin Scuter and Irin Scutes, were a people of Norway. The Caledoniania are expressly called by many judicious antiquaries a Scandina vian colony. The names of places and persons, over all that part of Scotland which the Picts inhabited, are of Scandinavian extraction. A simple catalogue of them only, would immediate ately convince us, that they are not of Celtic, or British origin. Flaherty reports it as a received opinion, and a general doctrine, that the Picts migrated into Britain and Ireland from

tories record single examples of its occurrence for the gratification of personal revenge. But except the passage quoted by Warton, there is no authority for the existence of such a custom in the North as a natural habit; and in this a violent and far-fetched metaphor has been erroneously translated, to be made the basis of an unputation equally revolting and absurd. The original lalandic text stands thus

Dresckom bior at bragdi Ur bing-vidom hausa. Instantly we shall drink ale From the skull's winding trees-

Or in the sober phrase of common parlance. "We shall drink our beer out of horns." The Celtic antiquaries may perhaps be able to offer a similar vindication of their uncivilized ancestors.— Entr. 1

Scandinavia q. I forbear to accumulate a pedantic parade of authorities on this occasion: nor can it be expected that I should enter into a formal and exact examination of this obscure and complicated subject in its full extent, which is here only introduced incidentally. I will only add, that Scotland and Ireland, as being situated more to the north, and probably less difficult of access than Britain, might have been objects on which our northern adventurers were invited to try some of their earliest excursions: and that the Orkney-islands remained long under the jurisdiction of the Norwegian potentates.

In these expeditions, the northern emigrants, as we shall prove more particularly below, were undoubtedly attended by their scalds or poets. Yet even in times of peace, and without the supposition of conquest or invasion, the Scandinavian scalds might have been well known in the British islands. Possessed of a specious and pleasing talent, they frequented the courts of the British, Scottish, and Irish chieftains. They were itinerants by their institution, and made voyages, out of curiosity, or in quest of rewards, to those islands or coasts which lay within the circle of their maritime knowledge. these means, they established an interest, rendered their profession popular, propagated their art, and circulated their fictions, in other countries, and at a distance from home. Torfæus asserts positively, that various Islandic odes now remain, which were sung by the Scandinavian bards before the kings of England and Ireland, and for which they received liberal gratuities. They were more especially caressed and rewarded at

It is conjectured by Wormius, that belond is derived from the Runic Yr, a how, for the use of which the Irish were ence famous. Lit. Run. c. xvii. p. 92. The Asiatics near the lake Mæotis, from which Odin led his colony in Europe, were celebrated archers. Hence Hercules Theocritus, Idyll. xiii. 56.

- Μαιυτισι λαδου ευπατμια τέζα.

Compare Salmas. de Hellen. p. 369. And Flahert. Ogyg. Part. iii. cap. xviii. p. 188. edit. 1685. Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. Præf. p. xxxviii. [The Celtic population of Ireland precedes the period of legitimate history. Their migration to Scotland has been referred with great probability to the earlier part of the fourth century. But the origin of the Picts, their language, the etymology "of the names of places and persons over that part of Scotland which they inhabited," is a subject which divides the opinions of Scottish antiquaries. See Mr. Chalmers's Caledonia, and Dr. Jamieson's Etymological Scottish Dictionary (Introduction).—Edit.]

Torf. Hist. Orcad. in Præfat. [See the Sagas of Egill, and Gunnlaug

Ormstunga.—Edir.

the courts of those princes, who were distinguished for their warlike character, and their passion for military glory.

Olaus Wormius informs us, that great numbers of the northern scalds constantly resided in the courts of the kings of Sweden, Denmark, and England. Hence the tradition in an antient Islandic Saga, or poetical history, may be explained; which says, that Odin's language was originally used, not only in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, but even in England. Indeed it may be naturally concluded from these suggestions, that the Scandinavian tongue became familiar in the British islands by the songs of the scalds: unless it be rather presumed, that a previous knowledge of that tongue in Britain was the means of facilitating the admission of those poets, and preparing the way for their reception.

And here it will be much to our present argument to observe, that some of the old Gothic and Scandinavian superstitions are to this day retained in the English language. Mara, from whence our Night-mare is derived, was in the Runic theology a spirit or spectre of the night, which seized men in their sleep, and suddenly deprived them of speech and motion. Nicka was the Gothic demon who inhabited the element of water, and who strangled persons that were drowning. Boh was one of the most fierce and formidable of the Gothic generals, and the son of Odin: the mention of whose name was sufficient to spread an immediate panic among his enemies.

^a Lit. Dan. p. 195. ed. 4to.

^t Bartholin. iii. 2. p. 651. It was a constant old British tradition, that king Arthur conquered Ireland, Gothland, Denmark, and Norway. See Galfrid. Monum. ix. 11. Rob. of Glouc. ed. Hearne, p. 180. 182. What is said in the text must have greatly facilitated the Saxon and Danish conquests in England. The works of the genuine Cædmon are written in the language of the antient Angles, who were nearly connected with the Jutes. Hence that language resembled the antient Danish, as appears from passages of Cædmon cited by Wanley. Hence also it happened, that the later Dano-Saxonic dialect, in which Junius's Portical Paraphrase of Genesis was written, is likewise so very similar to the

language of the antient Angles, who settled in the more northern parts of England. And in this dialect, which indeed prevailed in some degree almost over all England, many other poems are composed, mentioned likewise in Wanley's Catalogue. [See the Preface to this edition.—Enr.] It is the constant doctrine of the Danish historians, that the Danes and Angles, whose successors gave the name to this island, had the same origin.

See Keysler, Antiquitat. Sel. Septentrional. p. 497. edit. 1720.

See Keysler, ut supr. p. 261. And in Address. ibid. p. 588.

See Keysler, ibid. p. 105. p. 190.

y See Temple's Essays, part 4. pag.

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The fictions of Odin and of his Scandinavians, must have taken still deeper root in the British islands, at least in England, from the Saxon and Danish invasions.

That the tales of the Scandinavian scalds flourished among

See also instances of conformity between English and Gothic superstitions in Bartholinus, L. ii. cap. 2. p. 262. It may be urged, that these supersitions might be introduced by the Dunes; of whom I shall speak below. But this brings us to just the same point. The learned Hickes was of opinion, from a multitude of instances, that our trial by a jury of Twelve, was an early Scanevien institution, and that it was brought from thence into England. **Yet he supposes, at a period later than** in necessary, the Norman invasion. See Wootton's Conspectus of Hickes's Thesur. pag. 46. Lond. 1708. And Hickes. Thesaur. Dissertat. Epistol. vol. i. p. S8. seq. The number Twalve was mered among the Septentrional tribes. Odia's Judges are Twelve, and have TWELVE seats in Gladheim. Edd. Isl. The God of the Edda has TWELVE names, ibid. fab. i. An Aristocary of Twalve is a well known antient establishment in the North. In the Dialegae between Hervor and Angantyr, the latter promises to give Hervor Twelve HEE'S DEATHS. [He gives her that which is to be the death of twelve men—the wood Tirfing.—Entr.] Hervarar-Saga, mad Ol. Verel. cap. vii. p. 91. The Druidical circular monuments of sepame stones erect, are more frequently of the number twelve, than of any other manber. See Borlase, Antiquit. Cornw. B. ii. ch. vii. edit. 1769. fol. And Teland, Hist. Druid. p. 89. 158. 160. les also Martin's Hebrid. p. 9. Zesland and Sweden, many antient circalar monuments, consisting each of trelve rude stones, still remain, which were the places of judicature. My late very learned, ingenious, and respected fiend, doctor Borlase, pointed out to me monuments of the same sort in Cornwill. Compare Keysler, p. 93. **x** will illustrate remarks already made, and the principles insinuated in this Dissertation, to observe, that these mo-

numents are found in Persia near Tauris. [See the " Voyages de Chardin," p. 377. ed. 1686. 12mo. It is astonishing, that after the most evident proofs of these stone monuments being the production of our northern ancestors, writers will persist without any authority whatever in calling them Druidical.—Doucz.] [It is also "astonishing," that with such "evident proofs" of their existence in almost every part of Europe and Asia, they should be exclusively assigned either to "our northern ancestors," their Celtic antagonists. The occurrence of such monuments in Cornwall. where the Saxons only obtained a footing at a very late period, and in those parts of Ireland which were frequented by neither Saxons nor Scandinavians, clearly forbids the assumption of their Teutonic origin; while their name (Thing-stadar). and the purpose to which they were applied in the North of Europe, may receive an illustration from the page of Homer:

Κήςυπις δ' ἄςα λαὸν ἰςήτυον οἱ δὶ γίςοντις Εἴατ' ἐπὶ ξιστοῖσι λίθοις, ἰιςῷ ἐνὶ πύπλφ. Il. xviii. 503.

These "sacred circles" in the North were not only used as places of public assembly, but were the scenes of all judicial proceedings. From a passage in the 67th chapter of Egills-Saga, there is reason to believe, that they were also made the theatres of the "trial by battle." The Irish antiquaries consider them to have been places of public worship. "Magh-Adhair, a plain of adoration, where an open temple consisting of a circle of tall straight stone pillars with a very large flat stone called Crom-leac, serving for an altar, constructed by the Druids and similar to that in Exodus xxiv. "And Moses..... builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel." O'Brian in voc.—Edit.] of Monmouth affords instances in his

the Saxons, who succeeded to the Britons, and became possessors of England in the sixth century, may be justly presumed z. The Saxons were originally seated in the Cimbrid Chersonese, or those territories which have been since called Jutland, Angelen, and Holstein; and were fond of tracing the descent of their princes from Odin2. They were therefore part of the Scandinavian tribes. They imported with them into England the old Runic language and letters. This appears from inscriptions on coinsb, stonesc, and other monuments; and from some of their manuscripts. It is well known that Runic inscriptions have been discovered in Cumberland and Scotland: and that there is even extant a coin of king Office with a Runic legend. But the conversion of the Saxons to christianity, which happened before the seventh century, entirely banished the common use of those characters, which were esteemed unhallowed and necromantic; and with their antient superstitions, which yet prevailed for some time in the popular

British History. The knights sent into Wales by Fitzhammon, in 1091, were three. Powel, p. 154, sub anno. See also an instance in Du Carell, Anglo-Norman Antice p. 9. It is probable that Charlen agree formed his twelve Papas on this principle. From whom Spenser evidently took his Tweeve Kalents.

[In the poem of Beowulf 'twolf wrater tid,' the time of twelve winters, is evidently a mere epic form of expression to denote an indefinite period. It is like the forty days of the Hebrews, the minute of the Biad, the elecen of Piers Plowman. This number therefore ought not to be interpreted too interally, unless supported by the context.—Entr.]

"I a vetustionibus poetis Cimbrotum, nempe Scaldis et Theotiscæ gentis versificatoribus, plane multa, ut par est credere, sumpsere." Hickes. Thesaur. i.

p. 101. See p. 117

* See Gibson's Chron. Saxon. p. 12.
seq. Historians mention Woodn's
Broarn, i. c. Woden's hill, in Wiltshire. See Milton, Hist. Engl. An. 588.

Money. Orra. REX. See Bothen Monatables, &c. See also Screme Diction. Anglo-Succico-Latin. Præf. pag. 21.

Sec Hickes's Thesaur. Barrivronum Bridestrkense. Par. in. p. 4.
Tab.ii. Saxum Revellense opud Scotos.
Ibid. Tab. iv. pag. 5.—Caux Laridra
apud Beaucastle. Wanley Catal. MSS.
Anglo-Sax. pag. 248. ad calc. Hickos.
Thesaur. Annulus aurkus. Drake's
York. Append. p. 102. Tab. N. 26.
And Gordon's Iun. Septentr. p. 168.

d See Hickes's Thesaur. Par. 1. page 135. 136. 148. Par. 11. Tab. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. It may be conjectured, that these characters were introduced by the Dance. It is certain that they never grew into common use. They were at least inconvenient, as consisting of capitals. We have no remains of Saxon writing so old as the sixth century. Nor are there any of the seventh, except a very few charters. [Bibl. Bodl. NE. D. 11. 19. seq.] See Hickes's Thesaur. Par. i. page 169. See also Charta Odlardi ad Monastarium of Berring. Tab. i. Casley's Cat. Bibl. Reg. In the British Museum.

See Augumon vol. ii, p. 131. A. D. 1775. 4to.

f But see Hickes, ubi supr. i. p. 140.

belief, abolished in some measure their native and original vein of poetic fablings. They suddenly became a mild and polished people, addicted to the arts of peace, and the exercise of devotion; and the poems they have left us are chiefly moral rhapsodies, scriptural histories or religious invocations h. Yet even in these pieces they have frequent allusions to the old scaldic fables and heroes. Thus, in an Anglo-Saxon poem on Judith, Holosernes is called BALDER, or leader and prince of warriors. And in a poetical paraphrase on Genesis, Abimelech has the same appellation i. This Balder was a famous chieftain of the Asiatic Goths, the son of Odin, and supposed to inhabit a magnificent hall in the future place of rewards. The same Anglo-Sexon paraphrast, in his prosopopæia of Satan addressing his companions plunged in the infernal abyss, adopts many images and expressions used in the very sublime description of the Eddic hell k: Henry of Huntingdon complains of certain extraneous words and uncommon figures of speech, in a Saxon ode on a victory of king Athelstan. These were all scaldic expressions or allusions. But I will give a literal English translation of this poem, which cannot be well understood without premising its occasion. In the year 938, Anlass **, a pagan

It has been suggested to me by an ingenious friend, that Guy and Sir Bzvis, the first of which lived in the reign of Athelstan, and the latter, as some suppere, in that of Edgar, both christian champions against the pagan Danes, were eriginally subjects of the genuine Saxon bards. But I rather think, they began be celebrated in or after the crusades; the nature of which expeditions dictated to the romance-writers, and brought into vegue, stories of christians fighting with inside heroes. The cause was the same, and the circumstances partly parallel; and this being once the fashion, they consulted their own histories for heroes, and combats were feigned with Danish giants, as well as with the Saracen. See infr. Szcr. iii. p. 145. 146. 147. There is the story of Brvis in British, Ysroni Born o Hamtun. Lhuyd's Arch. Brit. p 261

Except an ode on Athelstan, trans-

lated below. See Secr. i. p. 2. See also the description of the city of Durham. Hickes, p. 179. It has nothing of the wild strain of poetry. The saints and relics of Durham church seem to have struck the poet most, in describing that city. I cannot discern the supposed sublimity of those mysterious dithyrambics, which close the Saxon Menologe, or poetic calendar, written about the tenth century, printed by Hickes, Gramm. Anglo-Sax. p. 207. They seem to be prophecies and proverbs; or rather, splendid fragments from different poems, thrown together without connection.

1 See Hickes. Thesaur. i. p. 10. Who adds many more instances.

k Fab. xlix. See Hickes, ubi supr. p. 116.

Who has greatly misrepresented the sense by a bad Latin translation. Hist. lib. v. p. 203.

• [See Mr. Turner's History of the

king of the Hybernians and the adjacent isles, invited by Constantine king of the Scots, entered the river Abi or Humber with a strong fleet. Our Saxon king Athelstan, and his brother Eadmund Clito [atheling], met them with a numerous army, near a place called Brunenburgh; and after a most obstinate and bloody resistance, drove them back to their ships. The battle lasted from day-break till the evening. On the side of Anlast were slain five petty kings, and seven chiefs or generals. "King Adelstan, the glory of leaders, the giver of gold chains to his nobles, and his brother Eadmund, both shining with the bright ness of a long train of ancestors, struck [the adversary] in war: at Brunenburgh, with the edge of the sword, they clove the wall of shields. The high banners fell. The earls of the departed Edward fell; for it was born within them, even from the loins of their kindred, to defend the treasures and the houses of their country, and their gifts, against the hatred of strangers. The nation of the Scots, and the fatal inhabitants of ships, fell. The hills resounded, and the armed men were covered with sweat. From the time the sun, the king of stars, the torch of the eternal one, rose chearful above the hills, till he returned to his habitation. There lay many of the northern men, pierced with lances; they lay wounded, with their shields pierced through: and also the Scots, the hateful harvest of battle. The chosen bands of the West-Saxons, going out to battle, pressed on the steps of the detested nations, and slew their flying rear with sharp and bloody swords. The soft effeminate men yielded up their spears. The Mercians did not fear or fly the rough game of the hand. There was no safety to them, who sought the land with Anlaff in the bosom of the ship, to die in fight. Five youthful kings fell in the place of fight, slain with swords; and seven captains of Anlaff, with the innumerable army of Scottish mariners : there the lord of the Normans [Northernmen] was chased: and their army, now made small, was driven

Anglo Saxons, vol i. p. 349. Anlaf, bishop of York, who united with Anlaf probability a Christian. Wuhtan arch-

whom Athelstan had expelled from the in his second attempt to recover his inkingdom of North-humbris, was in all heritance, would hardly have fought under a Pagan banner. - Entr.]

to the prow of the ship. The ship sounded with the waves; and the king, marching into the yellow sea, escaped alive. And so it was, the wise northern king Constantine, a veteran chief, returning by flight to his own army, bowed down in the camp, lest his own son worn out with wounds in the place of slaughter; in vain did he lament his earls, in vain his lost friends. Nor less did Anlaff, the yellow-haired leader, the battle-ax of slaughter, a youth in war, but an old man in understanding, boast himself a conqueror in fight, when the darts flew against Edward's earls, and their banners met. Then those northern soldiers, covered with shame, the sad refuse of darts in the resounding whirlpool of Humber, departed in their ships with rudders, to seek through the deep the Irish city and their own land. While both the brothers, the king and Clito, lamenting even their own victory, together returned home; leaving behind them the flesh-devouring raven, the dark-blue toad greedy of slaughter, the black crow with horny bill, and the hoarse toad, the eagle a companion of battles, with the devouring kite, and that brindled savage beast the wolf of the wood, to be glutted with the white food of the slain. Never was so great a slaughter in this island, since the Angles and Saxons, the fierce beginners of war, coming hither from the east, and seeking Britain through the wide sea, overcame the Britons excelling in honour, and gained possession of their land m."

This piece, and many other Saxon odes and songs now remaining, are written in a metre much resembling that of the scaldic dialogue at the tomb of Angantyr*, which has been beautifully translated into English, in the true spirit of the original, and in a genuine strain of poetry, by Gray. The extemporaneous effusions of the glowing bard seem naturally to have

Latin of Gibson, and of course shares the faults of its original.—EDIT.

The original was first printed by Wheloc in the Saxon Chronicle, p. 555. Cant. 1644. See Hickes. Thes. Præfat. p. xiv. And ibid. Gramm. Anglo-Sax. p. 181.

At the close of this Dissertation the vender will find the original ode and a nearly literal version of it. The trans- and paraphrastically versified by Mr. betion in the text was made from the

[•] The invocation of Hervor at the tomb of her father Angantyr was translated in prose by Dr. Hickes. It was republished with emendations by Dr. Percy in 1763, and has since been closely Mathias and Miss Seward.—PARK.]

fallen into this measure, and it was probably more easily suited to the voice or harp. Their versification for the most part seems to have been that of the Runic poetry.

As literature, the certain attendant, as it is the parent, of true religion and civility, gained ground among the Saxons, poetry no longer remained a separate science, and the profession of bard seems gradually to have declined among them: I mean the bard under those appropriated characteristics, and that peculiar appointment, which he sustained among the Scandinavian pagans. Yet their national love of verse and music still so strongly predominated, that in the place of their old scalders a new rank of poets arose, called GLEEMEN or Harpers a. These probably gave rise to the order of English Minstrels, who flourished till the sixteenth century.

And here I stop to point out one of the principal reasons, why the Scandinavian bards have transmitted to modern times so much more of their native poetry, than the rest of their southern neighbours. It is true, that the inhabitants of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway,—whether or no from their Asiatic origin, from their poverty which compelled them to seek their fortunes at foreign courts by the exercise of a popular art, from the success of their bards, the nature of their republican government, or their habits of unsettled life,—were more given to verse than any other Gothic, or even Celtic, tribe. But this is not all: they remained pagans, and retained their original manners, much longer than any of their Gothic kindred. They were not completely converted to christianity till the tenth century. Hence, under the concurrence however of some of the

year 680, that female harpers were not then uncommon. It is decreed that no bishop, or any ecclesiastic, shall keep or have cithar montaca, and it is added quactumque Symphoniaca, not permit plays or sports, lunos veluocos, undoubtedly mimical and gesticulatory entertainments, to be exhibited in his presence. Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. lib. in. p. 263. edit. vet. And Concil. Spelman. tom. 1. p. 159. edit. 1689. fol.

See bishop Lloyd's Hist. Account of

[&]quot;GLEMAN answers to the Latin Joculaton. Fabyan speaking of Blagebride, an antient British king, famous for his skill in poetry and thusic, calls him "a conynge musicyan, called of the Britons god of Gleman." Carox. f. xxxii. ed. 1533. This, Fabyan translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the same British king, "ut dress societatory videretur." Hist. Britlib. i. cap. 22. It appears from the injunctions given to the British church in the

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causes just mentioned, their scaldic profession acquired greater degrees of strength and of maturity; and from an uninterrupted possession through many ages of the most romantic religious superstitions, and the preservation of those rough manners which are so favourable to the poetical spirit, was enabled to produce, not only more genuine, but more numerous, compo-True religion would have checked the impetuosity of their passions, suppressed their wild exertions of fancy, and bamished that striking train of imagery, which their poetry derived from a barbarous theology. This circumstance also suggests to our consideration, those superior advantages and opportunities arising from leisure and length of time, which they enjoyed above others, of circulating their poetry far and wide, of giving a general currency to their mode of fabling, of rendering their skill in versification more universally and fami-Early known, and a more conspicuous and popular object of admiration or imitation to the neighbouring countries. Hence too it has happened, that modern times have not only attained much fuller information concerning their historical transactions, but are so intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of their character.

It is probable, that the Danish invasions produced a considerable alteration in the manners of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Although their connections with England were transient and interrupted, and on the whole scarcely lasted two hundred years, yet many of the Danish customs began to prevail among the inhabitants, which seem to have given a new turn to their temper and genius. The Danish fashion of excessive drinking, for instance, a vice almost natural to the northern nations, became so general among the Anglo-Saxons, that it was found necessary to restrain so pernicious and contagious a practice by a particular statute. Hence it seems likely, that so popular an entertainment as their poetry gained ground; es-

Church Government in Great Britain, p. 104.

See Lambarde's Arke. chap. i. §. 11. 4to. Lond. 1684. chaionom. And Bartholin. ii. c. xii. And Crymog. Arngrim. L. i. cap. 10. p. 542.

pecially if we consider, that in their expeditions against England they were of course attended by many northern scalds, who constantly made a part of their military retinue, and whose language was understood by the Saxons. Rogwald, lord of the Orcades, who was also himself a poet, going on an expedition into Palestine, carried with him two Islandic bards q. The noble ode, called in the northern chronicles the Elogium of Hacon', king of Norway, was composed, on a battle in which that prince with eight of his brothers fell, by the scald Eyvynd; who for his superior skill in poetry was called the Cross of Poets, [Eyvinder

Ol. Worm. Lit, Run. p. 195. edit,

In this ode are these very sublime

imageries and prosopopæias.

" The goddesses who preside over batties come, sent forth by Odin. They go to choose among the princes of the illustrious race of Yngvon a man who is to perish, and to go to dwell in the palace of the gods."

"Gondula leaned on the end of her lance, and thus bespoke her companions. The assembly of the gods is going to be increased: the gods invite Hacon, with his numerous bost, to enter the palace of

Odin."

"Thus spake these glorious nymphs of war who were seated on their horses, who were covered with their shields and helmers, and appeared full of some great thought."

" Hacon heard their discourse. Why, said he, why hast thou thus disposed of the battle? Were we not worthy to have obtained of the gods a more perfect victory? It is we, she replied, who have given it thee. It is we who have put thine enemies to flight,"

" Now, added she, let us push forward our steeds across those green worlds, which are the residence of the gods. Let us go tell Odin that the king is com-

ing to visit him in his palace,'

" When Odin heard this news, he said, Hermode and Brago, my sons, go to meet the king: a king, admired by all men for his valour, approaches to our hall."

" At length king Hacon approaches; and arriving from the battle is still all besprinkled and running down with blood. At the sight of Odin, he cries out, Ah how severe and terrible does this god appear to me '''
"The hero Brago replies, Come, thou

that wast the terror of the bravest warriors. Come hither, and rejoin thine eight brothers. the heroes who residehere shall live with thee in peace. Go, drink Ale in the circle of beroes."

" But this valiant king exclaims, I will still keep my arms a warrior ought carefully to preserve his mail and helmet; it is dangerous to be a moment without

the spear in one's hand."—
"The wolf Fennis shall burst him chains and dart with rage upon his ene-mies, before so brave a king shall again appear upon earth," &c.

Snorron, Hist. Reg. Sept. i. p. 163. This ode was written so early as the year 960. There is a great variety and boldness in the transitions, An action is carried on by a set of the most aweful ideal personages, finely imagined. The goddesses of battle, Odin, his sons Hermode and Brago, and the spectre of the deceased king, are all introduced, speaking and acting as in a drama. The panegyric is nobly conducted, and arises out of the sublimity of the fiction.

A somewhat different version of the above ode is printed in Percy's Five Runio pieces. By the welf Fenns, he observes, the northern nations understood a kind of demon, or evil principle, at enmity with the gods, who though at present chained up from doing mischief, was hereafter to break loose and destroy the world. See

Edds.—PARK.]

Skálldaspillir*,] and fought in the battle which he celebrated. Hacon earl of Norway was accompanied by five celebrated bards in the battle of Jomsburgh: and we are told, that each of them sung an ode to animate the soldiers before the engagement began. They appear to have been regularly brought into action. Olave, a king of Norway, when his army was prepared for the onset, placed three scalds about him, and exclaimed aloud, "You shall not only record in your verses what you have HEARD, but what you have SEEN." They each delivered an ode on the spot t. These northern chiefs appear to have so frequently hazarded their lives with such amazing intrepidity, merely in expectation of meriting a panegyric from their poets, the judges, and the spectators of their gallant bebeviour. That scalds were common in the Danish armies when they invaded England, appears from a stratagem of Alfred; who, availing himself of his skill in oral poetry and playing on the harp, entered the Danish camp habited in that character, and procured a hospitable reception. This was in the year 878 u. Anlaff+, a Danish king, used the same disguise for reconnoitring the camp of our Saxon monarch Athelstan: taking his station near Athelstan's pavilion, he entertained the king and his chiefs with his verses and music, and was dismissed with an honourable reward w. As Anlass's dialect must have discovered him to have been a Dane; here is a proof, of what I shall bring more, that the Saxons, even in the midst of mutreal hostilities, treated the Danish scalds with favour and respect. That the Islandic bards were common in England

^{• [}Sk:illdaspillir, poetarum alpha, cui cannes invident poetse.

Bartholin. p. 172.

Olaf. Sag. apud Verel. ad HERV. **Sac. p. 178.** Bartholin. p. 172.

Inguiph. Hist. p. 869. Malmesb. ii.

c4 p 43.

[†] This is the same Anlaf mentioned shove, p. xxxix. Though of Danish descent, yet as his family had possessed the threne of North-humbria for more than see generation, it is most probable that

he spoke the dialect of his province, or what Hickes calls the Dano-Saxon.-EDIT.

[&]quot; Malmesb. ii. 6. I am aware, that the truth of both these anecdotes respecting Alfred and Anlast has been controverted. But no sufficient argument has yet been offered for pronouncing them spurious, or even suspicious. See an ingenious Dissertation in the Archmo-LOGIA, vol. ii. p. 100. seq. A. D. 1773.

during the Dapish invasions, there are numerous proofs. Egille a celebrated Islandic poet, having murthered the son and many of the friends of Eric Blodoxe, king of Denmark or Norway, then residing in Northumberland, and which he had just conquered, procured a pardon by singing before the king, at the command of his queen Gunhilde, an extemporaneous ode *. Egill compliments the king, who probably was his patron, with the appellation of the English chief. "I offer my freight to the king. I owe a poem for my ransom. I present to the English chief the nicad of Odin "." Afterwards he calls this Danish conqueror the commander of the Scottish fleet. "The commander of the Scottish fleet fattened the ravenous birds The sister of Nera [Death] trampled on the fee: she trampled on the evening food of the eagle." The Scots usually joined the Danish or Norwegian invaders in their attempts on the northern parts of Britain*: and from this circumstance a new argument arises, to show the close communication and alliance which must have subsisted between Scotland and Scandinavia. Egille aithough of the enemy's party*, was a singular favourite of king Athelstan. Athelstan once asked Egill how he escaped due punishment from Eric Blodoxe, the king of Northumber land, for the very capital and enormous crime which I have just mentioned. On which Egill immediately related the whole of that transaction to the Saxon king, in a sublime ode still extant 2. On another occasion Athelstan presented Egill with two rings, and two large cabinets filled with silver; promising at the same time, to grant him any gift or favour which he should choose to request. Egill, struck with gratitude, immediately composed a panegyrical poem in the Norwegian lan-

^{*} See Crymogr. Angrim. Jon. lib. ii.

pag. 125. edit. 1609.

See Oi. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 227.
196. All the chiefs of Eric were also present at the recital of this ode, which is in a noble strain.

^{*} See the Saxon epinicion in praise of king Athelstan, supr. citat. Hen. Hunting, 1, v. p. 203, 204,

^{• [}Egill fought on Athelstan's side, and did signal service in the battle at Brunanburh.—Eorr.]

^{*} Torfaus Hist. Orend. Præfat. "Rei statum ordinem metro nunc satis obscuro exposunt." Torfæus adds, which is much to our purpose, "nequaquam ita narraturus non invalinguam."

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grage, then common to both nations, on the virtues of Athelstan, which the latter as generously requited with two marcs of pure goldb. Here is likewise another argument, that the Sexons had no small esteem for the scaldic poetry. It is highly reasonable to conjecture, that our Danish king Canute, a potentate of most extensive jurisdiction, and not only king of England, but of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, was not without the customary retinue of the northern courts, in which the scalds held so distinguished and important a station. Human nature, in a savage state, aspires to some species of merit, and in every stage of society is alike susceptible of flattery, when addressed to the reigning passion. The sole object of these northern princes was military glory. It is certain that Canute delighted in this mode of entertainment, which he patronized and liberally rewarded. It is related in KNYTLINGA-SAGA, or Canute's History, that he commanded the scald Lostunga to be put to death, for daring to comprehend his atchievements in too concise a poem. "Nemo," said he, "ante te, ausus est de me BREVES CANTILENAS componere." A curious picture of the tyrant, the patron, and the barbarian, united! But the bard extorted a speedy pardon, and with much address, by producing the next day before the king at dinner an ode of more than thirty strophes, for which Canute gave him fifty marcs of purified silverc. In the mean time, the Danish language began to grow perfectly familiar in England. It was eagerly learned by the Saxon clergy and nobility, from a principle of ingratisting themselves with Canute: and there are many manuscripts now remaining, by which it will appear, that the Danish runes were much studied among our Saxon ancestors under the reign of that monarch d.

The songs of the Irish bards are by some conceived to be

[Canute's threat—for he did not "command the scald to be put to death "—is thus translated by Mr. Turner: "Are

you not ashamed to do what none but yourself has dared, to write a short poem upon me? Unless by to-morrow's dinner you produce above thirty strophes on the same subject, your head shall be the penalty." Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 437. The result was as Warton states.—Edit.] 4 Hickes, ubi supr. i. 134. 136.

Bartholin. Antiquit. Danic. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 169, 170. See Knytlinga-Saga, in Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Holm. Hickes. Thesaur. ii. 312.

strongly marked with the traces of scaldic imagination; an these traces, which will be reconsidered, are believed still to survive among a species of poetical historians, whom they cal TALE-TELLERS, supposed to be the descendants of the original Irish bards. A writer of equal elegance and veracity relates, "that a gentleman of the north of Ireland has told me of him own experience, that in his wolf-huntings there, when he useto be abroad in the mountains three or four days together, anlaid very ill a-nights, so as he could not well sleep, they woulbring him one of these TALE-TELLERS, that when he lay dow would begin a story of a KING, or a GYANT, a DWARF, and DAMOSEL ." These are topics in which the Runic poetry is sai to have been greatly conversant.

 We are informed by the Irish historians, that saint Patrick, when he converted Ireland to the Christian faith, destroyed three hundred volumes of the songs of the Irish bards. Such was their dignity in this country, that they were permitted to wear a robe of the same colour with that of the royal family. They were constantly summoned to a triennial festival; and the most approved songs delivered at this assembly were ordered to be preserved in the custody of the king's historian or antiquary. Many of these compositions are referred to by Keating, as the foundation of his History of Ireland. Ample estates were appropriated to them, that they might live in a condition of independence and ease. The profession was hereditary; but when a bard died, his estate devolved not to his eldest son, but to such of his family as discovered the most distinguished talents for poetry and music. Every principal bard retained thirty of inferior note, as his attendants; and a bard of the secondary class was followed by a retinue of fifteen. They seem to have been at their height in the year 558. Keating's History of Ireland, p. 127. 132, 370, 380, And Pref. p. 23. None of their poems have been translated.

There is an article in the Laws of Keneth king of Scotland, promulged in the year 850, which places the bards of Scotland, who certainly were held in equal esteem with those of the neighbouring

countries, in the lowest station. "Fuguest tivos, BARDOS, otio addictos, acuzras hujusmodi bominum genus, loris et fl gris cadunto." Apud Hector. Bost -- h. Lib. x. p. 201. edit. 1574. But Salm= sius very justly observes, that for BARDwe should read VARGOS, or VERGOS, i. Vagabonds.

[Such, said the late ingenious Manualr. Walker, was the celebrity of the Iri music, that the Welsh bards condescened to receive instructions in their m sical art from those of Ireland. Gryffy dd ap Conan, king of North Wales, about the time that Stephen was king of English land, determined to reform the Well bards, and brought over many. Iris bards for that purpose. This Gryffyc according to the intelligent Mr. Owes was a distinguished patron of the poand musicians of his native country, a. called several congresses, wherein lawere established for the better regulati of poetry and music, as well as of summer ich as cultivated those sciences. These co gresses were open to the people of Wal ولأتقلت as well as of Ireland and Scandings and professors from each country tended: whence what was found pecul to one people, and worthy of adoptic was received and established in the re-Hist. Mem. of Irish Bards, p. 10

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Cambrian Biogr. p. 145.—PARK.] Sir W. Temple's Essays, part

p. 349.

Nor is it improbable that the Welsh bards might have been acquainted with the Scandinavian scalds. I mean before their communications with Armorica, mentioned at large above. The prosody of the Welsh bards depended much on alliteration. Hence they seem to have paid an attention to the scaldic versification. The Islandic poets are said to have carried alliteration to the highest pitch of exactness in their earliest periods: whereas the Welsh bards of the sixth century used it but sparingly, and in a very imperfect degree. In this circumstance a proof of imitation, at least of emulation, is implied. There are moreover, strong instances of conformity between

The bards of Britain were originally a constitutional appendage of the druidical hierarchy. In the parish of Llaniden in the isle of Anglescy, there are still to be seen the ruins of an arch-druid's mension, which they call TREE DREW, that is the Dauld's Mansion. Near it are marks of the habitations of the separate conventual societies, which were under his immediate orders and inspection. Among these is TRER BEILD, or, m they call it to this day, the HAMLET of the rards. Rowland's Mona, p. 83. **86.** But so strong was the attachment of the Celtic nations, among which we reckon Britain, to poetry, that, amidst all the changes of government and manners, even long after the order of Druids was extinct, and the national religion sleered, the bards, acquiring a sort of civil capacity, and a new establishment, sill continued to flourish. And with regard to Britain, the bards flourished most in those parts of it, which most strongly retained their native Celtic character. The Britons living in those countries that were between the Trent or Humber and the Thames, by far the greatest portion of this island, in the midst of the Roman garrisons and colomiss, had been so long inured to the customs of the Romans, that they preserved very little of the British; and from this long and habitual intercourse, before the fifth century, they seem to have lost their original language. We cannot discover the slightest trace, in the poems of the bards, the Lives of the British saints, or any other antient monument, that they held any correspondence with the Welsh, the Cornish, the

Cumbrian, or the Strathcluyd Britons. Among other British institutions grown obsolete among them, they seem to have lost the use of bards; at least there are no memorials of any they had, nor any of their songs remaining: nor do the Welsh or Cumbrian poets ever touch upon any transactions that passed in those countries, after they were relinquished by the Romans.

And here we see the reason why the Welsh bards flourished so much and so long. But moreover the Welsh, kept in awe as they were by the Romans, harassed by the Saxons, and eternally jealous of the attacks, the encroachments, and the neighbourhood of aliens, were on this account attached to their Celtic manners: this situation, and these circumstances, inspired them with a pride and an obstinacy for maintaining a national distinction, and for preserving their antient usages, among which the bardic profession is so eminent.

h See vol. ii. p. 148.

I am however informed by a very intelligent antiquary in British literature, that there are manifest marks of alliteration in some druidical fragments still remaining, undoubtedly composed before the Britons could have possibly mixed in the smallest degree with any Gothic nation. Rhyme is likewise found in the British poetry at the carliest period, in those druidical triplets called Englyn Milwr, or the Warrion's Song, in which every verse is closed with a consonant syllable. See a metrical Druid oracle in Borlase's Antiquit. Cornwall. B. iii. ch. 5. p. 185. edit. 1769.

the manners of the two nations; which, however, may be accounted for on general principles arising from our comparative observations on rude life. Yet it is remarkable that mead, the northern nectar, or favourite liquor of the Gothsh, who seem to have stamped it with the character of a poetical drink, was no less celebrated among the Welsh'. The songs of both nations abound with its praises: and it seems in both to have been alike the delight of the warrior and the bard. Taliessin, us Lhuyd informs us, wrote a panegyrical ode on this inspiring beverage of the bee; or, as he translates it, De Mulso seu Hydromelik. In Hoel Dha's Welsh laws, translated by Wotton, we have, "In omni convivio in quo mulsum bibitur !." From which passage, it seems to have been served up only at high festivals. By the same constitutions, at every feast in the king's castle-hall, the prefect or marshal of the hall is to receive from the queen, by the hands of the steward, a HORN OF MEAD. It is also ordered, among the privileges annexed to the office of prefect of the royal-hall, that the king's bard shall sing to him as often as he pleases^m. One of the stated officers of the king's houshold is Confector Mulsi: and this officer, together with the master of the horse o, the master of the hawks, the

And of the antient Franks. Gregory of Tours mentions a Frank drinking this liquor; and adds, that he acquired this habit from the BARBAROUS or Frankish nations. Hist. Franc. lib. viii. c. 33, p. 401, ed. 1699. Paris, fol.

Sec vol. ii. p. 264.

Tanner Bibl. p. 706,

LEG. WALL L. i. cap. xxiv. p. 45.

" Ibid. L. i. cap. xii. p. 17.

"When the king makes a present of a horse, this officer is to receive a fee; but not when the present is made to a hishop, the master of the hawks, or to the Minnus. The latter is exempt, on account of the entertainment he afforded the court at being presented with a horse by the king, the horse is to be led out of the hall with capistrum testiculis alligatum. Ibid. L. i. cap. avii. p. 31. Minnus seems here to be a minic, or a gesticulator. Carpentier mentions a "Joculator qui sciebat tombark, to tumble" Cang. Lat Gloss Suppl V

TOWNER. In the Saxon canons given. by king Edgar, about the year 960, it is ordered, that no priest shall be a rour, or exercise the minical or histriomeal art in any degree, either in public or private. Can. 58. Concil. Spehnan, tom. i. p. 455. edit, 1639. fol. In Edgar's Oration to Dunstan, the Missi, Minstrels, are said both to sing and dance. Ibid. p. 477, Much the same injunction occurs in the Saxon Laws of the Northumentan PRIESTS, given in 988. Cap. xli. ibid. p. 498. Mimus seems sometimes to have signified Tite Foot. As in Gregory of Tours, speaking of the MIMLS of MIRO a king of Gallicia " Erat enine MINES nugis, qui ei per vurna jocularia Lac-TITIAM crat solitus Excitable. Sed non cum adjuvit aliquis cachinnes, neque præstigis artis suæ," &c. Gregor, Turonens. Miracott, S. Martin, lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 1119. Opp. Paris, 1099. fol. smith of the palace, the royal bard, the first musician, with some others, have a right to be seated in the hall. We have already seen, that the Scandinavian scalds were well known in Ireland: and there is sufficient evidence to prove, that the Welsh bards were early connected with the Irish. Even so late as the eleventh century, the practice continued among the Welsh bards, of receiving instructions in the bardic profession from Ireland. The Welsh bards were reformed and regulated by Gryffyth ap Conan, king of Wales, in the year 1078. At the same time he brought over with him from Ireland many Irish bards, for the information and improvement of the Welsh.

He is to work free: except for making the king's cauldron, the iron bands, and other furniture for his castle-gate, and the iron-work for his mills. Lzg.

WALL L. i. cap. xliv. p. 67.

By these constitutions, given about the year 940, the bard of the Welsh kings is a domestic officer. The king is to allow him a horse and a woollen robe; and the queen a linen garment. The prefect of the palace, or governor of the castle, is privileged to sit next him in the hall, on the three principal feast days, and to put the harp into his hand. On the three feast days he is to have the seward's robe for a fee. He is to attend, if the queen desires a song in her **chamber.** An ox or cow is to be given out of the booty or prey (chiefly consisting of cattle) taken from the English by the king's domestics: and while the prey is dividing, he is to sing the praises of the Burrish Kings or Kingdom. If, when the king's domestics go out to make depredations, he sings or plays before than, he is to receive the best bullock. When the king's army is in array, he is to sing the Song of the British Kings. When invested with his office, the king is to give him a harp, (other constitutions saya chess-board,) and the queen a ring of gold: nor is he to give away the harp a any account. When he goes out of the palace to sing with other bards, he **to receive a double portion of the lar**gene or gratuity. If he ask a gift or wour of the king, he is to be fined by **mging an o**de or poem: if of a noble**rese or chief**, three; if of a vassal, he is wang him to sleep. Leg. Wall. L. i.

cap. xix. p. 35. Mention is made of the bard who gains the CHAIR in the hall. Ibid. Artic. 5. After a contest of bards in the hall, the bard who gains the chair, is to give the Judge of the HALL, another officer, a horn, (cornu bubalinum) a ring, and the cushion of his chair. Ibid. L. i. cap. xvi. p. 26. When the king rides out of his castle, five bards are to accompany him. Ibid. L. i. cap. viii. p. 11. The Cornu Bubalinum may be explained from a passage in a poem, composed about the year 1160, by Owain Cyveiliog prince of Powis, which he entitled HIRLAS, from a large drinking-horn so called, used at feasts in his castle-hall. " Pour out, o cup-bearer, sweet and pleasant mead (the spear is red in the time of need) from the horns of wild oxen, covered with gold, to the souls of those departed heroes." Evans, p. 12.

By these laws the king's harp is to be worth one hundred and twenty pence: but that of a gentleman, or one not a vassal, sixty pence. The King's chessboard is valued at the same price: and the instrument for fixing or tuning the strings of the king's harp, at twenty-four pence. His drinking-horn, at one pound. Ibid. L. iii. cap. vii. p. 265.

There are two musicians: the Musicus PRIMARIUS, who probably was a teacher, and certainly a superintendant over the rest; and the HALL-MUSICIAN.

LEG. ut supr. L. i. cap. xlv. p. 68.

" "Jus cathedræ." Ibid. L. i. cap. x.

p. 13.

See Selden, Drayt. Polyola. S. ix. pag. 156. S. iv. pag. 67. edit. 1613. fol.

Powell acquaints us, that this prince "brought over with him from Ireland divers cunning musicians into Wales, who devised in a manner all the instrumental music that is now there used: as appeareth, as well by the bookes written of the same, as also by the names of the tunes and measures used among them to this daie '." In Ireland, to kill a bard was highly criminal and to seize his estate, even for the public service and in time of national distress, was deemed an act of sacrilege". Thus in the old Welsh laws, whoever even slightly injured a bard, was to be fined six cows and one hundred and twenty pence. The murtherer of a bard was to be fined one hundred and twenty six cows . Nor must I pass over, what reflects much light on this reasoning, that the establishment of the houshold of the old Irish chiefs, exactly resembles that of the Welsh kings For, besides the bard, the musician, and the smith, they have both a physician, a huntsman, and other corresponding officers % We must also remember, that an intercourse was necessarily produced between the Welsh and Scandinavians from the pi ratical irruptions of the latter: their scalds, as I have already remarked, were respected and patronised in the courts of those princes, whose territories were the principal objects of the Danish invasions. Torfæus expressly affirms this of the Anglo-

The caliphs, and other eastern potentures, had dieir hards whom they treated with equal respect. Sir John Maundeville, who travelled in 1840, says, that when the emperor of Cathay, or great Cham of Turtary, is seated at dinner in high pomp with his lards, "no man is

so hardi to speak to him except it te Musicians to soluce the emperur." chaplxvo. p. 100. Here is another proof of the correspondence between the castern and northern costoms - and this instance nught be brought as an argument of the bardic institution being fetched from the east. Lea Afer mentions the Pacter currer of the Caliph's court at Bagdad, about the year 990. De Med. et Platos, Arab. cap. iv. Those poets were in most repute among the Arabians, who could speak extemporaneous verses to the Caligh. Euseb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. Bibl. Or. viii. p. 249. Thomson, in the Castle of Innotance, mentions the BARD IN WAITING being introduced to full the Caliph asleep. And Mauddeville mentions answerettes as outsperor of Cathay.

* See Temple, ubi supr. p 346

¹ Hist, of Cambr, p. 191. edit.

[&]quot;Keating's Hist. Ireland, pag. 132.

"LEO, WALL, ut supr. L. i. cap. xix.
pag. 35. seq. See also cap xlv p. 68.
We find the same respect paid to the bard in other constitutions. "Qi i Harraroren, &c. Whoever shall strike a marrier who can harp in a public assembly, shall compound with him by a composition of four times more, than for any other man of the same condition." Legg. Ripuriorum et Wesinorum. Lindenbrock. Cod. LL. Autiq. Wingoth. etc.
A.D. 613. Tit. 5. § ult.

The caliphs, and other castern poten-

Saxon and Irish kings; and it is at least probable, that they were entertained with equal regard by the Welsh princes, who so frequently concurred with the Danes in distressing the English. It may be added, that the Welsh, although living in a separate and detached situation, and so strongly prejudiced in favour of their own usages, yet from neighbourhood, and unavoidable communications of various kinds, might have imbibed the ideas of the Scandinavian bards from the Saxons and Danes, after those nations had occupied and overspread all the other parts of our island.

Many pieces of the Scottish bards are still remaining in the highlands of Scotland. Of these a curious specimen, and which considered in a more extensive and general respect, is a valuable monument of the poetry of a rude period, has lately been given to the world, under the title of the Works of OSSIAN. It is indeed very remarkable, that in these poems, the terrible graces, which so naturally characterise, and so generally constitute, the early poetry of a barbarous people, should so frequently give place to a gentler set of manners, to the social sensibilities of polished life, and a more civilised and elegant species of imagination. Nor is this circumstance, which disarranges all our established ideas concerning the savage stages of society, easily to be accounted for, unless we suppose, that the Celtic tribes, who were so strongly addicted to poetical composition, and who made it so much their study from the earliest times, might by degrees have attained a higher vein of poetical refinement, than could at first sight or on common principles be expected among nations, whom we are accustomed to call barbarous; that some few instances of an elevated strain of friendship, of love, and other sentimental feelings, existing in such nations, might lay the foundation for introducing a set of manners among the bards, more refined and exalted than the real manners of the country: and that panegyrics on those virtues, transmitted with improvements from bard to bard. must at length have formed characters of ideal excellence, which might propagate among the people real manners bordering on

the poetical. These poems, however, notwithstanding the difference between the Gothic and the Celtic rituals, contain many visible vestiges of Scandinavian superstition. The allusions in the songs of Ossian to spirits, who preside over the different parts and direct the various operations of nature, who send storms over the deep, and rejoice in the shricks of the ship wrecked mariner, who call down lightning to blast the forest or cleave the rock, and diffuse irresistible pestilence among the people, beautifully conducted indeed, and heightened, under the skilful hand of a master bard, entirely correspond with the Runic system, and breathe the spirit of its poetry. One fiction in particular, the most extravagant in all Ossian's poems, if founded on an essential article of the Runic belief. It is where Fingal fights with the spirit of Loda. Nothing could aggrandisc Fingal's heroism more highly than this marvellous encounter. It was esteemed among the antient Danes the most dar ing act of courage to engage with a ghost . Had Ossian found it convenient to have introduced religion into his compositions 🛂

Bartholin. De Contemptu Mortis apud Dan, L. ii. c. 2. p. 258. And ibid. p. 260. There are many other marks of Gothic customs and superstitions in Ossian. The fashion of marking the sepulchres of their chiefs with circles of stones, corresponds with what Olaus Wormius relates of the Danes, Monum. Danie. Hafn. 1631 p. 38. See also Ol. Magn. Hist. xvi. 2. In the Her-VANAR SAGA, the sword of Suarfuluma is forged by the dwarfs, and called Tirfing. Hickes, vol. i p. 193. So Fingul's award was made by an enchanter, and was called the sox of Lawo. And, what is more, this Luno was the Vulcan of the borth, hved in Juteland, and made complete suits of armour for many of the Scandinavian heroes. See Traiona, B. vii. p. 15%. Osstan, vol. ii. edit. 1785. Hence the bards of both countries made him a celebrated enchanter. By the way, the names of sword-smiths were thought worthy to be recorded in history. Hoveden say, that when Geoffrey of Plantagenet wa knighted, they brought him a sword from the reval

treasure, where it had been laid up from old times, "being the workmanship of GALAN, the most excellent of all swordsmiths." Hoved. f. 414. ii. Szer. 50. The mere mechanic, who is only mentioned as a skilful artist in history, becomes a magician or a pretermatural being in romance.

[The sword-sunth here recorded, in the hero of the Volundar-quitta in Sæmund's Edda. He is called Weland in the poem of Beowulf; Welond by king Alfred in his translation of Boowthius; and Guiclandus by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Mr. El is affirms that he is also spoken of in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. This has escaped me, but it is to this circumstance, perhaps, that we are indebted for the introduction of his name in the novel of Kennikorth.—El it.]

This perplexing and extraordinary circumstance, I mean the absence of all religious ideas from the poems of Ossian, is accounted for by Mr. Macpherson with much address. See Dissentation prefixed, vel. i p. vili, ii. edit 1765.

not only a new source had been opened to the sublime, in describing the rites of sacrifice, the horrors of incantation, the solemn evocations of infernal beings, and the like dreadful superstitions, but probably many stronger and more characteristical evidences would have appeared, of his knowledge of the imagery of the Scandinavian poets.

Nor must we forget, that the Scandinavians had conquered many countries bordering upon France in the fourth century. Hence the Franks must have been in some measure used to their language, well acquainted with their manners, and conversant in their poetry. Charlemagne is said to have delighted in repeating the most antient and barbarous odes, which celebrated the battles of antient kings. But we are not informed whether these were Scandinavian, Celtic, or Teutonic poems.

See also the elegant CRITICAL DISSERTATION of the very judicious Dr. Blair, vol. fi. p. 379.

² Hickes. Thes. i. part ii. p. 4.

Eginhart. cap. viii. n. 34. Bartholin. i. c. 10. p. 154. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls, who were Celts, delivered the spoils won in battle, yet reeking with blood, to their attendants: these were carried in triumph, while an epinicial song was chanted, παιανίζοντις χ Darte spres irnizen. Lib. 5. p. 352. See also p. 308. "The Celts, says Ælian, I hear, are the most enterprising of men: they make those warriors who die bravely in fight the subject of songs, Two Aspáres." Var. Hist. Lib. xxii. c. 23. Posidonius gives us a specimen of the manner of a Celtic bard. He reports, that Luernius, a Celtic chief, was accassomed, out of a desire of popularity, to gather crouds of his people together, and to throw them gold and silver from his chariot. Once he was attended at a sumptuous banquet by one of their bards, who received in reward for his song a purse of gold. On this the bard renewed his song, adding, to express his patron's excessive generosity, this hyperbolical panegyric, "The earth over which his chariot-wheels pass, instantly brings forth gold and precious gifts to enrich mankind." Athen, vi. 184.

Tacitus says, that Arminius, the con-

queror of Varus, "is yet sung among the barbarous nations." That is, probably among the original Germans. And Mor. Germ. ii. 3. Annal, ii. Joannes Aventinus, a Bavarian, who wrote about the year 1520, has a curious passage, "A great number of verses in praise of the virtues of Attila, are still extant among us, patrio sermone more majorum perscripta." Annal. Boior. L. ii. p. 130. edit. 1627. He immediately adds, "Nam et adhuc vulgo CANITUR, et est popularibus nostris, etsi literabum Rudibus, notissimus." Again, speaking of Alexander the Great, he says, "Boios eidem bellum indixisse ANTIQUIS CANITUR CARMINIBUS." ibid. Lib. i. p. 25. Concerning king Brennus, says the same historian, "Carmina vernaculo sermone facta legi in bibliothecis." ibid. Lib. i. p. 16. and p. 26. And again, of Ingeram, Adalogerion, and others of their ancient heroes, "Ingerami et Adalogerionis nomina frequentissime in fastis referentur; ipsos, more majorum, antiquis proavi celebrarunt carminibus, quæ in bibliothecis extant. Subsequuntur, quos patrio sermone adhuc canimus, Laertes atque Ulysses." ibid. Lib. i. p. 15. The same historian also relates, that his countrymen had a poetical history called the Book of Hx-ROES, containing the atchievements of the German warriors, ibid. Lib. i. p. 18.

About the beginning of the tenth century, France was invaded by the Normans, or NORTHERN-MEN, an army of ad-

See also ibid. Lib. vii. p. 432. Lib. i. p. 9. And many other passages to this purpose. The reader who is desirous of further information on this copious subjeet, may consult Mr. von der Hagen's republication of the "Helden-buch," or his "Grundriss rur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie,"-Epre.] Suffridus Petrus cites some old Frisian rhymes, De Orig. Fristor, l. in c. 2. Compare Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. i. p. 235. edit. 1772. From Trithemius a German abbot and historian, who wrote about 1490, we learn, that among the antient Franks and Germans, it was an exercise in the education of youth, for them to learn to repeat and to sing verses of the atchievements of their beroes, Compend. Annal. L. i. p. 11. edit. Francof. 1601. Probably these were the poems which Charlemagne is said to have committed to memory.

The most antient Theorise or Teutonic ode I know, is an Epinicion published hy Schilter, in the second volume of his THESAURUS ANTIQUITATUM TEUTONIcanum, written in the year 883. He entitles it EHINIKION rhythmo Teutonico Ludanco regi acclamatum cum Northmanusanno Dececuumin vienet. Itisin rhyme, and in the four-lined stanza. It was transcribed by Mabillon from a manuscript in the monistrey of Saint Amand in Holland. I will give a specimen from Schilter's Latin interpretation, but not on account of the merit of the poetry. " The king seized his shield and lauce, galloping hastily. He truly wished to revenge hunself on his adversaries. Nor was there a long delay : he found the Normans. He said, thanks be to God, at seeing what he desired. The king rushed on boldly, he first begun the customary song [rather, the hely song, lioth frono] Lyrae eleman, in which they all joined. The song was sung, the battle begun. The blood appeared in the checks of the impatient Franks. Every soldier took his revenge, but none like Lonis. Impetuous, bold," &c. As to the military chorus Kyrne clerson, it appears to have been used by the christian emperors before an engagement.

See Bons, Rer. Liturg, ii. c. 4. sitts, Theolog. Gentil, i. c. 2, 3 Mattha Bronerius de Niedek, De Populor, vet. et recent, Adorationibus, p. 31. among the autient Norvegians, Erlingin Scacchius, before he attacked earl Sigund, commanded his army to pronounce this formulary aloud, and to strike their shields. See Dolmerusad Hirrosun LAN sive Jus Aulicum antiq. Norvegic. p. 5% p. 418, edit. Hafn, 1673. Engelhusius in describing a battle with the Huns in the year 934, relates, that the christians at the onset cried Kyme elesson, but on the other side, diabolica vox hiu, bio, hit auditur Chronic, p. 1073, in tom. ii. Scriptor, Bruns, Leibnit, Compare Bed. Hist. Eccles. Anglican. lib. it. e. 20. And Schilterus, ubi supr. p 17. And Sarbiev. Od. 1. 24. The Greek church appears to have had a set of military hymns, probably for the use of the soldiers, either in battle or in the campai In a Catalogue of the manuscripts of the library of Berne, there is " Sylloge Tacticorum Leonis Imperatoris cui oper finem imponunt Hymni Militares quiluis iste titulus, Axedelis Paddopeira lei Contal. Cod. &c. p. 600. See Meursius'e edit. of Leo's Tacries, c. xii. p. 156. Lugd. Bat. 1612. Ho. But to return to the main subject of this tedious notes. Wagenseil, in a letter to Cuperus, mentions a treatise written by one Ernest Casimir Wassenback, I suppose a German, with this title, " De Bardis ac Barditu, sive antiquis Carminabus ac Cantilenis veterum Germanorum Dissertatio cui junctus est de S. Annone Coloniens archiepiscopo vetustissimus omnina Germanorum thythmus et monumen tum," See Polen, Supplem. Thesaur. Gronov, et Gray, tom. iv. p. 24. I do not think it was ever published. So Joach, Swabius, de Semnotheis veterum Germanorum philosophis, p. 8. And SECT. i. infr. p. 8. Pelloutier, sur l Lang. Celt. part. i. tom. i. ch. xii. p. 20 Mr. Warton in this note refers to Vos-

sius; but that author does not speak of the

Kyrus elemen as a unr-cry, but merely

as a common invocation to the Deity.

venturers from Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. And although the conquerors, especially when their success does not solely depend on superiority of numbers, usually assume the manners of the conquered, yet these strangers must have still further familiarised in France many of their northern fictions.

From this general circulation in these and other countries, and from that popularity which it is natural to suppose they must have acquired, the scaldic inventions might have taken deep root in Europec. At least they seem to have prepared the way for the more easy admission of the Arabian fabling shout the ninth century, by which they were, however, in great measure, superseded. The Arabian fictions were of a more splendid nature, and better adapted to the increasing civility of the times. Less horrible and gross, they had a novelty, a variety, and a magnificence, which carried with them the charm of fascination. Yet it is probable, that many of the scaldic imaginations might have been blended with the Arabian. In the mean time, there is great reason to believe, that the Gothic scalds enriched their vein of fabling from this new and fruitful source of fiction, opened by the Arabians in Spain, and afterwards propagated by the crusades. It was in many respects cogenial with their ownd: and the northern bards, who visited

mong the christians.—Douce.]—[But Warton is perfectly correct as to the fact, though he may have misquoted his autherity: " Kyric cleison cantantes more Melian militum properantium ad belhan, saliendo ingressi sunt Rhenum."-Mirac. S. Verenæ, tom. i. Sept. p. 170. col. 2. Carpentier in voce.—Bede reeseds a similar practice. "Tunc subito Germanos signifer universos admonet et predicat, ut voci sue uno clamore remondeant securisque hostibus qui se insperatos adesse confiderent Allelula terso repetitum Sacerdotes exclamabant Sequitur una vox omnium et elatum clamoreta repercuisso acre montium concluw multiplicant" &c. Beda, Lib. i. Eccl. Hist. Anglic. cap. xx. But see Schilter's notes to this Epinicion, v. 94; where other authorities are cited. — EDIT.

We must be careful to distinguish be-

tween the poetry of the Scandinavians, the Teutonics, and the Celts. As most of the Celtic and Teutonic nations were early converted to christianity, it is hard to find any of their native songs. But I must except the poems of Ossian, which are noble and genuine remains of the Celtic poetry.

of the long continuance of the Celtic superstitions in the popular belief, see what is said in the most elegant and judicious piece of criticism which the present age has produced, Mrs. Montague's Essay on Shakespeare. p. 145. edit. 1772.

d Besides the general wildness of the imagery in both, among other particular circumstances of coincidence which might be mentioned here, the practice of giving names to swords, which we find in the scaldic poems, occurs also among

the countries where these new fancies were spreading, must have been naturally struck with such wonders, and were certainly fond of picking up fresh embellishments, and new strokes of the marvellous, for augmenting and improving their stock of poetry. The earliest scald now on record is not before the year 750. From which time the scalds flourished in the northern countries, till below the year 1157°. The celebrated ode of Regner Lodbrog was composed about the end of the ninth century.

And that this hypothesis is partly true, may be concluded from the subjects of some of the old Scandic romances, manuscripts of which now remain in the royal library at Stockholm. The titles of a few shall serve for a specimen; which I will make no apology for giving at large. "SAGAN AF HIALMTER oc OLWER. The History of Hialmter king of Sweden, son of a Syrian princess, and of Olver Jarl. Containing their expeditions into Hunland, and Arabia, with their numerous encounters with the Vikings and the giants. Also their leagues

the Arabians. In the HERVARAR SAGA, the sword of Suarfulama is called Tirr-Hickes. Thes. i. p. 193. The names of swords of many of the old northern chiefs are given us by Olaus Wormius, Lit. Run. cap. xix. p. 110. 4to ed. Thus, Herbelot recites a long catalogue of the names of the swords of the most famous Arabian and Persic warriors. V. Saif. p. 736. b. Mahomet had nine swords, all which are named. As were also his bows, quivers, cuirasses, helmets, and lances. His swords were called The Piercing, Ruin, Death, &c. Mod. Univ. Hist. i. p. 253. This is common in the romance-writers and Ariosto. Mahomet's horses had also pompous or heroic appellations. Such as The Swift, The Thunderer, Shaking the exirth with his hoof, The Red, &c. As likewise his mules, asses, and camels. Horses were named in this manner among the Runic heroes. See OL Worm. ut supr. p. 110. Odin's horse was called SLEIPHER. See Kona Island, fab. xxi. I could give other proofs. But we have already wandered too far, in what Spenser calls, this delightfull lande of Facric. Yet I must

add, that from one, or both, of these sources, king Arthur's sword is named in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. ix. cap. 11. Ron is also the name of his lance. ibid. cap. 4. And Turpin calls Charlemagne's sword Gaudiosa. See Obs. Spens. i. §. vi. p. 214. By the way, from these correspondencies, an argument might be drawn, to prove the oriental origin of the Goths. And some perhaps may think them proofs of the doctrine just now suggested in the text, that the scalds borrowed from the Arabians.

[See a very curious description of Gaileon's sword Duransard in the romance of "La plaisante et delectable Histoire de Gerileon d'Angleterre," Paris 1572. p. 47. A sword of a most enormous size is related by Froissart to have been used by Archibald Douglas. See Lib. ii. c. 10.—Doucz.]

[See also Taylor's Glory of Regality, p. 71.—Edit.]

^e Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 241.

'Id. lbid. p. 196. Vid. infr. p. 61.

Arthur, whose histories, as we have already seen, had been so

lavishly decorated by the Arabian fablers, did not escape the

among their Sagas. "SAGAN AF ERIK EINGLANDS KAPPE.

The History of Eric, son of king Hiac, king Arthur's chief

wrestler.—HISTORICAL RHYMES of king Arthur, containing

History of Ivent, king Arthur's principal champion, contain-

ing his battles with the giants k.——SAGAN AF KARLAMAGNUSE

his league with Charlemagne.—SAGAN AF IVENT.

Scandinavian scalds i.

Accordingly we find these subjects

In the Latin Eiricaea regione. f. Eric or Irish land.

Wanley, apud Hickes, iii. p. 314.

It is amazing how early and how universally this fable was spread. G. de la Flamma says, that in the year 1339, an astient tomb of a king of the Lombards was broke up in Italy. On his sword was written, "C'el est l'espée de Meser Tristant, un qui occist l'Amoroyt d'Yrlant."—i. e. "This is the sword of sir Tristram, who killed Amoroyt of Ireland." Stairt. Ital. tom. xii. 1028. The Ger-

mans are said to have some very antient narrative songs on our old British heroes, Tristram, Gawain, and the rest of the knights Von der Tafel-ronde. See Goldast. Not. Vit. Carol. Magn. p. 207. edit. 1711.

SAGA, The History of the Britons, from Encas the Trojan to the emperor Constantius." Wanl. ibid. There are many others, perhaps of later date, relating to English history, particularly the history of William the Bastard and other christians, in their expedition into the holy

OF HOPPUM HANS. The History of Charlemagne, of his chame pions, and captains. Containing all his actions in several parts 1. Of his birth and coronation: and the combat of Carveton king of Babylon, with Oddegir the Dane 1. 2. Of Aglanda king of Africa, and of his son Jatmund, and their wars in Spain with Charlemagne. 3. Of Roland, and his combat with Vil laline king of Spain. 4. Of Ottuel's conversion to christianity and his marriage with Charlemagne's daughter. 5. Of Hugh king of Constantinople, and the memorable exploits of his chame pions. 6. Of the wars of Ferracute king of Spain. 7. Of Char-In another of the Sagas, Jarl, a magician of Saxland, exhibite his feats of necromancy before Charlemagne. We learn from Olaus Magnus, that Roland's magical horn, of which archbid shop Turpin relates such wonders, and among others that a might be heard at the distance of twenty miles, was frequently celebrated in the songs of the Islandic bards ". It is not likely that these pieces, to say no more, were not composed till the Scandinavian tribes had been converted to christianity; that is as I have before observed, about the close of the tenth century. These barbarians had an infinite and a national contempt for the christians, whose religion inculcated a spirit of peace, gentleness, and civility; qualities so dissimilar to those of their

land. The history of the destruction of the monasteries in England, by William Rufus. Wanl thid.

[It will perhaps be superfluous to remark, that all the Sagas mentioned in the text, are the production of an age long subsequent to the reign of William Rufus.—Epr.]

In the history of the library at Upsal, I find the following articles, which are left to the conjectures of the curious enquirer. Historia Biblioth. Upsaliens, per Celsium. Ups. 1745. 8vo. pag. 88. Artic. vii. Variæ Britannorum fabulæ, quas in carmine conversas olim, atque in conviviis ad enharam decantari solitas fuisse, perhibent. Sunt autem relationes de Guianano equite Britannia meridionalis Æskehod Britannia veteribus dictar. De Nobilium duorum conjugi-

bus gemellos enixis; et id genus niapag. 87. Artic. v. Drama gerialis.
fol. in membran. Res continet amatorias, olim, ad jocum concitandum Islandica lingua scripturo.—ibid. Artic.
vii. The history of Duke Juhanus, son
of S. Giles. Containing many things of
Earl William and Rosamund. In the
antient Islandic. See Observations on
the Fairy Queen, i. p. 203, 204. §. vi.

THE FAIRY QUEEN, i. p. 203, 204, §, vi.

Mabillon thinks, that Turpin first called this hero a Dane. But this notion is refuted by Bartholinus, Antiq. Danie. ii. 13. p. 578. His old Gothic sword, Seatha, and iron shield, are still preserved and shewn in a monastery of the north, Bartholin, ibid. p. 579.

north, Bartholin, ibid. p. 579.

Manley, ut supr. p. 314.

See infr. Secv. iii, p. 136.

own ferocious and warlike disposition, and which they naturally interpreted to be the marks of cowardice and pusillanimity o. It has, however, been urged, that as the irruption of the Normens into France, under their leader Rollo, did not take place till towards the beginning of the tenth century, at which period the scaldic art was arrived to the highest perfection in Rollo's native country, we can easily trace the descent of the French and English romances of chivalry from the Northern It is supposed, that Rollo carried with him many scalds from the north, who transmitted their skill to their children and successors: and that these, adopting the religion, opinions, and language, of the new country, substituted the heroes of christendom, instead of those of their pagan ancestors, and began to celebrate the feats of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver, whose true history they set off and embellished with the scaldic figments of dwarfs, giants, dragons, and inchantments. There is, however, some reason to believe, that these fictions were current among the French long before; and, if the principles advanced in the former part of this dissertation be true, the fables adhering to Charlemagne's real history must be referred to another source.

Let me add, that the inchantments of the Runic poetry are very different from those in our romances of chivalry. The former chiefly deal in spells and charms, such as would preserve from poison, blunt the weapons of an enemy, procure victory, allay a tempest, cure bodily diseases, or call the dead from their tombs: in uttering a form of mysterious words, or inscribing Runic characters. The magicians of romance are

Regner Lodbrog, in his DYING ODE, speaking of a battle fought against the christians, says, in ridicule of the eucharist, "There we celebrated a Mass [Missa, Island.] of weapons."

[As the narrative of this ode is couched in the first person, it was for a long time considered to be Regner's own production. A more sober spirit of criticism afterwards referred it to Bragi hinn gamall, who was said to have written it at

the request of Aslaug, Lodbrog's widow. But Mr. Erichsen, the learned and judicious editor of the Royal Mirror and Gunlaug Ormstunga Saga, selected this very expression (odda messu) as a proof of its later origin, and of the author being a Christian. It is now usually assigned to the close of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.—Entr.]

P Percy's Ess. Metr. Rom. p. viii.

chiefly employed in forming and conducting a train of deceptions. There is an air of barbaric horror in the incantations of the scaldic fablers: the magicians of romance often present visions of pleasure and delight; and, although not without their alarming terrors, sometimes lead us through flowery forests and raise up palaces glittering with gold and precious stones. The Runic magic is more like that of Canidia in Horace, the romantic resembles that of Armida in Tasso. The operations of the one are frequently but mere tricks, in comparison of the sublime solemnity of necromantic machinery which the other so awefully displays.

It is also remarkable, that in the earlier scaldic odes, we find but few dragons, giants, and fairies*. These were introduced afterwards, and are the progeny of Arabian fancy. Nor indeed do these imaginary beings often occur in any of the compositions which preceded the introduction of that species of fabling. On this reasoning, the Irish tale-teller mentioned above, could not be a lineal descendant of the elder Irish bards. The absence of giants and dragons, and let me add, of many other trace of that fantastic and brilliant imagery which composes the system of Arabian imagination, from the poems of Ossian, are a striking proof of their antiquity. It has already been suggested, at what period, and from what origin, those fancies got footing in the Welsh poetry: we do not find them in the odes of Taliessin or Aneurin q. This reasoning explains are

*[With the exception of the "fairies," this is strikingly incorrect. The Edda and Beowalf, the earliest remains of Northern poetry, make frequent mention of giants (John-kyn, Eotena-cyn, the Etens-kin) and dragons. The latter speaks of both land and sea dragons, (cord-dracn, sas-draca, earth-drake, seadrake,)

Who flourished about the year 570. He has left a long spirited poem called Gonoris, often aduded to by the later Welsh bords, which celebrates a battle fought against the Saxons near Cattraeth, under the conduct of Mynnydawe Eiddin, in which all the Britons, three

only excepted, among which was the bar. Ancurin himself, were slain. I will give a specimen. "The men whose drink was mead, comely in shape, hastened to Cate raeth. These impetuous warriors it ranks, armed with red spears, long and bending, began the battle. Might I speak my revenge against the people of the Deiri, I would overwhelm them, like adeluge, in one slaughter: for unheeding I have lost a friend, who was brave it resisting his enemies. I drank of the wine and metheglin of Mordai, whose spear was of huge size. In the shock of the battle, he prepared food for the eagle. When Cydwal hastened forward, a shout

construction of an ingenious critic in this species of literature, and who has studied the works of the Welsh bards with much strention. "There are not such extravagant flights in any poetic compositions, except it be in the eastern; to which, as fir as I can judge by the few translated specimens I have seen, they bear a near resemblance." I will venture to say he does not meet with these flights in the elder Welsh bards. The beautiful romantic fiction, that king Arthur, after being wounded in the fatal battle of Camlan, was conveyed by an Elfin princess into the land of Faery, or spirits, to be healed of his wounds, that he reigns there still as a mighty potentate in all his pristine plendour, and will one day return to resume his throne in Britain, and restore the solemnities of his champions, often eccurs in the antient Welsh bards. But not in the most an-

see: before the yellow morning, when be gave the signal, he broke the shield into small splinters. The men hastened **to Cattracth**, noble in birth: their drink was wine and mead out of golden cups. These were three hundred and sixtytree adorned with chains of gold; but of those who, filled with wine, rushed on to the fight, only three escaped, who hered their way with the sword, the warrier of Acron, Conan Dacarawd, and I the bard Aneurin, red with blood, charwise I should not have survived to compose this song. When Caradoc hatened to the war, he was the son of a wild boar, in hewing down the Saxons; s ball in the conflict of fight, he twisted the wood [spear] from their hands. Gunen saw not his father after he had lifted the glistening mead in his hand. I praise all the warriors who thus met in the hattle, and attacked the foe with one Their life was short, but they have left a long regret to their friends. Yes of the Saxons they slew more than There was many a mother shedding tears. The song is due to thee who hast attained the highest glory: thou who wast like fire, thunder and accom: O Rudd Fedell, warlike champien, excellent in might, you still think of the war. The noble chiefs deserve to be calcurated in verse, who after the fight made the rivers to overflow their banks

with blood. Their hands glutted the throats of the dark-brown eagles, and skilfully prepared food for the ravenous birds. Of all the chiefs who went to Cattraeth with golden chains," &c. This poem is extremely difficult to be understood, being written, if not in the Pictish language, at least in a dialect of the Britons very different from the modern Welsh. See the learned and ingenious Mr. Evans's Dissertatio De Bardis, p. 68—75.

Evans, ubi supr. Pref. p. iv.

The Arabians call the Fairies Ginn. and the Persians Peri. The former call Fairy-land, Ginnistian, many beautiful cities of which they have described in their fabulous histories. See Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Gian. p. 306. a. Grnn. p. 375. a. 1'eri. p. 701. b. They pretend that the fairies built the city of Esthekar, or Persepolis. Id. in V. p. 327. a. One of the most eminent of the Oriental fairies was Mergian Peri, or Mergian the Fairy. Herbel. ut supr. V. Peri, p. 702. a. Thahamurath, p. 1017. a. This was a good fairy, and imprisoned for ages in a cavern by the giant Demrusch, from which she was delivered by Thaliamurath, whom she afterwards assisted in conquering another giant, his enemy. Id. ibid. And this is the fairy or elfin queen, called in the French romances Morgain Le Fay,

tient. It is found in the compositions of the Welsh bands' only, who flourished after the native vein of British fabling: had been tinctured by these FAIRY TALES, which the Armi bians had propagated in Armorica, and which the Welsh had received from their connexion with that province Gaul. Such a fiction as this is entirely different from the cast and complexion of the ideas of the original Welsh poets. It is easy to collect from the Welsh odes, written after the tenth century, many signatures of this exotic imagery. Such as, "Their assault was like strong lions. He is valourous as a lion, who can resist his lance? The dragon of Mona's sons were so brave in fight, that there was horrible consternation, and upon Tal Moelvre a thousand banners. Our lion has brought to Trallwng three armies. A dragon he was from the beginning, unterrified in battle. A dragon of Ovain. Thou art a prince firm in battle, like an elephant. Their assent was as of strong lions. The lion of Cemais fierce in the onset, when the army rusheth to be covered with red. He saw Llewellyn like a burning dragon in the strife of Arson. He is furious in fight like an outrageous dragon. Like the roaring of a furious lion, in the search of prey, is thy thirst of praise." Instead of producing more proofs from the multitude that might be mentioned, for the sake of illustration of our argument, I will contrast these with some of their natural unadulterated thoughts. "Fetch the drinking-horn, whose gloss is like the wave of the sea. Tudor is like a wolfrushing on his prey. They were all covered with blood when they returned, and the high hills and the dales enjoyed the sun equally. O thou virgin, that shinest like the snow on the brows of Aranu: like the fine spiders webs on the grass on a summer's day. The army at Offa's dike panted for glory, the soldiers of Venedotia, and the men of London, were as the alternate motion of the waves on

Morgain the fairy, who preserved king Arthur. See Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. 63. 65. §. ii.

tainous a country as Wales. This circumstance of time added to the merit of the action.

A beautiful periphrasis for noon-day, and extremely natural in so moun-

[&]quot; The high mountains in Merioneth-

OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE. IXV

the sea-shore, where the sea-mew screams. The hovering crows were numberless: the ravens croaked, they were ready to suck .the prostrate carcases. His enemies are scattered as leaves on the side of hills driven by hurricanes. He is a warrior like a surge on the beach that covers the wild salmons. Her eye was . piercing like that of the hawk ": her face shone like the pearly dew on Eryrix. Llewellyn is a hero who setteth castles on fire. I have watched all night on the beach, where the seawhose plumes glitter, sport on the bed of billows; and where the herbage, growing in a solitary place, is of a deep These images are all drawn from their own country, -from their situation and circumstances; and, although highly -poetical, are in general of a more sober and temperate colouring. In a word, not only that elevation of allusion, which many suppose to be peculiar to the poetry of Wales, but that fertility of fiction, and those marvellous fables recorded in .Gooffrey of Monmouth, which the generality of readers, who do not sufficiently attend to the origin of that historian's romentic materials, believe to be the genuine offspring of the . Welsh, poets, are of foreign growth. And, to return to the ground of this argument, there is the strongest reason to suspect, that even the Gothic Edda, or system of poetic mythology of the northern nations, is enriched with those higher strokes of oriental imagination, which the Arabians had communicated to the Europeans. Into this extravagant tissue of mmeaning allegory, false philosophy, and false theology, it was easy to incorporate their most wild and romantic conceptions z.

[This has been copied from Mallet,

See infr. Secr. xiii. vol. ii. p. 216.
Mountains of snow, from Eiry,

<sup>See Evans, ubi supr. p. 8. 10, 11.
15, 16. 21, 22, 23. 26. 28. 34. 37. 39,
40, 41, 42. And his Diss. de Bard.
p. 84. Compare Aneurin's ode, cited shore.</sup>

^{*} Huet is of opinion, that the Edda is entirely the production of Snorro's fancy. But this is saying too much. See Orig. Roman. p. 116. The first Edda was compiled, undoubtedly with many additions and interpolations, from fictions

and traditions in the old Runic poems, by Sæmund Sigfusson, surnamed the Learned, [Sage] about the year 1057. He seems to have made it his business to select or digest into one body such of these pieces as were best calculated to furnish a collection of poetic phrases and figures. He studied in Germany, and chiefly at Cologne. This first Edda being not only prolix, but perplexed and obscure, a second, which is that now extant, was compiled by Snorro Sturleson, born in the year 1179.

It must be confessed, that the ideas of chivalry, the appeardage and the subject of romance, subsisted among the Goths. But this must be understood under certain limitations. There is no peculiarity which more strongly discriminates the manners of the Greeks and Romans from those of modern times. than that small degree of attention and respect with which those nations treated the fair sex, and that inconsiderable share which they were permitted to take in conversation, and the general commerce of life. For the truth of this observation we need only appeal to the classic writers: in which their women appear to have been devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity. One is surprised that barbarians should be greater masters of complaisance than the most polished people that ever existed. No sooner was the Roman empire overthrown, and the Goths had overpowered Europe, than we find the female character assuming an unusual importance and authority, and distinguished with new privileges, in all the European govern ments established by the northern conquerors. Even amidst the confusions of savage war, and among the almost incredible enormities committed by the Goths at their invasion of the empire, they forbore to offer any violence to the women. This perhaps is one of the most striking features in the new state of manners, which took place about the seventh century: and in

who seems only to have seen the Edda of Snorro as published by Resenius. The Edda of Samund has since been published at Copenhagen by the Arnæ-Magnæan Commission. The labours of Semund were confined to collecting the mythological and historical songs of his country, which he probably prefaced and interspersed with a few remarks in prose; -those of Snorro, to reducing the same or a similar collection into a more intelligible and connected prose narrative. The object of Semund appears to have been, the formation of a poetic Anthology, rather than a regular series of mythic and historic documents, -that of Snorro, to offer a general outline of the Northern mythology. The Rev. P. Erasmus Mulier, in lus tract " Ueber die Amlehre," has

charge of palming upon the world his own inventions as the religious code of the North. It should however be remarked, that tradition alone or very recent manuscripts attribute the formation of the first collection to Samund. This does not rest on certain testimony — Emr.]

It is certain, and very observable, that in the Enda we find much more of giants, dragons, and other imaginary beings, undoubtedly belonging to Arabian romance, than in the earlier Scaldie odes. By the way, there are many strokes in both the Endas taken from the REVELATIONS of Saint John, which must come from the compilers who were Christians.

of the origin of romantic fiction in Europe. Ixvii

is to this period, and to this people, that we must refer the origin of gallantry in Europe. The Romans never introduced these sentiments into their European provinces.

The Goths believed some divine and prophetic quality to be inherent in their women; they admitted them into their councils, and consulted them on the public business of the state. They were suffered to conduct the great events which they predicted. Ganna, a prophetic virgin of the Marcomanni, a Germen or Gaulish tribe, was sent by her nation to Rome, and admitted into the presence of Domitian, to treat concerning terms of peace. Tacitus relates that Velleda, another Germen prophetess, held frequent conferences with the Roman generals; and that on some occasions, on account of the sacredness of her person, she was placed at a great distance on a high tower, from whence, like an oracular divinity, she conveyed her answers by some chosen messenger z. She appears to have preserved the supreme rule over her own people and the neighbouring tribes 2. And there are other instances, that the government among the antient Germans was sometimes rested in the women^b. This practice also prevailed among the Stones or Norwegians^c. The Cimbri, a Scandinavian tribe, were accompanied at their assemblies by venerable and hoarybeaded prophetesses, apparelled in long linen vestments of a plendid whited. Their matrons and daughters acquired a reverence from their skill in studying simples, and their knowledge of healing wounds, arts reputed mysterious. The wives frequently attended their husbands in the most perilous expeditions, and fought with great intrepidity in the most bloody en-

⁹ Dio. lib. lxvii. p. 761.

[&]quot;Hist. lib. iv. p. 953. edit. D'Or-

[&]quot;He says just before, "ca virgo late mperitabat." Ibid. p. 951. He saw her in the reign of Vespasian. De Morib. German. p. 972. Where he likewise mestions Aurinia.

See Tacit. Hist. lib. v. p. 969. ut

De Morib. German. p. 983. ut supr.

d Strab. Geograph. lib. viii. p. 205. edit. Is. Cas. 1587. fol. Compare Keysler, Antiquit. Sel. Septentrional. p. 371. viz. Dissertatio de Mulieribus Fatidicis veterum Celtarum gentiumque Septentrionalium. Scealso Cluverius's Germania Antiqua, lib.i. cap. xxiv. pag. 165. edit. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1631. It were easy to trace the Weird sisters, and our modern witches, to this source.

gagements. These nations dreaded captivity, more on the account of their women, than on their own: and the Romans availing themselves of this apprehension, often demanded their noblest virgins for hostages. From these circumstances, the women even claimed a sort of precedence, at least an equality subsisted between the sexes, in the Gothic constitutions.

But the deference paid to the fair sex, which produced the spirit of gallantry, is chiefly to be sought for in those strong and exaggerated ideas of female chastity which prevailed among the northern nations. Hence the lover's devotion to his mistress was encreased, his attentions to her service multiplied, his affection heightened, and his sollicitude aggravated, in proportion as the difficulty of obtaining her was enhanced: and the passion of love acquired a degree of delicacy, when controlled by the principles of honour and purity. The highest excellence of character then known was a superiority in arms; and that rival was most likely to gain his lady's regard, who was the bravest champion. Here we see valour inspired by love. In the mean time, the same heroic spirit which was the surest claim to the favour of the ladies, was often exerted in their protection: a protection much wanted in an age of rapine, of plunder, and piracy; when the weakness of the softer sex was exposed to continual dangers and unexpected attacks. It is easy to suppose the officious emulation and ardour of many a gallant young warrior, pressing forward to be fore-

E See SECT. vii. infr. vol. ii. p. 88. Diodorus Siculus says, that among the Scythians the women are trained to war as well as the men, to whom they are not inferior in strength and courage. L. ii. p. 90.

Tacit. de Morib. Germ. pag. 972. ut supr.

See instances of this sort of violence in the antient History of Hialman, a Runic romance, p. 135, 136. 140. Diss. Epist. ad calc. Hickes. Thesaur. vol. i. Where also is a challenge between two champions for king Hialman's daughter.

But the king composes the quarrel by giving to one of them, named Ulfo,

among other rich presents, an inestimable horn, on which were inlaid in gold the images of Odin, Thor, and Freya: and to the other, named Hramur, the lady herself, and a drum, embossed with golden imagery, which foretold future events. This piece, which is in Runic capital characters, was written before the year 1000. Many stories of this kind might be produced from the northern chronicles.

[[]This "History of Hishmar" is a modern forgery. See the Rev. P. Müller's preface to Haldorsen's Islandic Dictionary, where other "figments" of a similar kind are catalogued.—Ener.]

most in this honourable service, which flattered the most agreeable of all passions, and which gratified every enthusiasm of the times, especially the fashionable fondness for a wandering and military life. In the mean time, we may conceive the lady thus won, or thus defended, conscious of her own importance, affecting an air of stateliness: it was her pride to have preserved her chastity inviolate, she could perceive no merit but that of invincible bravery, and could only be approached in terms of respect and submission.

Among the Scandinavians, a people so fond of cloathing adventures in verse, these gallantries must naturally become the subject of poetry, with its fictitious embellishments. Accordingly, we find their chivalry displayed in their odes; pieces, which at the same time greatly confirm these observations. The famous ode of Regner Lodbrog affords a striking instance; in which, being imprisoned in a loathsome dungeon, and condemned to be destroyed by venomous serpents, he solaces his desperate situation by recollecting and reciting the glorious exploits of his past life. One of these, and the first which he commemorates, was an atchievement of chivalry. It was the delivery of a beautiful Swedish princess from an impregnable fortress, in which she was forcibly detained by one of her father's captains. Her father issued a proclamation, promising that whoever would rescue the lady should have her in marriage. Regner succeeded in the attempt, and married the fair captive. This was about the year 860 h. There are other strokes in Regner's ode, which, although not belonging to this particular story, deserve to be pointed out here, as illus-Such as, "It was [not*] like being trative of our argument. placed near a beautiful virgin on a couch.—It was [not*] like kissing a young widow in the first seat at a feast. I made to

See Torf. Histor. Norw. tom. i. Bh. 10. Saxo Grammat. p. 152. And Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 221. edit. 46. I suspect that the romantic amour between Regner and Aslauga is the forgery of a much later age. See REGNARA

Lodbroo's Saga. C. 5. apud Biorneri Histor. Reg. Her. et Pugil. Res præclar. gest. Stockholm. 1737.

^{*} The original in both passages reads: Verat sem—It was not like.—Edit.]

struggle in the twilight* that golden-haired chief, who passed his mornings among the young maidens, and loved to converse with widows.—He who aspires to the love of young virgins, ought always to be foremost in the din of armsi." worthy of remark, that these sentiments occur to Regner while he is in the midst of his tortures, and at the point of death. Thus many of the heroes in Froissart, in the greatest extremities of danger, recollect their amours, and die thinking of their mistresses. And by the way, in the same strain, Boh, a Danish champion, having lost his chin, and one of his cheeks, by a single stroke from Thurstain Midlang, only reflected how he should be received, when thus maimed and disfigured, by the Danish girls. He instantly exclaimed in a tone of savage gallantry, "The Danish virgins will not now willingly or easily give me kisses, if I should perhaps return home k." But there is an ode, in the KNYTLINGA-SAGA, written by Harald the VALIANT, which is professedly a song of chivalry; and which, exclusive of its wild spirit of adventure, and its images of savage life, has the romantic air of a set of stanzas composed by a Provencial troubadour. Harald appears to have been one of the most eminent adventurers of his age. He had killed the king of Drontheim in a bloody engagement. He had traversed all the seas, and visited all the coasts, of the north; and had carried his piratical enterprises even as far as the Mediterranean, and the shores of Africa. He was at length taken prisoner, and detained for some time at Constantinople. He complains in this ode, that the reputation he had acquired by so many hazardous exploits, by his skill in single

* [Dr. Percy has it, "in the twilight of death," which adds greatly to the sublimity of the passage. See the second of Five Pieces of Runic Poetry, printed in 1763. The "Chief" was Harold Harfax, king of Norway.—PARK.]

[Unhappily the Islandic text makes no mention of the "twilight."

Hár-fagran sá ek hraukva, Meyar-dreng at morgni, Oc mál-vin eckio, I saw retire the fair haired Maids-lad at morning, And soft-speaker of (the) widow.

The person alluded to was Aurn, a prince of the Hebrides. Mr. Park probably means Harald Harfager, who was not born at the time.—EDIT.]

i St. 13. 14. 19. 23.

k Chron. Norveg. p. 136.

combat, riding, swimming, gliding along the ice, darting, rowing, and guiding a ship through the rocks, had not been able to make any impression on Elissiff, or Elisabeth, the beautiful daughter of Jarilas, king of Russia¹.

Here, however, chivalry subsisted but in its rudiments. Under the feudal establishments, which were soon afterwards crected in Europe, it received new vigour, and was invested with the formalities of a regular institution. The nature and circumstances of that peculiar model of government, were highly favourable to this strange spirit of fantastic heroism; which, however unmeaning and ridiculous it may seem, had the most serious and salutary consequences in assisting the general growth of refinement, and the progression of civilisation, in forming the manners of Europe, in inculcating the principles of honour, and in teaching modes of decorum. The geains of the feudal policy was perfectly martial. A numerous achility, formed into separate principalities, affecting independence, and mutually jealous of their privileges and honours, necessarily lived in a state of hostility. This situation rendered personal strength and courage the most requisite and essential accomplishments. And hence, even in time of peace, they had no conception of any diversions or public ceremonies, but such as were of the military kind. Yet, as the courts of these petty princes were thronged with ladies of the most eminent distinction and quality, the ruling passion for war was tempered with courtesy. The prize of contending champions was adjudged by the ladies; who did not think it inconsistent to be present or to preside at the bloody spectacles of the times; and who, themselves, seem to have contracted an unnatural and unbecoming ferocity, while they softened the manners of those valorous knights who fought for their approbation. high notions of a noble descent, which arose from the condition of the feudal constitution, and the ambition of forming an alliance with powerful and opulent families, cherished this romantic system. It was hard to obtain the fair feudatary, who

¹ Bartholin. p. 54.

was the object of universal adoration. Not only the splendour of birth, but the magnificent castle surrounded with embattelled walls, guarded with massy towers, and crowned with lofty pinnacles, served to inflame the imagination, and to create an attachment to some illustrious heiress, whose point of honour it was to be chaste and inaccessible. And the difficulty of success on these occasions, seems in great measure to have given rise to that sentimental love of romance, which acquiesced in a distant respectful admiration, and did not aspire to possession. The want of an uniform administration of justice, the general disorder, and state of universal anarchy, which naturally sprung from the principles of the feudal policy, presented perpetual opportunities of checking the oppressions of arbitrary lords, of delivering captives injuriously detained in the baronial castles, of punishing robbers, of succouring the distressed, and of avenging the impotent and the unarmed, who were every moment exposed to the most licentious insults and The violence and injustice of the times gave birth to injuries. valour and humanity. These acts conferred a lustre and an importance on the character of men professing arms, who made force the substitute of law. In the mean time, the crusades so pregnant with enterprize, heightened the habits of this warlike fanaticism. And when these foreign expeditions were ended, in which the hermits and pilgrims of Palestine had been defended, nothing remained to employ the activity of adverse turers but the protection of innocence at home. Chivalry by degrees was consecrated by religion, whose authority tinctured every passion, and was engrafted into every institution, of the superstitious ages; and at length composed that singular picture of manners, in which the love of a god and of the ladies were reconciled, the saint and the hero were blended, and charity and revenge, zeal and gallantry, devotion and valour. were united.

Those who think that chivalry started late, from the nature of the feudal constitution, confound an improved effect with a simple cause. Not having distinctly considered all the parti-

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Calarities belonging to the genius, manners, and usages of the Gothic tribes, and accustomed to contemplate nations under the general idea of barbarians, they cannot look for the seeds of elegance amongst men distinguished only for their ignomace and their inhumanity. The rude origin of this heroic gallantry was quickly overwhelmed and extinguished by the superior pomp which it necessarily adopted from the gradual diffusion of opulence and civility, and that blaze of splendour with which it was surrounded, amid the magnificence of the fendal solemnities. But above all, it was lost and forgotten in that higher degree of embellishment which at length it began to receive from the representations of romance.

From the foregoing observations taken together, the following general and comprehensive conclusion seems to result:

Amid the gloom of superstition, in an age of the grossest ignorance and credulity, a taste for the wonders of oriental fiction was introduced by the Arabians into Europe, many countries of which were already seasoned to a reception of its extravagancies by means of the poetry of the Gothic scalds, who perhaps originally derived their ideas from the same fruitful region of invention. These fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of troubadours and minstrels, seem to have centered shout the eleventh century in the ideal histories of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the supposititious atchievements of Charlemagne and king Arthur, where they formed the groundwork of that species of fabulous narrative And from these beginnings or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched by kindred fancies fetched from the crusades, that singular and capricious mode of imagination arose, which at length composed the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser.

NOTE B. ON THE LAIS OF MARIE DE FRANCE. [See Dissertation I. page iii.]

THE opinion advanced in this note[d], that the "Lays of Brittany" were written in French by bards of that province, was withdrawn in a subsequent volume. (See vol. ii. p. 430, note A.) Since then, the poems of Marie have been published under the following title: "Poésies de Marie de France, ou Recueil de Lais, Fables et autres Productions de cette Femme célèbre, par B. de Roquefort: Paris 1820. 2 vols. 8vo." addition to the twelve Lays contained in the Harl. MS. (cited. above), M. Roquefort has inserted the Lai de Graelent, given in Barbazan (tom. iv. p. 157), and the Lai de l'Epine, analysed by Le Grand (tom. iii. p. 244). We are not informed upon what authority these pieces are assigned to Marie, and it is probable that internal evidence alone has governed the editor in his decision. This is sufficiently striking to arrest the attention of a foreigner little acquainted with the niceties of the dialect in which they are written: but the fact, if such, ought to have been stated. On the authority of a line which does not occur in M. Roquefort's copy, M. de la Rue is disposed to ascribe the Lai de l'Epine to Guillaume-le-Normand. Such an omission would not be extraordinary in different manuscripts of the same work, whether the result of accident or design: but M. Roquefort mentions the circumstance as if he and his learned friend had both consulted the same document. If this be the case, it may be observed in corroboration of the objection raised by the latter to the claim of Guillaume, that the introduction to the Lay shows it to have formed one of a series, and that it was not an occasional or unconnected production.

> Les aventures trespassées, Que diversement ai contées, Nès' ai pas dites sans garant; Les estores en traï avant;

Ki encore sont à Carlion, Ens le monstier Saint Aaron, Et en Bretaigne sont séues *.

The late Mr. Ritson chose to deny the Armorican origin of these Lays; and to infer, in a long and specious note appended to the romance of Emare, that by the terms "Bretagne and Bretons," so repeatedly mentioned in them, were intended "the country and people of Great Britain." To a part of this proposition Mr. Douce also seems to assent. The evident design Mr. Ritson in this singular declaration, was to counteract a belief that there ever existed a mass of popular poetry in Brittany, recording either native traditions, or romantic history connected with the country from whence a portion of its inhabitants had migrated. It was of importance to disprove this fict, as it so powerfully militated against a favourite principle hid down in the "Dissertation on Romance," that Geoffrey of Monmouth was the inventor of the Chronicle bearing his name, -that the labours of this "impostour" became the storehouse d every after fabler on the Brittish story,—and that previous to its appearance the minstrels of France were as unacquainted with the exploits of Arthur and his followers, as their Kalmuck brethren are at the present day. By investing Marie with the character of an original writer, the question of Geoffrey's veracity, as to the means by which he obtained possession of his original, and his fidelity in executing a translation, became materially circumscribed; and the wild assertion of the editor of Pelloutier's Dictionary, that "the Armorican Britons have not cultivated poetry, and the language such as they speak it, does not appear able to ply to the measure, or to the sweetness and to the harmony of verse," might then be said to stand unconfronted by opposing testimony. It will be needless to enter here upon either of these positions, which affect a subject to be discussed hereafter; and it will be sufficient to offer a general protest against the collateral evidence adduced by Mr. Ritson, es to the meaning of the word "Breton" in several old French romances. There is but one passage out of many thus unnecessarily pressed into the service, which contains any thing more than a general reference to "Breton lays:"

Bons Lais de harpe vus apris, Lais Bretuns de nostre pais.

This is given from a fragment in Mr. Douce's possession and is cited in the language of Tristan to Ysolt. But Mr. Ritson has omitted to mention that it was uttered by Tristan in the presence of king Mark, when he had assumed the character of a madman, and was just arrived from a foreign country, of which the name is not specified. In all probability this country was Brittany, as the adventure seems the counterpart to his assumption of the beggar's garb in our English romance.

But admitting there was a slight discrepancy between the language of various romances, as to the position of Bretagne, the question of Marie's claim to the invention of these lays, can neither be invalidated nor supported by it. Every one is aware; that there is no topic upon which the general language of romance is more unsettled and contradictory, than its geographical details. The same liberties allowed in forming a genealogic line for the hero, were extended to the fictitious scene of his actions; and countries the most remote were as readily transferred to a close and intimate proximity, as their customs and languages were rendered identical. It would be of the essence of hypercriticism to censure this practice, which might be justified by the very charter-rolls of romance, as indeed it would be the height of absurdity to bring such details to the test of chorographic truth. The only object for consideration in applying the information thus conveyed, must be the apparent intentions of the communicant, the probable extent of his personal knowledge, or the accuracy of his avowed authorities, and how far, in the exercise of these resources, he is likely to have been swayed by the suggestions of his fancy, or misdirected by his ignorance. It will be worse than useless to heap together, as Mr. Ritson has done, the whole mass of evidence to be gathered from every source, without regard to the varied character of the proofs thus collected, and by drawing a

general inference, to assign the same authority to that which is confessedly fabulous, as to that which may have been uttered in good faith. Every writer ought to be weighed in his own scale; and the only hope we can have of eliciting an author's intentions, must be, by resorting to his own declarations in illustration of his own peculiar meaning. Now with respect to Marie, M. de la Rue* has already shown, from the prologue to the poems, that she only aspired to the character of a translator. Her first intention was to have given a version in Romance, of some Latin writer; but finding the ground preoccupied, she shandoned this design, and resolved on versifying the Breton tales which she had heard recited or found recorded.

Des Lais pensai k'oï aveie Ne dutai pas, bien le saveie, Ke pur remanbrance les firent Des aventures k'il oïrent— Plusurs en ai oï conter, Ne voil laisser nes' oblier; Rimez en ai, è fait ditié Soventes fiez en ai veillié.

This is frequently referred to in various parts of her poems: some of which were translated from written documents; others versified from recollection, or oral communication; while the majority either acknowledge a Breton original, or contain decided proofs of a connection with that country. Of this the evidence shall now be submitted.

The first poem in M. Roquefort's collection is the Lai de Gugemer, which opens with the following exordium:

Les cuntes ke jo sai verais

Dunt li Bretun unt fait lor Lais,

Vus cunterai assez briefment

El cief de cest coumencement.

Sulunc la lettre è l'escriture

Vus musterai une aventure

^{*} Archæologia, vol. xiii.

Ki en Bretaigne la memur, Avint al tens anciénur*.

The Lai d'Equitan who was "Sire de Nauns," (and of whose atchievements "Li Bretun firent un Lai") also commences with a direct testimony to the practice of recording deeds of chivalry and heroic adventure in that country:

Mut unt esté noble Barun, Cil de Bretaine li Bretun; Jadis sulcient par pruesce, Par curteisie, è par noblesce, Des aventures qu'ils oieent, Ki à plusur gent aveneient Fère les Lais pur remenbrance Qu'en ne les meist en ubliance. N'ent firent ceo oi cunter Ki n'est fet mie à ublier.

The Lai de Bisclaveret is not specifically acknowledged as a Breton lay; but the scene is laid in "Bretaine," and the Breton term from which the story derives its name, is cited in contradistinction to that current in the adjoining duchy of Normandy:

Bisclaveret ad nun en Bretan, Garwall l'apelent li Norman.

From the Lai de Laustic + we obtain a similar testimony, with the additional declaration of its being a Breton lay:

Une aventure vus dirai

Dunt li Bretun firent un Lai;

Laustic ad nun ceo m'est avis,

Si l'apelent en lur païs;

* v. 21. † MM. de la Rue and Roquefort speak of an English version of thia lay, and refer to the Cotton MS. Cal. A. II. These gentlemen were either misled by a similarity in the title of the poem in

question, (Nightingale,) or a manuscript

note in the Museum copy of the catalogue of the Cotton MSS. The English poem is a mystic rhapsody on holy living; in which the Nightingale and her plaintive song are declared to be typical of the doctrines and sufferings of Jesus Christ.

Céo est Reisun en Franceis, E Nihtegale en dreit Engleis.

The scene is at St. Maloes. Of the Lai des deux Amans and of the Lai de Graelent it is said, "Un Lai en firent li Bretun;" of the Lai de l'Epine, "Li Breton en firent un Lai;" and of the Lai d'Eliduc,

De un mut ancien Lai Bretun Le cunte é tute la reisun, Vus dirai si cum jeo entent La vérité mun escient.

Of these four, the scene of the first is laid in Normandy, and of the rest in "Bretaine." Of the remaining six, the Lai du Frêne places the action in "Bretaine," without giving a more positive locality to the scene. It was a tale which Marie had beard recounted, but which she does not expressly claim as a Breton lay." The Lai de Chevrefeuille was translated from written original:

Plusurs le m'unt cunté è dit, E jeo l'ai trové en escrit.

It contains no reference to "Bretaine" or the "Bretons:" and, if we could forget Mr. Ritson's arbitrary dogmas relative to the poverty of native genius both before and after the Conquest, might be supposed to owe its existence to some English Poem now no more:

Tristam ki bien saveit harper, En aveit seit un nuvel Lai Asez brèvement le numerai. Goteles l'apelent en Engleis, Chevresoil li nument en Franceis; Dit vus en ai la vérité Del' Lai que j'ai ici cunté.

There is reason to believe the Lai de Milun is not of Breton

origin, as Marie deviates from her usual phraseology in a nouncing her authority.

De lur amur è de lur bien Firent un Lai li Auncien; E jeo qui l'ai mis en escrit Al recunter mut me délit.

The hero was born in South Wales:

Milun fu de Suht-wales nez:

a country also called Gales:

Jeo quid k'il est de Gales nez, E si est Milun apelez.

Mention is likewise made of Northumberland; but Milwo's journey from England to Brittany is so circumstantially nated, that every doubt as to the geographical position of the latter must be removed:

A Suht-hamptune vait passer, Cum il ainz pot se mist en mer, A Barbefluet (Barfleur. R.) est arrivez, Dreit en Brutaine est alez.

With reference to the same journey it is afterward said:

En Normendie est passez, Puis est desque Bretaine alez.

We also gather from the same lay the names by which the inhabitants of this and several adjoining countries were designated.

Al munt Seint-Michel s'asemblèrent, Normein, è *Bretun* i alèrent; E li Flamenc, è li Franceis, Mès ni ot guère de *Engleis*.

In these specimens there is not the slightest evidence to prove, as asserted by Mr. Ritson, that by "Bretaine and

Breton were intended the country and people of Great Brittain." On the contrary, whenever Marie enters into detail, we constantly find that by "Bretaine" she understood Brittany, and by "Breton" either the inhabitants or language of that province. No specific mention is made of England as a country; but the people and their dialect are alike called Engleis; and the unequivocal appellation given to Wales precludes all possibility of supposing it was implied under the name of "Bretaine."

We now come to those Lays which Mr. Ritson has selected as containing the strongest confirmation of his opinion: "She must however [by Bretaine] mean Great Britain in the Lay of Lanval, where she mentions Kardoel, and that of Ywenec where she speaks of Carwent (i. e. Venta Silurum, now Chepstow), which she places upon the Duglas instead of the Wye." Unhappily for the accuracy of this conclusion, the name of Bretaine never occurs throughout the Lai de Lanval. Marie certainly cites the Bretons as her authority for the narrative:

Od li s'en vait en Avalon, Ce nus racuntent li Breton—

and calls Lanval a Breton name:

L'aventure d'un autre Lai Cum il avint vus cunterai; Feit fu d'un mult riche vassal, En Bretun l'apelent Lanval.

But we have already seen that these terms can have no reference to Great Britain. The Lai d'Ywenec certainly favours Mr. Ritson's opinion. It speaks of Caerwent (which, though the Roman Venta Silurum, is not Chepstow,) and places it in Bretaigne:

En Bretaigne aveit jadis
Uns riches Huns vielz et ancis;
De Caerwent fut avoez,
Et du païs Sire clamez:
La cité si est sor Duglas—

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A similar combination occurs in the Lai de l'Epine:

Les estores en trai avant; Ki encore sont à Carlion, Ens le monstier Saint-Aaron, Et en Bretaigne sont séues—

It would seem as if M. Roquefort had suspected that Marie in this passage was not alluding to Caerleon in Wales; for he observes in a note: "Il existoit en France une île Saint-Aaron. Elle a été renfermée dans la ville de Saint-Malo, au moyen d'une chaussée." That there either was a Caerleon in Armorica, or, what is far more probable, that Marie by her own powerful dictum transferred this town from the opposite side of the Channel, is evident from a passage in the Lai de Chaitivel. The events of this poem are stated to have transpired "en Bretaine a Nantes:" but in the course of the narrative, without the slightest indication of a change of scene, we find the following date produced as the period when some of the transactions occurred:

A la feste Saint-Aaron, K'um célébroît a Carlion.

In this we have the clearest acknowledgement, that in the estimation of the writer, Nantz and Caerleon were towns of the same province; and the previous testimony, with one exception, has declared that province to have been Bretaine in France. If, however, we accept Marie's representation of herself, and consider her as the translator of these poems, even this exception loses its force. For what could be more natural to suppose on her part, than that the scene of those adventures which formed the theme of Armorican song should be laid in Armorica? or that even where her original made mention of Brittain (Wales) as the theatre of the events it registered, she should through ignorance or design interpret the expression as referring to Brittany? How much more probable is it, that either of these causes may have operated in producing the seem-

ing contradiction between the Lai d'Ywenec and every other poem in the collection, than that Marie should have stultified herself by confounding two countries under one common name, for both of which on other occasions she had a distinctive appellation!

Of the interpretation given to her language or that of her contemporaries in this country, we have the most satisfactory evidence in Chaucer:

Thise old gentil Bretons in hir dayes,
Of diverse aventures maden layes,
Rimeyed in hir firste Breton tonge;—
And on of hem have I in remembrance,—
In Armorike, that called is Bretaigne, &c.

This may be contrasted with the conclusion of the Lai d'Eliduc.

Del' Aventure de ces treis,

Li auncien Bretun curteis

Firent le Lai pur remembrer,

Que hum nel' deust pas oblier.

Even Mr. Ritson has admitted, that the author of Sir Orpheo may "perhaps allude to the Armorican Britons," when he says:

In Brytayn this layes arne ywrytt, Furst y founde and forthe ygete, Of aventures that fillen by dayes Wherof Brytons made her layes.

This is but a similar declaration to the language of Marie already cited from the Lai d'Equitan. Of the popularity of "Orpheo's" story in Armorica, we have a sufficient testimony in the Lai d'Epine:

Le Lais escoutent d'Aielis, Que uns Yrois doucement note Mout le sonne ens sa rote. Apriès celi d'autre commenche, Nus d'iaus ni noise ne ni tenche; Le Lai lor sone d'Orphéy—

There is one peculiarity in the language of Marie relative to this subject which remains to be noticed. In the Lai de Graelent she speaks of "Bretaigne le menur," an expression which occurs once again in the Lai d'Eliduc. But this refinement is not preserved throughout either of the poems: for in the first we have "En Bretaigne est venue al port;" and in the second, "En Britaine ot un Chevalier,"—both with reference to the same country. Of a "Bretaine le grand" there is no trace in the whole collection: and if it be allowable to speculate upon a question so perfectly beyond the grasp of certainty, the utmost we can venture to infer will be, that though Marie may have found this distinctive nomenclature in her original text, she evidently neglected to observe it. We know from other sources, that in her time one of these countries was better known by its subdivision into the realms of Engleterre and Gales.

The second volume of M. Roquefort's edition of Marie's Poems contains her Fables. It is not intended to exhaust the reader's patience by entering into a discussion of the source from whence these fables were derived; but as MM. de la Rue and Roquefort have attempted to claim her English original as the production of Henrythe First, the subject cannot be wholly passed over in silence. These gentlemen do not seem to have known that a copy of the fables preserved at Oxford unites with the Harleian MS. 78. in attributing the English version to king Alfred.

I e reiz Alurez que mut l'ama Le translata puis en Engleis*.

This, supported as it is by the several disguises of the Pasquier and King's MSS. which read Auvert and Affrus, and

• MSS. James. viii. p. 23. Bibl. Bodl. cited below, vol. ii. p. 253.

the declaration of the Latin version (King's MS. 15. A. vii.), that the same fables "were rendered into English by the orders of king Alfred," is more than sufficient to outweigh the testimony of the Harleian MS. 4333, which ascribes Marie's original to a king Henry. It also seems to have escaped the same diligent antiquaries, that the English language of Henry the First could not have differed materially from the Anglo-Sexon of Alfred; that any person, whether native or foreigner, who could master the one, would find no difficulty in comprehending the other; and consequently, that the argument raised on the imagined obscurities of the earlier copy is perfectly groundless. As to "the uncouth language of Robert of Gloucester," which is supposed to have cost Marie so much labour in acquiring, we must remember, that however horrific this dialect may appear to modern Frenchmen, - printed as it is with a chevaux-de-frise of Saxon consonants,—its rude orthography only slightly varied from the language of general conversation in the Chronicler's age. There could be no greater difficulty in learning to read or speak it, than is felt by a foreigner in modern English. In addition, there is reason to believe, that in Marie's time, some popular Anglo-Saxon subjects were rendered accessible to the modern reader, by the same process which fitted the early poetry of Italy for general circulation at the present day. We know, from certain testimony, that at a subsequent period the Brut of Layamon was made intelligible by a more recent version; and probability seems to favour the belief, that such was the case with the "Sayings of Alfred," formerly in the Cotton Library. If these "Sayings" were registered by one of Alfred's contemporaries, or in the Anglo-Saxon language, they were doubtlessly written in the same metre as the translation appended to the edition of his Boethius, and would only have received the dress in which they are exhibited by Wanley, about the time of Richard I., Mr. Sharon Turner has produced this collection of or John. apophthegms, as the first specimen of English prose; but they are evidently written in the same mixed style of rhyme and alliterative metre, which we find in Layamon. It is this circumstance which has suggested the possibility of their being recorded at an earlier date than the language in which they are written seems to indicate: but of course neither this, nor the claim of Alfred to the English version of Æsop, is insisted upon as demonstrable. The only object of these remarks is to impugn the evidence which MM. de la Rue and Roquefort consider as conclusive in favour of Henry I.

In closing this excursive note it may not be amiss to observe, that the Harl. MS. calls Marie's collection of fables L'Ysopet or the little Æsop, of which a Dutch translation is said to have been made in the 18th century. (See Van Wyn, Historische Avondstonden, p. 263.) This title appears to have been given it by way of distinction from another collection of fables, probably made at an earlier period, and derived from a purer source. The latter is mentioned in the prologue to Merlant's Spiegel Historiael.

In Cyrus tiden was Esopus
De Favelare, wi lessent dus,
Die de favele conde maken
Hoe beesten en vogle spraken,
Hierute es gemaect Aviaen
Eñ andere boeken, sonder waen,
Die man Esopus heet, bi namen.
Waren oec die si bequamen
Die hevet Calfstaf eñ Noydekyn
Ghedicht, en rime scone eñ fyn.

i. e. We read that Esop, the fabler, who made fables how the birds and beasts converse, lived in the time of Cyrus. No doubt Aviaen (Avienus?) drew from it, and other books which people call Esopus. Calfstaf and Noydekyn put into fair rhymes those which they took pleasure in.

NOTE

ON THE SAXON ODE ON THE VICTORY OF ATHELSTAN.

[See Dissertation I. page xl.]

THE text of this poem has been formed from a collation of the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. vi. B. i. B. iv. In the translation an attempt has been made, to preserve the original idiom as nearly as possible without producing obscurity; and in every deviation from this rule, the literal meaning has been inserted within The words in parentheses are supplied for the purpose of making the narrative more connected, and have thus been separated from the context, that one of the leading features in the style of Anglo-Saxon poetry might be more apparent to the English reader. For the benefit of the Anglo-Saxon student, a close attention has been paid in rendering the grammatical inflections of the text, a practice almost wholly disused since the days of Hickes; but which cannot be too strongly. recommended to every future translator from this language, whether of prose or verse. The extracts from Mr. Turner's and Mr. Ingram's versions cited in the notes, have been taken from the History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. and the recent edition of the Saxon Chronicle. But those variations alone have been noticed which differed in common from the present translation.

Æthelstán cyning, eorla drihten, beorna beáh-gyfa, and his bróther eac, Eadmund ætheling¹, Æthelstan (the) king, lord of earls, bracelet-giver of barons, and his brother eke, Eadmund (the) prince,

in Anglo-Saxon poetry; and though generally applied to persons of eminent rank or exalted courage, we have no proof of their appropriation as hereditary titles of distinction at the early period

The reader must be cautioned against receiving this literal interpretation of the text, in the same literal spirit. The terms earl and bearn—man and bairn—are used with great latitude of meaning

ealdor langue-tir⁴, geslogon æt secce, very illustrious chieftain, combated in [at] battle,

when this ode was composed. The word 4 Ætheling "-strictly speaking The son of the aethel or noble—appears to have gained an import in England, nearly In the Saxon Chronicle it is almost always, if not exclusively, confined to personages of the blood royal. Perhaps there is neither of these terms whose modern representative differs so essenttally from its original as "ealdor." At the present day no idea of rank is attached to the word "elder," and none of authority except among some religious sects, and a few incorporated societies. In Anglo-Saxon poetry it muely, if ever, occurs as marking sentority in point of age. Even the infant Edward is called an "elder of earls."

> And feng his bearn syth-than to cyne-tice; cyld unweaxen, corla caldor, tham was Eadweard nama.

And his bairn took after that to the kingdom; child unwaxen, elder of earls, to whom was Edward name.

* Elder a lasting glory, T. Elder, of ancient race, I. But "tir" is not used substantively in the present instance. "Ealdor langue-tir," or "Langue-tir ealdor "-exhibits the same inverted construction as "flota fami-heals," ship formy-necked; "atheling ar-god," noble exceeding-good, &c. The present translation of "tir" is founded upon an etymology pointed out in the glossary to Semund's Edds, where it is declared to be synonymous with the Danish "zyr," and the German "mer." In the Low German dialects, the z of the upper circles (which is compounded of t, s, like the Greek & of d, s) is almost always represented by t, and splendour, brightness, glory, &c. are certainly among the most prevalent ideas attached to "tir" when used as a substantive. If this interpretation be correct,---power, dominion, or victory, must be considered as only secondary meanings; and the com-

when this ode was composed. The word pound adjectives "tir-meabtig" (exceeding fast of the athel or noble—appears to have gained an import in England, nearly corresponding to our modern prince. There can be little doubt but the following passage of Beowulf preserves another compound of "tir"

Swylce ic maga-thegnas, mine hate, with feends gehwone, flotan cowerne, niw tyr-wydne, nacan on sand, arum healdan.

And I will also order my fellow-thanes, against every foe, your vessel deep (and) exceeding wide, boat on the sand, carefully to hold.

" Niwe" is here equivalent to niwel; as in the expression, " nawe be name." low by the nose or promontory. "Tyrwydne naenn" is clearly synonymous with "sid-fæthmed scip," the wide-bosomed ship, occurring shortly afterwards. The learned editor's version, pice obductam, is founded on an expression still preserved in his native language (Icelandic, and of which Ihre has recorded the following example "Let han leggia eld i tyruud oc gura bala scipino," Jussit ignem tædæ subjiciendum, pyramque in nave struendam. " Arum, which the Latin version renders "remis," is used adverbially, like hwilum, gyddum, &c. The vessel lay upon the beach, and was afterwards moored: there could therefore be no use for her oars. The present version of "arum" is founded on the following passage, where Waltheow says she has no doubt but Hrothulf will prove a kind protector to her children :

> That he tha geogothe wile, arum healdan,

That he the youths will, carefully protect (hold). p. 90.

Arum (lit. with cares, attentions,) is in the dative case plural. See note 34.

lxxxix

ON THE VICTORY OF ATHELSTAN.

sweorda ecgum, ymbe Brunanburh. Bord-weal clufon, heowon heatho-linda³, hamora lafum⁴,

with edges of swords,
near Brunanburh.
(They) clove the board-wall,
hewed the high lindens,
with relics of hammers (i.e. swords),

They hewed the noble banners, T. and hewed their banners, I. In this merpretation of "lind" all our vocameries agree. The translation of the ext has been founded upon the following authorities. When Beowulf resident to encounter the "fire-drake" he had laid waste his territory, he release a "wig-bord," war-board" (as is called) of iron to be made; for we see told that,

Wisse he gearwe, thet him holt-wudu, helpan ne mechte, lind with lige.

He knew readily, that him forest-wood, might not help, linden against fire.

p. 175.

And when Wiglaf prepares to join his land in the combat, it is said of him:

Hond-rond gefeng, 'Geolwe linde.

Hand-round he seized, the yellow linden. p. 194.

Is the fragment of Judith, "lind" and "bord" are used in the same connexion as in the present text:

Stopon heatho-rincas, becrues to beadowe, bordum bedeahte, bwealfum lindum.

(The) lofty warriors stepped, bairns to (the) battle, bedeckt (with) boards, (with) concave lindens.

The following extract from the fragment of Brithnoth shows both terms to have been synonymous:

Leofsunu gemælde, and his lind ahof, bord to gebeorge.

Leofsunu spoke, and hove up his linden, board for protection. It may, however, be contended, that though "lind" in all these passages evidently means a shield; yet "heatholind," whose qualifying adjective seems rather an inappropriate epithet for a buckler, may have a different import. The following examples of a similar combination will remove even this objection:

Ne hyrde ic cymlicor, ceol gegyrwan, hilde wæpnum, and heatho-wædum, billum and byrnum,

Nor heard I of a comelier, keel (ship) prepared, (with) war weapons, and high-weeds, (garments) with bills and burnies.

Nemne him heatho-byrne, helpe gefremede.

Unless him (his) high-burnie, with help had assisted.

Mr. Grimm found this expression in the Low-Saxon fragment of Hildebrand and Hathubrand, where misled by the common interpretation of "lind-wiggende," vexilliferi—he has expended much ingenuity and learning in making a very simple narrative unnecessarily obscure.

> hewun harmlicco, huitte scilti, unti im iro lintun, luttilo wurtun.

(they) hewed harm-like, (their) white shields, until to them their lindens, became little.

Mr. Grimm translates "lintun," gebende-bands or girdles.

⁴ The survivors of the family, T. With the wrecks of their hammers, I. The only authority for the former interpretation is a meaning assigned to "hamora" in Lye's vocabulary. It will be suffieáforan Eadweardes.

Swa him geæthele' wæs
from cneo-mægum,
thæt hie æt campe oft's,
with lathra gehwæne,
land ealgodon,
hord and hámas,
hettend crungon'.

(the) children of Edward.

Such [so] was to them (their native) nofrom (their) ancestors, [bility, that they in [at] battle oft, against every foe [loathed one], (the) land preserved, hoard and homes, (the) enemy crushed. [cringed, actively.]

cient to remark, that if there were any thing like probability to justify such a translation, we ought at least to read "With the survivors of the family;" as "lafum" stands in the ablative case plural. A similar expression occurs once in Beowulf, where we know from the context that neither of the versions cited above would suit the sense. The sword of Wiglaf has recently severed the dragon's body in two: with reference to which it is said,

Ac him irenna, ecga fornamon, hearde heatho-scearde, homera lafe, thæt se wid-floga, wundum stille, hreas on hrusan, hord-ærne neah.

But him of iron, edges seized, the hard high-shearer, (the) relic of hammers, that the wide-flier, still (quiet) with wounds, fell on the earth, hoard-hall near. p. 210.

In this poem "gomel-laf, eald-laf, yrfe-laf," are common expressions for a sword; and there can be little doubt but the language of the text is a metaphorical description of such a weapon. A similar phrase in Icelandic poetry would occasion no difficulty.

As to them it was natural from their ancestors, T. So were they taught by kindred seal, I. Ge-æthele is an anal Asympton. The version of the text is founded on the following declaration of Ælfwine a follower of Brithnoth:

Ic will mine athelo, callum gecythan,

thæt ic wæs on Myrcon, miccles cynnes.

I will my nobility, manifest to all, that I among Mercians was, of a mickle kin.

Mr. Ingram's translation of cneo-magum—kindred zeal, is perfectly indefensible.

That they in the field often, T. That—they at camp often, I. Yet "camp-stede" is translated battle-place by Mr. Turner,—and field of battle by Mr. Ingram.—"Æt campe" would have been equally descriptive of a sea-fight. It has no connexion with our modern camp, Fr.—campus, Lat.

⁷ Pursuing they destroyed the Scottisher: people, T. Pursuing fell the Scottishus: clans, I. In these translations "hettend crungon " is separated from its context = and though it is a common practice of Anglo-Saxon poetry to unite, by them alliteration, lines wholly unconnected by the sense, yet in the present instance both are terminated by the same period It may be questioned whether "hettan," persequi, has any existence beyond the pages of Lye, where it is inserted as there root of "hettend." There is reason to believe, that it was obsolete at a very early period, and that its participle prosent alone was retained in a substantive signification to denote an enemy or pursuing one. When the verb was required, it would seem to have been used without the aspirate:

Ehtende wæs,
deorc death scua,
dugothe and geogothe.

Pursuing was
(the) dark death shadow,
old (ad lit. valentes) and young.

Beowulf, p. 14.

Scotta leode, and scip-flotan, fæge feollon*. Feld dennade*, (The) Scottish people, and the mariners, fated fell.

The field——.

At all events, the examples recorded by Lyconly exhibit the substantive hettend, which the following may be added:

Gif ic thæt gefricge, ofer floda-begang, thæt thec ymbsittende, egesan thywath, swa thec hettende, hwylum dydon.

If I that hear,
over the floods-gang,
that thee, the round-sitting ones,
eppress with terror,
so (as) thee enemies,
(ere) while did. Beowulf, p. 138.

Syth-than hie gefriegeath, frean userne, enldor-lease; thome the ær geheold, with hettendum, hord and rice.

After that they hear our sovereign (to be)

Who less;
he who ere held,
against (our) foes,
hourd and kingdom. Ib. p. 222.

In Ingram's translation is obviously instruct. The whole context proves the loss to have been the yielding party, and consequently they were the pursual, not those pursuing; and if, with the Turner, we apply "pursuing" to the victors, Athelstan and Edward, the paticiple (as it then would be) ought to the in the nominative case plural—and not in the accusative singuis.

They sell dead, T. In numbers 1811, L. This expression occurs again below, "farge to feohte," where Mr. lagram expounds it, the hardy fight. It was almost superfluous to add, that we of these interpretations must be expressed; and it will be shown immediately that meither is correct. Mr. Turner with more consistency trans-

lates the second example "for deadly fight;" making "fæge" an adjective agreeing with "feohte," and consequently like its substantive governed by the preposition "to." But independently of the impossibility to produce an example, where any Anglo-Saxon preposition exhibits this twofold power, —a retroactive and prospective regimen, —the dative singular and plural of "fæge" would be either "fægum" or "fægan," accordingly as it was used with the definite or indefinite article. In the languages of the North, "fæge," however written, means fated to die; or, to use the interpretation of the Glossary to Sæmund's Edda, morti jam destinatus, brevi moriturus. This is the only version equally suited to both examples in the present text; and it might be supported by numerous instances from Cædmon and Beowulf. A confirmation of its general import may also be drawn from the use of "unfægne" in the latter poem.

Wyrd oft nereth, unfægne eorl, thonne his ellen deah.

Fate oft preserveth,
a man not fated to die,
when his courage is good for aught.
Beowulf, p. 45.

 The Cotton MS. Tiberius B. iv. reads "dennode;" Tiberius A. vi. and B. i. read "dennade," which is supported by the Cambridge MS. For this unusual expression no satisfactory meaning has been found; and it is left to the ingenuity and better fortune of some future translator. Mr. Turner and Mr. Ingram, who render this line—the field resounded, mid the din of the field—have followed a reading recorded by Gibson, "dynode,"—and which, notwithstanding the collective authority of four excellent manuscripts in favour of the present text, is possibly correct. In this case, however, "dynode" must not be interpreted in a literal sense, but con-

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secga swates, sith-than sunne úp, on morgen-tid, mære tuncgol, glád ofer grundas 10, Godes candel beorht, éces Drihtnes; oth-thæt sio æthele gescenft, sáh tó setle 11. Thær læg secg monig, gárum ageted, guman northerne, ofer scyld scoten.

with warriors' blood, since the sun up, on morrow-tide, mighty planet, glided over grounds, bright candle of God, of the eternal Lord; till the noble creature, sank to (her) seat [settle]. There lay many a warrior, strewed by darts, northern man, shot over (the) shield.

sidered as synonymous with the Icelandic "dundi." from "dynia," resonare, ir-ruere. "Blodid dundi [dynode] og tarin tidt," Creberriroa erat stillatio tum sanguinis, tum lacrymarum. " Hridin dynr

yfir,"-procella cum strepitu irruit,
The warriors swate, T. The warrior swate, I. To justify these translations we ought to read either, "secgas switon" or "secg swat." The latter, which offers least violence to the text, is clearly impossible, since no line of Anglo-Saxon poetry can have less than four syllables. There is however no necessity for changing a single letter of the text, as "swate" is the dat, case sing, of "swat," blood, and "seega" the gen. plural of "secg." It may be safely asserted that "swat" in Anglo-Saxon poetry never means "sweat" in its modern acceptation.

Thá thæt sweord ongan, efter beatho-swate, hilde greelum, wig-bil wanian.

Then that sword began, after the mighty blood, with battle-droppings, war-bill (to) wane. Beowulf, p. 121.

Swa that blod gesprang, hatest heatho-swát.

So that blood spranghottest mighty gore. p. 126.

Wolf Wonreding, wæpne geræhte, that him for swenge, swät ædrum sprang.

Wolf the son of Wonred, reached (him) with weapon, that to him for the swinge (blow) blood from the veins sprang.

The German "schweiss" (sweat) still means the blood of a wild boar.

" Glad, T. and I. But " glád " i the past tense of glidan, to glide, and formed like rad from ridan, bad from bidan, &c. in all of which the acceptuated a was pronounced like o in rode. It is the glode of " Le Boue Florence of Rome.

Thorow the foreste the lady rode, All glemed there sche glode,

Till sche came in a felde. In Sir Launfal, Mr Ritson leaves it unexplained.

Another cours together they rod, That syr Launfal belm of-glod. v. 574. Unless we admit this interpretation of "glad," the first part of the proposition will be a mere string of predicates with-The antithesis to "glad out a verb

ofer grundas" is "sah to setle."

Hastened to her setting, T. the western main, I. Sali is the pass tense of sigan, to incline, sink down; and follows the same north, as stah, from stigan; huah, from hnigan, &c.

Swylc Scyttisc eac, werig wiges sæd 18. West-Seare forth, ondlangne dæg, eorod-cystum 15, en last lægdon, bothum theodum. Heowon here-flyman, hindan thearle 14, mecum mylen-scearpum 15. Myrce ne wyrndon, beardes hand-plegan, beletha nanum, thára the mid Anlase, er ear-geblond, en lides bosme, had genohton, fege to feohte. Fix lægon,

So Scottish eke, weary of war —. The West-Saxons forth, the continuous day, in battalions, laid on the foot-steps, to the loathed race. (They) hewed (the) fugitives, hindwards exceedingly, with swords mill-sharp. The Mercians refused not, of the hard hand-play, to none of the men. of those who with Anlaf, over the ocean, in [on] the ship's bosom, sought (our) land, fated to the fight. Five lay,

Weary with ruddy battle, T. The mighty seed of Mars, I. In the first of these versions the reading of the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. iv. has been followed: -waig wiges rad." This manuscript, however, exhibits great marks of neglinace on the part of the transcriber, and, **Eccreect in its orthography on the pre**sent occasion, is equally obscure with the language of the other copies. "Ræd" cannot be the adjective red, as this would jve us a false concord. If "sæd" be the genuine reading, it would be **Escult to point out a better authenti**cated version than Mr. Ingram's, provided the word is to be taken substantively. But even this has been rejected, from a feeling that the context requires s verb, and a doubt whether such a metuphor be in unison with the general spisit of Anglo-Saxon poetry.

With a chosen band, T. With chosen troops, I. The Anglo-Saxon cysts," though clearly derived from crosses," to choose, appears to have obtained a specific meaning somewhat similar to our regiment or battalion.

Haside cista gehwile, cuthes werodes.

gar-berendra, guth-fremmendra, tyn hund geteled.

Had each cista,
of approved troops,
of spear-bearing,
of war-enacting (ones)
ten hundred taled (numbered).
Cædmon, 67. 25.

14 The behind ones fiercely, T. Scattered the rear, I. But "hindan" possesses the same adverbial power as "control below.

"eastan" occurring below.

15 This reading has been retained on the authority of the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. vi. B. i. The reasons for such an epithet are not so clear, however obvious this would be if applied to modern times. But with our present limited knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language, and of the arts, customs and modes of thinking of our ancestors, it would be highly absurd to reject an expression, merely because its propriety is not felt. The more intelligible reading "mycel scearpum" wears all the appearance of a gloss.

on tham campstede, cyningas geonge, sweordum aswefede. Swylc seofen éac, eorlas Anlafes; unrim heriges 16, on the battle-stead,
young kings,
soothed [slumbered, act.] with swords.
So seven eke,
earls of Anlaf's;
numberless of the army,

the fleet-and the Scots. There was chased away, the lord of the Northmen, by necessity driven to the voice of the ship. With a small host, with the crew of his ship, the king of the fleet departed on the yellow flood, T. And of the ship's crew unnumbered crowds. There was dispersed the little band of hardy Scots, the dread of the Northern hordes urged to the noisy deep by unrelenting fate. The king of the flect with his slender craft escaped with his life on the felon flood, I The present translation differs occasionally from both these versions. Where it agrees with either, no vindication will be necessary; but some of its variations are too important not to require an account of the authorities from whence they are derived.-The Anglo-Saxon "flota" (the floater) equally meant a ship and a sailor.

> Flota was on ythum, bát under beorge.

Ship was on the waters, boat under rock. Beowulf, p. 18.

Of its secondary meaning, a sailor, an example has already occurred in the compound, "scip-flota;" and the fragment of Brithnoth has preserved the simple substantive, as in the present text.

> Se flod ut-gewat, tha flotan stodon gearowe, wicinga fela, wiges geome.

The flood departed out, the sallors stood prepared, of the vikings many, desirous of battle.

"Stefn" like "flota" had also a twofold meaning. Lye has only recorded one of these—the human voice,—and upon this both the interpretations cited above are evidently founded. But it likewise implied, the prow of a ship, and this is the only sense which will give connec-

* And innumerable of the army of tion or intelligence to the present name fleet—and the Scots. There was rative. A similar example occurs in ased away, the lord of the Northmen. Beowulf:

Flota was on ythum, but under beorge, beornes gearwe on stefn stigon. Ship was on the waters, boat under rock, (the) bairns readily ascended the prow.

In German, "steven" still means the stem of a ship; and in Danish this part of a vessel is called the For-stavn, by way of distinction from the Bag-stava, or stern. It will also be found in the second part of the Edda

Brim-runar scaltu rista, of this vilt borgit hafa, a sundi segl-maurom; a stafai their scal rista, oc a stormar-blathe, oc leggia eld i år.

Sea-runes shalt thou carve, if thou wilt have protected, sail-horses (ships) in the sea; in the prow shalt (thou) carve and in the stern-blade, (rudder) and lay fire in the oar.

But "stefn" must not be confounded with "stefna," a slup, frequently occurring in Beowulf, and which the Latin translation always (I believe) renders "prora."

Gewat the ofer weg-holm, winde gefysed, flots fami-beals, fugle gelicost.
Oth-ther umb an tid, otheres dogores, winden stefus, gewaden hæfde, thæt the lithende, land gesawon.

Departed then over (the) billowy hastened by the wind, [main,

ON THE VICTORY OF ATHELSTAN.

Sotan and Sceotta. Ther geflymed wearth, Northmanna bregu, syde gebæded, to lides stefne, litle werede. Cread cnear on-flot, cyning ut-gewat, en fealone flod, fearh generede. mid deame com, en his cyththe north, Constantinus, ber bylderinc 18.

of sailors and Scots. There was chased away, the leader of the Northmen, (i. e. Anlaf.) compelled by need, to the ship's prow, with a little band. (The) ship drove [crowded] affoat, (the) king departed out, on the fallow flood, preserved (his) life. Swylc theer éac se froda 17, So there also the sapient one, by flight came, on his country north, Constantine, hoary warrior.

the foamy-necked ship, Exect to a fowl. Till that about six o'clock, of the other (next) day, the curved bark, had (so) waded, that the voyagers, nw land. p. 19.

For an illustration of "cread" the mader is referred to the Appendix to **L. p. 492, where this line is trans**lead. And in further support of the various there given, the following extract from the fragment of Brithnoth may be quoted.

> We willeth mid tham sceattum, us to scype gangan, en-Sot feran, and cow frithes healdan.

We will with the scot (treasures), us to ship gang, affort proceed, and hold peace with you.

The routed one, T. the valiant dief, L By which of these epithets we we to translate the title bestowed semund, for his extraordinary barning?—Seemundr hinn frodi. The ge of Constantine procured for him is distinction, which in Beowulf is so impently applied to the veteran Hroth-

18 The hoarse din of Hilds, T. The hoary Hildrinc, I. It is quite an assumption of modern writers, that this goddess of war was acknowledged by the Anglo-Saxons; and no ingenuity can reconcile Mr. Turner's translation with the Anglo-Saxon text. Mr. Ingram most unnecessarily makes "hylderine" a proper name, which, if correct on the present occasion, would be equally so in the following passage, where Beowulf plunges into the "mere" to seek the residence of Grendel's mother:

> Brim-wylm onfeng, hilderince:

Sea-wave received, (the) warrior:

or in the preamble to Brithnoth's dying

Tha gyt that word gecwæth, har hilderinc.

Then yet the word quoth, (the) hoary warrior.

With these examples before us, there can be little doubt but that we ought to insert "rinc" in the following extract relating to the funeral obsequies of Beowulf:

> Tha was wunden gold, on wæn hladen, æghwæs unrim,

Hreman ne thórfte, meca gemanan 18. freonda gefylled, on fole-stede, beslægen æt secce; and his sunu (he) forlet, on wæl-stowe, wundum-forgrunden, geongne æt guthe. Gylpan ne thórfte, beorn blanden-feax *0, bill-geslehtes, eald inwitta *1;

> æthelinge boren, h .r hilde (rinc) to Hrones-næsse.

Then was the twisted gold, on wain laden, numberless of each, with the atheling borne, hosry warrior, to Hron's-ness.

14 Mr Ingram, who reads "mæcan gemanan," translates it "among his kindred." But "oneca," if it exist at all as a nominative case, can never mean " a relative."

p. 23.

" He was the fragment of his relations, of his friends felled in the folkplace, T. Here was his remnant of relations and friends slain with the sword in the crowded fight, I. It is difficult to conceive upon what principle the soldiers of Constantine, who fell in the battle, could be called either the fragment or remnant of his followers. A similar expression-here-laf-is afterwards applied with evident propriety to the survivors of the conflict. The present translation has been hazarded, from a belief that "sceard" is synonymous with "sceare" (the German schaar, a band or troop); and "maga-sceard," like "magodriht," descriptive of the personal or household troops of Constantine.

> Tha was Hrothgare, here-sped gyfen, wiges wearth-mynd;

He needed not to boast, of the commerce of swords. Her was his maga-sceard '9, Here was his kindred troop, of friends destroyed (felled), on the folk-stead, slain in [at] battle; and his son he left, on the slaughter-place, mangled with wounds, young in [at] the fight. He needed not to boast, bairn blended-haired, of the bill-clashing, old deceiver ;

> thæt him his wine-magas, georne hyrdonoth that see geogoth gewenz -mago-driht micel.

Then was to Hrothgar, army-success given, honour of war; that him his friendly-relatives, willingly heard (obeyed) till the youth waxed (in years)mickle kindred band. p. 7.

The lad with flaxen hair, T. fair-haired youth, I. Mr. Turner appears to refer these expressions to Constantine's son; Mr. Ingram certaining There would be little propriet in declaring a dead man's inability 🛍 boast, or the unfitness of such a proceed. ing even if there were any thing to colour such an interpretation. But blondenfeax is a phrase which in Anglo-Saxon poetry is only applied to those advanced in life, and is used to denote that musture of colour, which the hair assumes on approaching or increasing sendity. The German "blond," at the present day, marks a colour neither white not brown, but mingled with tints of each.

" The old in wit, f. Nor old Inwood, I. The orthography of the present text is supported by the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. vi & B. i. Mr. Ingram reads "inwidda," of which be has made " Inwood;" though the learned translator has omitted to inform us

ON THE VICTORY OF ATHELSTAN.

ne Anlas thy ma, mid heora here-lafum, hlihan ne thorfton, thæt hi beadu-weorca 98, beteran wurdon, on camp-stede, cumbol-gehnastes, gir mittinge 23, gumena gemotes, wæpen-gewrixles, thæs the hie on wæl-felda, with Eadweardes, eáforan plegodon. Gewiton hym tha Northmen, The Northmen departed, nægledon cnearrum, dreorig daretha láf 44, on dinges 25 mere 26,

nor Anlaf any more, with the relics of their armies, needed not to laugh, that they of warlike works, better (men) were, on the battle-stead, at [of] the conflict of banners, the meeting of spears, the assembly of men, the interchange of weapons, of that which they on the slaughter-field, with Edward's, children played. (in their) nailed ships, gory relic of the darts, on, — — —

who this venerable personage might be. It is rather singular that he should appear again, with no slight ubiquity of person, in the fragment of Judith:

> Swa se inwidda, ofer calne dæg, dribt-guman sine, drencte mid wine.

So the deceiver, over the whole day, his followers, drenched with wine.

That they for works of battle were, T. That they on the field of stern com**d better w**orkmen were, I. But "beado-weorca" is the genitive case plural of "beadu-weorc," and to justify these translations ought to have been "beedn-weorcum" (T.) or "beaduwychtan " (I).

Mr. Ingram reads "mittingés," which can only owe its existence to the negligence of a transcriber. The gemitive case of "mitting" is "mittinge."

Dreary relics of the darts, T. Dresry remnant, I. This expression seems rather to refer to the wounded condition of the fugitives. The present

version may be justified by the following extracts from Beowulf:

> Thonne was theos medo-heal, driht-sele dreor-fah, thonne dæg lixte, eal benc-thelu, blode bestymed. Then was this mead-hall, troop-hall gore stained, when day lighted (dawned), all (the) table, sprinkled with blood. p. 39.

> Thoune blode-fah, husa selest, beoro-dreorig stod. Then stained with blood, the best of houses, stood sword-gory. p. 72.

Wæter under wolcnum, wæl-dreore fah.

Water under clouds, stained with slaughter-gore. p. 123.

25 This reading has been retained in preference to the "dinnes" of Gibson, on the authority of Tiberius B. i. The other Cotton MSS. read "dynges" A. vi. "dynges" B. iv.

On the stormy sea, T. On the

ofer deep wæter, Dyflin secan, eft Yraland 27, æwisc-mode. Swylce thá gebrother, begen æt samne, cyping and ætheling, cyththe solton, West-Seaxna land, wiges bremige ... Lecton him behindan,

over deep water, Dublin to seek, Ireland again, with a shamed mind. So too the brothers, both together, king and prince, sought (their) country, land of the West Saxons, of (the) war exulting. (They) left behind them,

roaring sea, I. There is every probatilis is left to the victors. This exsense of this passage, though some doubts may be entertained as to the integrity of the present text. If "dynges mere" be the genume reading, it must be considered as a parallel phrase with "wiges-heard, hordes-heard," &c. where two substantives are united in one word, the former of which stands in the genitive case with an adjective power. Of this practice the examples are too numerous and too notorious to require further ilhistration. "Dinges-mere" would then be a "kenningar nafn" given to the ocean from the continual clashing of its waves. For it will be remembered that the literal import of "mere" is a mere or lake, and this could not be applied to the Irish channel, without some qualifying expression. It is clearly impossible that "dinges," if correct, can stand alone, as "on" never governs a genitive case. On "thone mere," on "thene mere." See Lye in voce.

" Mr. Ingram retains "beora land" in the text, and translates the variation -Yealand. All the Cotton MSS, unite in reading "eft"; and we learn from other sources that this statement is his-

torically correct.

The screamers of war, I. In fight triumphant, I. It has already been said of the fugitive Constanting that he had no esuse to exult—breman ne thorfte;

where it is always applied to the cessful party

> Thanon eft gewat, buthe bremig, to ham faran, mid there wel-fylle, WICE DOOSEH.

Thence (Grendel) again depart with prey exulting, to home (to) go, with the slaughtered-slain, to approach (his) dwelling.

Guth-rine gold-wlane, gres-moldan træd, since bremig. Warrior (Beowulf) bright in gi grass-mould trode, with wealth exulting.

Nu her thára banena, byre nat hwylces, frætwum hremig, on flet gæth; morthres gylpeth, and thone maththum byreth, thone the thu mid ribte, rædan secoldest.

Now of those banes (murderess (the) son (1) know not of which with ornaments exulting,

Maththum must not be confounded with mathmum, the dative case plura methro.

ON THE VICTORY OF ATHELSTAN.

krá brittian, salowig padan 29, thone sweartan hræfn, hyrned-nebban; and thone hasean padan so, and the dusky carn æftan hwit 31, zees brucan, grædigne guth-hafoc; and theet græge deor, welf on wealde. Ne wearth weel mare, on thys igland, ære gyta, folces gefylled, beforan thissum,

(the) corse to enjoy, (the) sallowy ----, (the) swarth raven, the horned nibbed one; eagle white behind [after], of the corse to enjoy, greedy war-hawk; and that gray beast [deer], (the) wolf on the wold. Nor was (there) a greater slaughter, on this island, ever yet, of folk felled, before this,

in (the) hall goeth; boasteth of the murder, and the jewel (i. e. a sword) beareth, that thou by right, shouldest command (or wield). p. 154.

The sallow The dismal kite, T. the. L. Whatever idea may have been attached to "padan", it is manifestly not a species but a genus. It occurs again pediately as characteristic of the eagle. There is, however, reason to believe that these lines have been transposed, and that we ought to read

> Those swearten hræin, salewig pedan.

Cadanon unites with the present text is culling the raven both "swarth and

> Let the ymb worn daga sweartne fleogan, hræfn ofer heah flod. Noe tealde, that he on neode hine secun wolde; ac se feond, salwig fethera, secan nolde.

Then after some days (he) let swarth fly,

raven over high flood. Noah reckoned (told) that he from need him seek would; but the fiend, sallowy of feathers, would not seek (him).

33. 5.

It will be remembered that the Anglo-Saxon "blac" was equivalent to our black and yellow.

And the hourse toad, T. And the hoarse vulture, I. The latter version is totally without authority. The former is justified in part by our vocabularies, though evidently at variance with the context. The Cotton MS. Tiberius A. vi. reads haso (the nom. case), which shows this word to have had a twofold termination: base and haswe-like sale and salwe, fealo and fealwe. The nomenclature of Anglo-Saxon colours must necessarily be very obscure; but as we find the public road called "fealwe stræte" (Beowulf); and the passage made for the Israelites over the Red Sea "haswe stræda" (Cædmon), the version of the present text cannot be materially out.

In The eagle afterwards to feast on the white flesh, T. And the eagle swift to consume his prey, I. The very simplicity of the Anglo-Saxon text appears to have excited distrust in the only

sweordes ecgum,
thæs the us secgath béc,
ealde uthwitan,
sith-than eastan hider,
Engle and Seaxe,
úp becomon,
ofer brade brimu 32
Brytene sohton,
wlance wig-smithas,
Wealas 33 ofer-comon,

by (the) sword's edges,
of that that say to us (in) books,
old historians,
since eastward hither,
Angles and Saxons,
up came,
over (the) broad seas,
Britain sought,
splendid war-smiths,
overcame (the) Welsh,

translation these words are susceptible of. The ornithologist will perceive in it a description of the *Haliætus albicilla*, or white-tailed sea-eagle. The phrase is not without a parallel in Beowulf, where the bard is describing the ashen lances with their steel-clad points:

Garás stodon, sæmanna searo, samod æt gædere, æsc holt ufan græg.

The spears stood,
weapons of the seamen,
collected together,
ash-wood gray above,
p. 27.

There is so close a resemblance between the present text and a passage in the fragment of Judith, that it will not be too much to assume that they have been drawn from some common source, or that the one has had its influence in producing the other:

These se blanca gefeah, wulf in walde, and se wanna hrefn, wæl-gifre fugel, westan begen, thæt him tha theod-guman, thohton tilian, fylle on fægum. Ac him fleah on laste, earn ætes georn, urig fethera, salowig pada, sang hilde leoth, hyrned nebba.

Of this rejoiced the lank, wolf in the wold;

and the wan raven,
slaughter-desiring fowl,
westward both,
that to them the people,
thought to prepare,
a falling among the fated.
But on their footsteps flew,
eagle of food desirous,
dewy (?) of feathers,
sallowy ———,
sang the war song,
horned nibbed one.

which is a false concord. All the Control MSS. agree in the reading of the present text.

dialects, it probably was conferred upon the inhabitants by their Teutonic neighbours. In old German poetry every thing translated from a foreign language was said to be taken from the Walache (Welsh), and the Pays de Vand is still called the Walliser-land. The following singular passage is taken from Hartmann von Awe's romance of Iwain (and Gawain,) where Welsch indisputably means English.

Er was Hartman genant, and was ain Awere, der bracht dise mere, zii Tisch als ich han vernommen, do er usz Engellandt was commen, da er vil zit was gewemen, hat ers an den Welschen buchen gelesen.

He was named Hartman, and was an Auwer, who brought this tale,

eorlas árhwáte ³⁴, eard begeaton. earls exceeding bold [keen], obtained (the) earth.

into German as I have heard, after he came out of England, where he had been a long time, (and where) he had read it in the Welsh books.

²⁰ The earls excelling in honour, T. most valiant earls, I. In Anglo-Saxon "hwate" and "cene" are synonymous, meening both keen and bold. It is usual to consider "arhwate" and many other similar expressions as compounded of "are," honour; an error which has zisen from not sufficiently attending to he distinction between the substantive and the preposition "ar." In such combinations as "ar-wurthe," "ar-fæst," "s-hwate," " er-god," the preposition is prefixed in the sense of excess, as in the comparative degree of adjectives it is subed. "Ar-wurthe," venerable, is from "ar-wurthian," to esteem greatly: and the following passage from Beowulf exhibits one of the combinations above cited, in a sense which cannot be mis-

Swylc scolde eorl, wesan ær-god, swylc Æschere wæs.

So should earl be exceeding good, so as Æscher was.

p. 101.

The most simple and perhaps origimil idea attached to this preposition (of such extensive use in all the dialects of the North) was priority, from whence by an easy transition it came to mean pristity in point of magnitude, and thence in point of excellence (honour.) The snalogous expressions prime good, prime strong, prime ripe, &c., may be heard in every province. The compounds "arfull," propitious, "ar-leas," impious, are fushed from the substantive "ar," a ward of very extensive signification, and which may be rendered goodness, kindmes, benefit, care, favour, &c.

> Thá spræc guth-cyning, Sodoma aldor, secgum gefylled,

to Abrahame; him was ara thearf.

Then spoke the war-king, prince of Sodom, whose warriors were felled, to Abraham; to him was need of kindnesses.

Cædmon 46, 2.

It is impossible to translate "secgum afylled" literally, without causing obscurity.

Æla frea beorhte, folces scyppend, gemilse thin mod, me to gode, sile thyne are, thyne earminge.

O bright Lord creator of (the) folk soften thy mind, me to good, grant thy favour,

thy commiseration.

Cotton Prayers, Jul. A. 2.

Fægre acende beornum to frofre, eallum to are, ylda bearnum.

Fair brought forth for bairns consolation for the benefit of all sons of men.

Jul. A. 2.

Here too the dative cases plural cannot be translated. This term is of frequent occurrence in old English poetry, where the context having supplied the meaning, the glossographers had only to contend about the etymon.

Lybeaus thurstede sore
And sayde Maugys thyn ore.
Lyb. Dis. v. 1337.

The maister fel adoun on kne, and criede mercy and ore.

R. of Gloucester p. 9.

Y aske mercy for Goddys ore. Erl of Tholous. v. 583.

The meaning of "ore" when contrast-

ed with the preceding extracts, will be too obvious to require any comment. The substitution of o for a was evidently the work of the Normans. The Anglo-Saxon a was pronounced like the Danish aa, the Swedish a, or our modern o in more, fore, &c. The strong intonation given to the words in which it occurred, would strike a Norman ear as indicating the same orthography that marked the long syllables of his native tongue, and he would accordingly write them with an e final. It is from this cause that we find har, sar, hat, bat, wa, an, ban, stan &c. written hore (hoar,) sore,

hote (hot,) bote (boat,) was, one, bone, stone, some of which have been retained. The same principle of elongation was extended to all the Anglo-Saxon vowels that were accentuated; such as rec, reke (reek,) lif, life, god, gode (good), scir, shure (shower); and hence the majority of those e's mute upon which Mr. Tyrwhitt has expended so much unfounded speculation.—This subject will be resulted in a supplementary volume, in an examination of that ingenious critic's "Essay upon the Language and Versification of Chaucer,"

In the former part of this Nors p. ze, in the translation of the extrapt from Beowulf, line 21 of state, col. 1st, for

But him of iron, edges seized, the hard high-shearer, But him iron, edges seized, the hard high-shearer.

And in the passage from the Edda, p. xciv, line 22 of note, col. 2d, for storbar-blaths, read starnar-blaths.

ON THE

INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.

DISSERTATION II.

THE irruption of the northern nations into the western empire, about the beginning of the fourth century, forms one of the most interesting and important periods of modern history. Europe, on this great event, suffered the most memorable revolutions in its government and manners; and, from the most flourishing state of peace and civility, became on a sudden, and for the space of two centuries, the theatre of the most deplorable devastation and disorder. But among the disasters introduced by these irresistible barbarians, the most calamitous seems to have been the destruction of those arts which the Romans still continued so successfully to cultivate in their capital, and which they had universally communicated to their conquered provinces. Towards the close of the fifth century, very few traces of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, sciences, and literature, remained. Some faint sparks of knowledge were kept alive in the monasteries; and letters and the liberal arts were happily preserved from a total extinction during the confusions of the Gothic invaders, by that slender degree of culture and protection which they received from the prelates of the church, and the religious communities.

But notwithstanding the famous academy of Rome² with

Theodosius the younger, in the year nople, which he furnished with able pro-425, founded an academy at Constanti- fessors of every science, intending it as

other literary seminaries had been destroyed by Alaric in the fourth century; yet Theodoric the second, king of the Ostrogoths, a pious and humane prince, restored in some degree the study of letters in that city, and encouraged the pursuits of those scholars who survived this great and general desolation of learning. He adopted into his service Boethius, the most learned and almost only Latin philosopher of that period. Cassiodorus, another eminent Roman scholar, was Theodoric's grand secretary: who retiring into a monastery in Calabria, passed his old age in collecting books, and practising mechanical experiments. He was the author of many valuable pieces which still remain⁴. He wrote with little elegance, but he was the first that ever digested a series of royal charts or instruments; a monument of singular utility to the historian, and which has served to throw the most authentic illustration on the public transactions and legal constitutions of those times. Theodoric's patronage of learning is applauded by Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris. Many other Gothic kings were equally attached to the works of peace; and are not less conspicuous for their justice, prudence, and temperance, than for their fortitude and magnanimity. Some of them were diligent in collecting the scattered remains of the Roman institutes, and constructing a regular code of jurisprudence. It is highly probable, that those Goths who became masters of Rome.

a rival institution to that at Rome. Glanon. Hist. Napl. ii, ch. vi. sect. 1 A noble library had been established at Constantinople by Constantius and Valens before the year 980, the custody of which was committed to four Greek and three Latin antiquaries or curators. It contained sixty thousand volumes. Zonaras relates, that among other treasures in this library, there was a roll one hundred feet long, made of a dragon's gut or intestine, on which Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were written in golden letters. See Bibl. Histor. Literar. Select. &c. lenæ, 1754. p. 164. seq. Literature Sourished in the eastern empire, while the western was depopulated by the

Goths; and for many centuries aftered wards. The Turks destroyed one hundred and twenty thousand volumes, I suppose in the imperial library, when they sacked Constantinople in the year 1454. Hop. Dr Gaze. Illustra. ii. 1. p. 192.

p. 192.

b He died A.D. 526. See Cassiodor.

Epist. lib. 1, 39. See also Fune. del merti et decrep. Latin, Linguis Senecatut, cap. ii. p. 81.

Func. ut supr. xiii. p. 471. xi. p. 596.

595.

d Cave, Secul. Eutych. Hist. Lit. p. 391

* Gianon, Hist. Nap. ifi. c. 1.

sooner acquired ideas of civility, from the opportunity which that city above all others afforded them of seeing the felicities of polished life, of observing the conveniencies arising from political economy, of mixing with characters respectable for prodence and learning, and of employing in their counsels men of superior wisdom, whose instruction and advice they found it their interest to follow. But perhaps these northern adventurers, at least their princes and leaders, were not, even at their first migrations into the south, so totally savage and uncivilised as we are commonly apt to suppose. Their enemies have been their historians, who naturally painted these violent disturbers of the general repose in the warmest colours. It is not easy to conceive, that the success of their amazing enterprizes was merely the effect of numbers and tumultuary depredation; nor can I be persuaded, that the lasting and fourishing governments which they established in various parts of Europe, could have been framed by brutal force alone, and the blind efforts of unreflecting savages. Superior strength and courage must have contributed in a considerable degree to their rapid and extensive conquests; but at the same time, such mighty atchievements could not have been planned and executed without some extraordinary vigour of mind, uniform principles of conduct, and no common talents of political sagacity.

Although these commotions must have been particularly unfavourable to the more elegant literature, yet Latin poetry, from a concurrence of causes, had for some time begun to relapse into barbarism. From the growing increase of christianity, it was deprived of its old fabulous embellishments, and chiefly employed in composing ecclesiastical hymns. Amid these impediments however, and the necessary degeneration of taste and style, a few poets supported the character of the Roman muse with tolerable dignity, during the decline of the Roman empire. These were Ausonius, Paulinus, Sidonius, Sedulius, Arator, Juvencus, Prosper, and Fortunatus. With the last, who flourished at the beginning of the sixth century,

and was bishop of Poitiers, the Roman poetry is supposed to have expired.

In the sixth century Europe began to recover some degree of tranquillity. Many barbarous countries during this period particularly the inhabitants of Germany, of Friesland, and other northern nations, were converted to the christian faith? The religious controversies which at this time divided the Gree and Latin churches, roused the minds of men to literary en-These disputes in some measure called forth abilities quiries. which otherwise would have been unknown and unemployed? and, together with the subtleties of argumentation, insensibly taught the graces of style, and the habits of composition, Many of the popes were persons of distinguished talents, and promoted useful knowledge no less by example than author rity. Political union was by degrees established: and regular systems of government, which alone can ensure personal sevi curity, arose in the various provinces of Europe occupied by the Gothic tribes. The Saxons had taken possession of Britain, the Franks became masters of Gaul, the Huns of Pane nonia, the Goths of Spain, and the Lombards of Italy. Hence leisure and repose diffused a mildness of manners, and introduced the arts of peace; and, awakening the human mind to consciousness of its powers, directed its faculties to their proper objects.

In the mean time, no small obstruction to the propagation or rather revival of letters was the paucity of valuable books. The libraries, particularly those of Italy, which abounded in numerous and inestimable treasures of literature, were every where destroyed by the precipitate rage and undistinguishing violence of the northern armies. Towards the close of the seventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderable, that pope Saint Martin requested Sanctamand bishop of Maestricht, if possible, to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany⁵. In

Cave. Szcul. Monoth. p. 440. Concit. Tom. xv. pag. 285. edit. Paris, 1641.

the year 855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres in France, sent two of his monks to pope Benedict the third, to beg a copy of CICERO DE ORATORE, and QUINTILIAN'S INSTITUTES', and some other books: "for, says the abbot, although we have part of these books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of them in all France ." Albert abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labour and immense expense had collected an hundred volumes on theological and fifty on profane subjects, imagined he had formed a splendid library k. About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right of hunting to the

There are very early manuscripts d Quintilian's Institutes, as we shall me below; and he appears to have been a favourite author with some writers of the middle ages. He is quoted by John of Solisbury, a writer of the eleventh contury. Polycrat. vii. 14. iii. 7. x. 1. ac. And by Vincent of Beauvais, a viter of the thirteenth. Specul. Hist. L 11. Et. 125. His declamations are mid to have been abridged by our countymen Adelerdus Bathoniensis, and bisected to the bishop of Bayeux, about the year 1130. See Catal. Bibl. Leidens. p. 381. A.D. 1716. Poggius Florentimes, an eminent restorer of classical ferenture, pays, that in the year 1446 he found a much more correct copy of Quintilian's Institutes than had been yet seem in Italy, almost perishing, at the bottom of a dark neglected tower of the monastery of Saint Gall, in France, together with the three first books and half the fourth of Valerius Flaccus's Assensatics, and Asconius Pedianus's comment on eight orations of Tully. See Poggii Opp. p. 809. Amst. 1720. See. The very copy of Quintilian, found by Poggius, is said to have been in lord Sunderland's noble library now at Blenheim. Poggius, in his dialegne De Infelicitate Principum, says of himself, that he travelled all over Germany in search of books. It is certain that by his mesos Quintilian, Tertullian, Asconius Pedianus, Lucretius, Sallust, Silius Italicus, Columella, Manilius, Tally's Orations, Ammianus Marcellivan, Valerius Flaccus, and some of the Latin grammarians, and other ancient

authors, were recovered from oblivion, and brought into general notice by being printed in the fifteenth century. Fr. Bebarus Venetus, Collaudat. ad Pogg. dat. Venet. 1417. 7 Jul. See also Giornale de Letterati d'Italia, tom ix. p. 178. x. p. 417. And Leonard. Aretin. Epist. lib. iv. p. 160. Chaucer mentions the Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus, as I have observed Szcz. ül. p. 129. infr. Colomesius affirms that Silius Italicus is one of the classics discovered by Poggius in the tower of the monastery of Saint Gaul. Ad Gyrald. de Poet. Dial. iv. p. 240. But Philippo Rosso, in his Rittrato di Roma antica, mentions a very antient manuscript of this poet brought from Spain into the Vatican, having a picture of Hannibal, il quale hoggi si ritrova nella preditta libraria,

[From the following passage in one of Poggius's letters to Niccolo Niccoli, it appears that he had also travelled into England for the same purpose: "Mittas ad me oro Bucolicam Calphurnii et portiunculam Petronii quas misi tibi ex Britanniâ." See Ambr. Traversari Lat. Epist &c. i. Præf. p. 49. It is probable, that upon this occasion he met with the copy of Quintilian above mentioned.

Douck.

¹ Murator. Antiq. Ital. iii. p. 835. And Lup. Ep. ad Baron. ad an. 856. n. 8, 9, 10.

* Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. lviii. c. 52.

• This permission was not granted until after much entresty on the part of the monks, and an assurance that the flesh of the deer would be the means of

abbot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books ! We may imagine that these religious were more fond of hunting than reading*. It is certain that they were obliged to hupt before they could read: and at least it is probable, that under these circumstances, and of such materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the bible, Saint Jerom's Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries. Among the constitutions given to the monks of England by archbishop Lanfranc, in the year 1072, the following injunction occurs. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious a whole year was allowed for the perusal of this book: and at the returning Lent, those monks who had neglected to read the books they had respectively received, are commanded to prostrate themselves before the abbot, and to supplicate his indulgence a. This regulation was partly occasioned by the low state of literature which Lanfranc found in the English mona-

re-establishing the health of their sick brethren, as well as for the other reasons above mentioned. That monks were addicted to the pleasures of the chase, appears from Chaucer's description of the monk in his Canterbury Tales.— Douce.]

Mabillon, De Re Dipl. p. 611. Hunting appears to have been expressly forbidden the religious of all denominations, as a professe amusement altogether incompatible with their profession. They obtained, however, this indulgence under certain restrictions, particularly set forth in their charters. It was a privilege allowed even to nuns. See more on this subject in M. le Grand's Vie privée des Français, tom. i. p. 923. By the laws of Endgar, priests were prohibited from hunting, hawking, and drinking: "Documes ctians at sacordos non sit venutor, neque accipitrarius, neque potator. Sed incumbat libris suis sicut ordinem ipsius decet." Wilkins's Leges Anglo-Saxon. p. 86.—Doucz.]

[The Latin version which is here followed, is as usual inaccurate. The original text forbids a less disgraceful indulgence than "compotation," and contains a ludicrous play of words, hardly admissible in our present legal enactments in e tæflere, ac plegge on his bocum swa his hade gebirath i. e. nor tabler (player at tables), but let him play in his books as becomes his order (hood).—Eptr.]

m Fleury, ubi supr. l. liv. c. 54. See other instances in Hist. Lit. Fr. par Rel. Benedict. vii. 3.

" Unusquisque reddat librum qui ad legendum sibi alio anno fuerat commendatus et qui cognoverat se non legisser librum, quem recepit, prostratus culparadicat, et indulgentiam petat. Iterum librum custos unicuque fratrum alium librum tribuat ad legendum." Wilkins. Concil. i. 332. See also the order of the Provincial chapter, De occupatione monactiorum. Reyner, Append. p. 129.

steries. But at the same time it was a matter of necessity, and is in great measure to be referred to the scarcity of copies of useful and suitable authors. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester, contained in his capital palace of Wulvesey, all the books which appear are nothing more than "Septendecem pecie librorum de diversis Scienciis." This was in the year 1294. The same prelate, in the year 1299, borrows of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Winchester, BIBLIAM BENE GLOSSATAM, that is, the Bible, with marginal Annotations, in two large folio volumes: but gives a bond for due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity. This Bible had been bequeathed to the convent the same year by Pontissara's predecessor, bishop Nicholas de Ely: and in consideration of so important a bequest, that is, "pro bona Biblia dicti episcopi bene glosata," and one hundred marks in money, the monks founded a daily mass for the soul of the donor q. When a single book was bequeathed to a friend or relation, it was seldom without many restrictions and stipulations. If any person gave a book to a religious house, he believed that so valuable a donation merited eternal salvation, and he offered it on the altar with great ceremony. The most formidable anathemas were perempto-

rily denounced against those who should dare to alienate a book

[•] Registr. Pontissar. f. 126. MS.

[&]quot; Comnibus Christi fidelibus presentes literas visuris vel inspecturis, Johantem in domino. Noveritis nos ex commodato recepisse a dilectis filiis nostris Priore et conventu ecclesie nostre Wynton, unam Bibliam, in duohus volumimbus bene glosstam, que aliquando fuit bone memorie domini Nicolai Wynton episcopi predecessoris nostri, termino perpetuo, seu quamdiu nobis placuerit, inspiciendam, tenendam, et habendam. Ad cujus Restitutionem eisdem fideliter et sine dolo faciendam, obligamus nos per presentes: quam si in vita nostra non restituerimus eisdem, obligamus executores nostros, et omnia bona nostra mobilia et immobilia, ecclesiastica et mundana, cohercioni et districtioni cu-

juscunque judicis ecclesiastici et secularis quem predictus Prior et conventus duxerit eligendum, quod possint eosdem executores per omnimodam districtionem compellere, quousque dicta Biblia dictis filiis et fratribus sit restituta. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum, &c. Dat. apud Wulveseye, vi. Kal. Maii, anno 1299." Registr. Pontissar. ut supr. f. 193.

^q Ibid. f. 19.

As thus: "Do Henrico Morie scolari meo, si contingat eum presbyterari: aliter erit liber domini Johannis Sory, sic quod non vendatur, sed transeat inter cognatos meos, si fuerint aliqui inventi: sin autem, ab uno presbytero ad alium." Written at the end of Latin Homelies on the Canticles, MSS. Reg. 5. C. iii. 24. Brit. Mus.

presented to the cloister or library of a religious house. prior and convent of Rochester declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable sentence of damnation on him who shall purloin or conceal a Latin translation of Aristotle's Physics, or even obliterate the title. Sometimes a book was given to a monastery on condition that the donor should have the use of it during his life: and sometimes to a private person. with the reservation that he who receives it should pray for the soul of his benefactor. The gift of a book to Lincoln cathedral, by bishop Repingdon, in the year 1422, occurs in this form and under these curious circumstances. The memorial is written in Latin, with the bishop's own hand, which I will give in English, at the beginning of Peter's BARVIARY OF THE BIBLE. "I Philip of Repyndon, late bishop of Lincoln, give this book called Peter de Aureolis to the new library to be built within the church of Lincoln: reserving the use and possession of it to Richard Fryesby, clerk, canon and prebendary of Miltoun, in fee, and to the term of his life: and afterwards to be given up and restored to the said library, or the keepers of the same, for the time being, faithfully and without delay. Written with my own hand, A.D. 1422'." When a book was bought, the affair was of so much importance, that it was customary to assemble persons of consequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were present on this occasion. Among the royal manuscripts, in the book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard, an archdeacon of Lincoln has left this entry". "This book of the Sentences belongs to master Roger, archdeacon of Lincoln, which he bought of

* [At the end of a MS, of the Golden Legend in Mr. Douce's possession is the following bequest "Be hit remembryd that John Burton citizen and mercer of London, pust oute of this lyfe the

' MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii.

II day of Novemb the yere of oure Lorde Mill', ceeclx, and the yere of kynge Henry the Sixte after the conquest axxix. And the said John Burton bequethe to dame Kateryne Burton his dougter, a boke collyd Legenda scor.'

occupye to hir owne use and at hir owne liberte durynge hur lyfe, and after hur decesse to remayne to the prioresse and the covent of Halywelle for ev more, they to pray for the saids John Burton and Johne his wife and alle crystens soyles. And who that letuthe the exocucion of this bequest he the laws standeth."-PARE.

the scyde Kateryne to have hit and to

MSS. Reg. 8 G. fol. iii. Brit. Mus.

" It is in Latin.

Geoffrey the chaplain, brother of Henry vicar of Northelkington, in the presence of master Robert de Lee, master John of Lirling, Richard of Luda, clerk, Richard the almoner, the said Henry the vicar and his clerk, and others: and the said archdescon gave the said book to God and saint Oswald, and to Peter abbot of Barton, and the convent of Barden "." The disputed property of a book often occasioned the most violent altercations. Many claims appear to have been made to a manuscript of Matthew Paris, belonging to the last-mentioned library: in which John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, thus conditionally defends or explains his right of possession. book can be proved to be or to have been the property of the exempt monastery of Saint Alban in the diocese of Lincoln, I declare this to be my mind, that, in that case, I use it at present as a loan under favour of those monks who belong to the and monastery. Otherwise, according to the condition under which this book came into my possession, I will that it shall belong to the college of the blessed Winchester Mary at Oxford, of the foundation of William Wykham. Written with my own hand at Bukdene, 1 Jun. A.D. 1488. Jo. Lincoln. Whoever shall obliterate or destroy this writing, let him be anathema x." About the year 1225, Roger de Insula, dean of York, gave several Latin bibles to the university of Oxford, with a condition that the students who perused them should deposit a cautionary pledge. The library of that university,

Written in Latin. Cod. MSS. Reg. 14 C. vil. 2. fol. In this manuscript is witten by Matthew Paris in his own had, Hunc Librum dedit frater Matthews Parisiensis—Perhaps, dev et eccletic S. Albani, since erased.

Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. the col. 1. It was common to lend tensy on the deposit of a book. There was public chests in the universities, and perhaps some other places, for receiving the books so deposited; many of which still remain, with an insertion in the blank pages, containing the conditions of the pledge. I will throw together a few instances in this note. In Perhamment, where the containing the conditions of the pledge.

ter Comestor's Scholastical History, "Cautio Thomo Wybaurn excepta in Cista de Chichele, A.D. 1468, 20 die mens. Augusti. Et est libor M. Petri, &c. Et jacet pro xxvis. viii d." Mus. Brit. MSS. Reg. 2 C. fol. i. PSALTER cum glossa, "A.D. 1326, Iste Liber impignoratur Mag. Jacobo de Ispania canonico S. l'auli London, per fratrem Willielmum de Rokesle de ordine et conventu Prædicatorum Londonie, pro xx s. quem idem frater Willielmus recepit mutuo de predicto Jacobo ad opus predicti conventus, solvendos in quindena S. Michaelis proxime ventura. Condonatur quia pauper." Ibid. 3 E. vii. fol. In Bernard's Homelies

Tan in 1

before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chain. or kept in chests in the choir of St. Mary's church 2. In the year 1327, the scholars and citizens of Oxford assaulted an entirely pillaged the opulent Benedictine abbey of the neigh bouring town of Abingdon. Among the books they four there, were one hundred psalters, as many grayles, and forth missals, which undoubtedly belonged to the choir of the church but besides these, there were only twenty-two codices, which I interpret books on common subjects?. And although the invention of paper, at the close of the eleventh century, comtributed to multiply manuscripts, and consequently to facilitate knowledge, yet even so late as the reign of our Henry the Sixth, I have discovered the following remarkable instance 🛑 the inconveniencies and impediments to study, which must have been produced by a scarcity of books. It is in the start

Myllyng imposita ciste de Rodbury, 10 die Decemb. A.D. 1491. Et jacet pro xxx." Ibid. 6 C. ix. These pledges, among other particulars, show the prices of books in the middle ages, a topic which I shall touch upon below.

Registr. Univ. Oxon. C. 64. a. Wood, Hist, ut supr. i. 169, col. 1. Leland mentions this library, but it is just before the dissolution of the monastery. "Cum excuterem pulverem et blattas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ " Script. Brit. p. 288. See also J. Twyne, Comm. de Reb. Albionic. lib. n. p. 180. edit. Land. 1590. I have mentioned the libraries of many monasteries below. See also what is said of the libraries of the Mendicant Friars, SECT. ix. p. 128. infr. That of Grey Friars in London was filled with books at the cost of five hundred and fifty-six pounds in the year 1432. Leland, Coll. i. 109. In the year 1482, the library of the abbey of Lcicester contained eight large stalls which were filled with books. Gul. Charyte, Registr. Libror, et Jocal omnium in monast. S. Mar de pratis prope Lecestriam, MSS, Bibl. Bodl. Laud. 1, 75. fol. membr. See f. 139. There is an account of the library of Dover priory, MSS, Bibl. Hodl. Arch. B. 24, Lehand way that the library of Norwich priory

OF THE CANTICLES, " Cautio Thome was "bonis refertissima libris." Scrip-Brit. p. 247. See also Leland's account of St. Austin's library at Canterbury ibid. p. 299. Concerning which, com pare Liber Thomæ Sprotti de libraria & Augustini Contuoria, MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 125. And Bibl. Cotton. Bris Mus. Jut. C. vi. 4. And Leland Coll. iii. 10, 120. Leland, who was & brarian to Henry the Eighth, removed a large quantity of valuable manuscript from St. Austin's Canterbury and from other monasteries at the dissolution, & that king's library at Westminster. Sei Script. Brit. ETHELSTANUS. And MSS. Reg. I A. aviii. For the sake of connection I will observe, that among our cathedral libraries of secular canons, that of the church of Wells was most magnificent: it was built about the year 1420 and contained twenty-five windows on either side. Leland, Coll. i. p. 109. in which state, I believe, it continues at present. Nor is it quite foreign to the subject of this note to add, that king Henry the Sixth intended a library at Eton college, fifty-two feet long, and twenty-four broad and another King's college in Cambridge of the same breadth, but one hundred and two feet in length. Ex Testam. dat. xii. Mar.

tutes of St. Mary's college at Oxford, founded as a seminary to Oseney abbey in the year 1446. "Let no scholar occupy a book in the library above one hour, or two hours at most; so that others shall be hindered from the use of the sameb." The famous library established in the university of Oxford, by that munificent patron of literature Humphrey duke of Gloucester, contained only six hundred volumes c. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the royal library at Paris. These were one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius. The rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the fathers: many treatises of astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin or French: pandects, chronicles, and romances. This collection was principally made by Charles the Fifth, who began his reign in 1365. This monarch was passionately fond of reading, and it was the fashion to send him presents of books from every part of the kingdom of France. These he ordered to be elegantly transcribed, and richly illuminated; and he placed them in a tower of the Louvre, from thence called la tourc de la libraire. The whole consisted of nine hundred volumes. They were deposited in three chambers; which, on this occasion, were wainscotted with Irish oak, and cieled with cypress curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in the year 1425. On which event the duke of Bedford, regent of France, sent his whole library, then consisting of only eight hundred and fifty-three volumes, and valued at two thousand two hundred and twenty-three livres, into England; where perhaps they became the ground-work of duke Humphrey's library just mentioned d. Even so late as the year

was not opened till the year 1480. Ibid. p. 50. col. i.

Nullus occupet unum librum, vel occupari faciat, ultra unam horam et duas ad majus: sic quod cæteri retrahantur a visu et studio ejusdem." Statut. Coll. S. Mariæ pro Oseney. De Lemana. f. 21. MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

Wood, ubi supr. ii. 49. col. ii. It been presented to the king of France.

d See M. Boivin, Mem. Lit. ii. p. 747. 4to. Who says, that the regent presented to his brother in law Humphrey duke of Gloucester a rich copy of a translation of Livy into French, which had been presented to the king of France.

1471, when Louis the Eleventh of France borrowed the works of the Arabian physician Rhasis, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only deposited by way of pledge a quantity of valuable plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed , by which he bound himself to return it under a considerable forfeiture. The excessive prices of books in the middle ages, afford numerous and curious proofs. I will mention a few only. In the year 1174, Walter prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, afterwards elected abbot of Westminster, a writer in Latin of the lives of the bishops who were his patrons, purchased of the canons of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Bede's Homilies, and Saint Austin't Psalter, for twelve measures of barley, and a pall on which was embroidered in silver the history of Saint Birinus converting a Saxon kingh. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum there is Comestor's Scholastic History in French; which, as it is recorded in a blank page at the beginning, was taken from the king of France at the battle of Poitiers; and being purchased by William Montague earl Salisbury for one hundred mars, was ordered to be sold by the last will of his countess Elizabeth for forty livres! About the

h Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Win-

p. 281. edit. 8vo. * William Giffard and Henry de Blois, bishops of Winchester.

ton. ut supr. MS, quatern. . . "Pro-duodecim mens. (or mod.) ordei, et una palla brusdota in argento cum historia sancti Biriot convertentis ad fidem Kynegylsum regem Gewyseorum - necnon Oswaldı regis Northumbranorum susci-pientis de fonte Kynegylsum." Gewy-seorum is the West Saxons. This his-tory, with others of Saint Birinus, is re-

presented on the autient font of Norman workmanship in Winchester cathedral, on the windows of the abbey-church of Dorchester near Oxford, and in the western front and windows of Lincoln cathedral. With all which churches

Birinus was connected. He was buried in that of Dorchester, Whart, Angl. Sacr. i. 190. And in Bever's manuscript Chronicle, or his Continuator, cited below, it is said, that a marble con notaph of marvellous sculpture was constructed over his grave in Dorcheston church about the year 1320. I find no mention of this monument in any other writer. Bever, Chron. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. x. f. 66.

MSS, 19 D ii. La Biner Hysto-BIAUS, OU LES HISTORIES ESCOLASVARIA The transcript is of the fourteenth century. This is the entry, "Cest live fust pris oue le roy de France a la bass taille de Peyters et le bon counte de Sa-resbirs William Montagu la achata puir cent mars, et le dons a sa compaigna Elizabeth la bone countesse, que dieuts assoile. - Le quele lyvre le dite countente assigna a ses executours de le rendre pur xl. livres."

[&]quot; See Bury's Philometon, mentioned at large below De modo communicondi studentibus libros nostros, cap. xix. Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. i.

year 1400, a copy of John of Meun's Roman de La Rose, was sold before the palace-gate at Paris for forty crowns or thirty-three pounds six and six-pence. But in pursuit of these anecdotes, I am imperceptibly seduced into later periods, or rather am deviating from my subject.

After the calamities which the state of literature sustained in consequence of the incursions of the northern nations, the first restorers of the antient philosophical sciences in Europe, the study of which, by opening the faculties and extending the views of mankind, gradually led the way to other parts of learning, were the Arabians. In the beginning of the eighth century, this wonderful people, equally famous for their conquests and their love of letters, in ravaging the Asiatic provinces found many Greek books, which they read with infinite avidity: and such was the gratification they received from this fortunate acquisition, and so powerfully their curiosity was excited to make further discoveries in this new field of knowledge, that they requested their caliphs to procure from the emperor at Constantinople the best Greek writers. These they carefully translated into Arabic k. But every part of the Grecian literature did not equally gratify their taste. The Greek poetry they rejected, because it inculcated polytheism and ido-

It belonged to the late Mr. Ames, methor of the Typographical Antiquimas. In a blank leaf was written, "Cest hyvir cost a palas du Parys quarante cosees d'or sans mentyr." I have observed in another place, that in the year 1430, Nicholas de Lyra was transcribed st the expence of one hundred marcs. decz. ix. p. 127. infr. I add here the valuation of books bequeathed to Merton college at Oxford, before the year 1900. A Scholastical History, 20s. A Concordustin, 10s. The four greater Prophets, with glosses, bs. Liber Anselmi cum enstionibus Thomæ de Malo, 12s. Codhibetse H. Gandavensis et S. Thoten Aquinatis, 10s. A Psalter with glames, 10s. Saint Austin on Genesis, MS. HIST. of MERTON COLLEGE, by A. Wood. Bibl. Bodl. Cod. Raw-Im. I could add a variety of other in-

stances. The curious reader who seek further information on this small yet not unentertaining branch of literary history, is referred to Gabr. Naud. Addit. à l'Hist. de Louys XI. par Comines. edit. Fresn. tom. iv. 281, &c.

* See Abulfarag. per Pocock, Dynast.

p. 160. Greek was a familiar language to the Arabians. The accompts of the caliph's treasury were always written in Greek till the year of Christ 715. They were then ordered to be drawn in Arabic. Many proofs of this might be mentioned. Greek was a familiar language in Mahomet's houshold. Zaid, one of Mahomet's secretaries, to whom he dic-

tated the Koran, was a perfect master of Greek. Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 144, 145. The Arabic gold coins were always inscribed with Greek legends till about the year 700.

latry, which were inconsistent with their religion. Or perhaps it was too cold and too correct for their extravagant and romantic conceptions '. Of the Greek history they made no use. because it recorded events which preceded their prophet Mahomet. Accustomed to a despotic empire, they neglected the political systems of the Greeks, which taught republican freedom. For the same reasons they despised the eloquence of the Athenian orators. The Greek ethics were superseded by their Alcoran, and on this account they did not study the works of Plato". Therefore no other Greek books engaged their attention but those which treated of mathematical, metaphysis cal, and physical knowledge. Mathematics coincided with their natural turn to astronomy and arithmetic. Metaphysics, or logic, suited their speculative genius, their love of tracing intricate and abstracted truths, and their ambition of being admired for difficult and remote researches. Physics, in which I include medicine, assisted the chemical experiments to which they were so much addicted ": and medicine, while it was connected with chemistry and botany, was a practical art of im-

1 Yet it appears from many of their fletions, that some of the Greek peets were not unfamiliar among them, perhaps long before the period assigned Theophilus Edesserus, a in the text Maronite, by profession an astronomer, translated H oner into Syriat about the year 770 Theophan Chronogr. p. 376. Abulfarag ut supr. p. 217 Reinesius, in his very curious account of the manuscript collection of Greek chemists in the library of Saxi-Gotha, relates that soon sfler the year 750, the Atabians trinslated Homer and Pardar, amongst other Greek books, Ernest, Salom, Cyprian, Catal Codd, MSS, Bibl. Gothan, p. 71 87. Apud Fabrici Bibl. Gr xa. p. 75% It is however certain, that the Greek philosophers were their objects. Com-pare Euseb. Renaudot de Barb. Aristotel. Versionila apud Fabric, Bibl.

Gr. xn. p. 252, 258.

See Yet Remesius says, that about the year 750, they translated Plato into Arabic together with the works of S. Austin, Ambrose, Jerom, Leo, and

Gregory the Great. Thi supr. p. 260. Leo Africanus mentions, among the works of Averroes, Expositiones Respublic Platosis. But he ded so late as the year 120s. De Med. et Philosoph. Arab. cap. xx

The earliest Arab chemist, whose writings are now extant, was Jeber. He is about the seventh century. His book, called by Gohus, his Latin translator, Lapis Philimphorum, was written first in Greek, and afterwards translated by its author into Arabic For Jeber was or-ginally a Greek and a Christian, and afterwards went into Asia, and embraced Mohammedism. See Leo African 1:1. un, c. 100 The learned Boerhaave asserts, that many of Jeber's experiments are verified by present practice, and thus several of them have been revived as topder i discoveries. Boerli nive adds, that, except the funcies about the phthosopher's stone, the exactness of Jelser's operations is surprising. Hist. Chemistr. p. 14, 15. Lond. 1727.

Hippocrates, with unremitted ardour and assiduity: they translated their writings into the Arabic tongue, and by degrees illustrated them with voluminous commentaries. These Arabic translations of the Greek philosophers produced new

• Their learning, but especially their medical knowledge, flourished most in Selerno, a city of Italy, where it formed the famous Schola Sulernitana. little book of medical precepts in leonine heroics, which bears the name of that school, is well known. This system was composed at the desire of Robert dake of Normandy, William the Conqueror's son: who returning from Jerutalem in one of the crusades, and having heard of the fame of those Salernitan physicians, applied to them for the cure of a wound made by a poisoned arrow. It was written not only in verse, but in rhyming verse, that the prince might more easily retain the rules in his memory. It was published 1100. The author's name is Giovanni di Milano, a celebrated Salernitan physician. monks of Cassino, hereafter mentioned, much improved this study. See Chron. Cassin. 1. iii. c. 35. Medicine was at first practised by the monks or the clergy, who adopted it with the rest of the Arabian learning. See P. Diac. De Vir. illustr. cup. xiii. et ibid. Not. Mar. See also Ab. De Nuce ad Chron. Cassin. l. i. c. 9. And Leon. Ostiens. Chron. 1. iii. c. 7. See Sect. xvii. vol. ii. 8. 277. infr.

Compare Renaudot, ubi supr. p. 258. Their caliph Al-manun was a singular encourager of these translations. He was a great master of the speculative sciences; and for his better information in them, invited learned men from all parts of the world to Bagdat. He fa**voured the learned of every religion:** and in return they made him presents of their works, collected from the choicest pieces of Eastern literature, whether of Indians, Jews, Magians, or oriental Christians. He expended immense sums in purchasing valuable books written in Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, that they might be translated into Arabic. Many Greek treatises of medicine were translated into that language by his orders. He hired the most learned persons from all quarters of his vast dominions to make these translations. Many celebrated astronomers flourished in his reign; and he was himself famed for his skill in astronomy. This was about the year of Christ 820. See Leo African. de Med. et Phil. Arab. cap. i. Al-Makin, p. 139, 140. Eutych. p. 434, 435.

A curious circumstance of the envy with which the Greeks at Constantinople treated this growing philosophy of the Arabians, is mentioned by Cedrenus. Al-Manun, hearing of one Leo an excellent mathematician at Constantinople, wrote to the emperor, requesting that Leo might be permitted to settle in his dominions, with a most ample salary, as a teacher in that science. The emperor, by this means being made acquainted with Leo's merit, established a school, in which he appointed Leo a professor, for the sake of a specious excuse. caliph sent a second time to the cmperor, entreating that Leo might reside with him for a short time only; offering likewise a large sum of money, and terms of lasting peace and alliance. On which the emperor immediately created Leo bishop of Thessalonica. Cedren. Hist. Comp. 548. seq. Herbelot also relates, that the same caliph, so universal was his search after Greek books, procured a copy of Apollonius Pergæus the mathematician. But this copy contained only seven books. In the mean time, finding by the Introduction that the whole consisted of eight books, and that the eighth book was the foundation of the rest, and being informed that there was a complete copy in the emperor's library at Constantinople, he applied to him for a transcript. But the Greeks, merely from a principle of jealousy, would not suffer the application to reach the emperor, and it did not take effect. Biblioth. Oriental. p. 978. col. a.

treatises of their own, particularly in medicine and metaphysics. They continued to extend their conquests, and their frequent incursions into Europe before and after the ninth century, and their absolute establishment in Spain, imported the rudimental of useful knowledge into nations involved in the grossest ignorance, and unpossessed of the means of instruction. founded universities in many cities of Spain and Africa. They brought with them their books, which Charlemagne, emperorof France and Germany, commanded to be translated from Arabic into Latin : and which, by the care and encourage. ment of that liberal prince, being quickly disseminated over his extensive dominions, soon became familiar to the western world. Hence it is, that we find our early Latin authors of the dark ages chiefly employed in writing systems of the most abstruse sciences: and from these beginnings the Aristotelie; philosophy acquired such establishment and authority, that from long prescription it remains to this day the sacred and uncontroverted doctrine of our schools! From this fountain the infatuations of astrology took possession of the middle ages, and were continued even to modern times. To the peculiar

See Hotting. Hist. Eccl. Sec. ix. sect. ii lit. G.g. According to the best writers of ortental history, the Arabians had made great advances on the coasts communicating with Spain, I mean in Africa, about the year of Christ 692. And they became actually masters of Spain itself in the year 712. See Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 168. 179. edit. 1759. It may be observed, that Sicily became part of the dominion of the Saracens, within staty years after Mahomet's death, and in the seventh century, together with almost all Asia and Africa. Only part of Greece and the lesser Asia then remained to the Greecan empire at Constantinople. Conting. De Script. &c. Comment. p. 101. edit. Wintisl. 1727. See also, Univ. Hist. at supr.

*Cuspinian, de Cæsarib, p. 419.

*Yet it must not be forgot, that S. Austin had translated part of Aristotle's logic from the original Greek into Latin before the lifth century; and that the peripatence philosophy must have been

partly known to the western scholars from the writings and translations of Boethius, who flourished about the year 520. Alcuine, Charlemagne's master, commends S. Austin's book De Prædicamentis, which he calls, Decem Na-TURE VERBA. Rog. Bacon, de Util. Scient cap. xiv. See also Op. Maj. An ingenious and learned writer, already quoted, affirms, that in the age of Chaclemagne there were many Greek scholars who made translations of Aristotle, which were in use below the year 1100. I will not believe that any Europeans, properly so called, were competently skilled in Greek for this purpose in the time of Charlemagne, nor, if they were, is it likely that of themselves they should have turned then thoughts to Aristotle's Unless by ein Grace doctithis writer means the learned Arabs of Spain, which does not appear from his context. See Euseb. Renaudot, ut supr. p. 237.

genius of this people it is owing, that chemistry became blended with so many extravagancies, obscured with unintelligible jargon, and filled with fantastic notions, mysterious pretensions, and superstitious operations. And it is easy to conceive, that smong these visionary philosophers, so fertile in speculation, logic and metaphysics contracted much of that refinement and perplexity, which for so many centuries exercised the genius of profound reasoners and captious disputants, and so long obstructed the progress of true knowledge. It may perhaps be regretted, in the mean time, that this predilection of the Arabian scholars for philosophic enquiries, prevented them from importing into Europe a literature of another kind. But rade and barbarous nations would not have been polished by the history, poetry, and oratory of the Greeks. Although capeble of comprehending the solid truths of many parts of science, they are unprepared to be impressed with ideas of elegance, and to relish works of taste. Men must be instructed before they can be refined; and, in the gradations of knowledge, polite literature does not take place till some progress has first been made in philosophy. Yet it is at the same time probable, that the Arabians, among their literary stores, brought into Spain and Italy many Greek authors not of the scientific species ": and that the migration of this people into the western

It must not be forgot, that they translated Aristotle's PoxTics. There is extest "Averroys Summa in Aristotelis postriam ex Arabico sermone in Latiman traducta ab Hermano Alemanno: poetria Aristotelis. Venet. 1515." There is a translation of the Portics into Arahie by Abou Muschar Metta, entitled, Aporta. See Herbel. Bibl. Oriental. **p. 18. col. a. p. 971. b. p. 40. col. 2. p.** 337. col. 2. Farabi, who studied at Bagded about the year 930, one of the translators of Aristotle's Analytics, wrote sixty books on that philosopher's Rheteric; declaring that he had read it over two hundred times, and yet was equally desirous of reading it again. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. 265. Herbelot mentions

Aristotle's Morals, translated by Honain, Bibl. Oriental. p. 969. a. also p. 971. a. 973. p. 974. b. Compare Mosheim. Hist. ch. i. p. 217. 288. Note C. p. 2. ch. 1. Averroys also papenittitur determinatio Ibinrosdin in raphrased Aristotle's Rhetoric. There are also translations into Arabic of Aristotle's Analytics, and his treatise of The first they called Interpretation. Analuthica, and the second, Bari An-But Aristotle's logic, meta-MENIAS. physics, and physics pleased them most; particularly the eight books of his physics, which exhibit a general view of that science. Some of our countrymen were translators of these Arabic books into Athelard, a monk of Bath, translated the Arabic Euclid into Latin, about 1000. Leland. Script. Brit. p.

world, while it proved the fortunate instrument of introducing into Europe some of the Greek classics at a very early period, was moreover a means of preserving those genuine models of composition, and of transmitting them to the present generation v. It is certain, that about the close of the ninth century, polite letters, together with the sciences, began in some degree to be studied in Italy, France, and Germany. Charlemagne, whose munificence and activity in propagating the Arabian literature has already been mentioned, founded the universities of Bononia, Pavia, Paris, and Osnaburgh. Charles the Bald seconded the salutary endeavours of Charlemagne. Lothaire, the brother of the latter, erected schools in the eight principal cities of Italy w. The number of monasteries and collegiate churches in those countries was daily increasing : in which the youth, as a preparation to the study of the sacred scrip-

200. There are some manuscripts of it in the Bodleian library, and elsewhere. But the most beautiful and elegant copy I have seen as on vellum, in Trinity col-Cod. MSS. lege library at Oxford. Num. 10.

* See what I have said concerning the destruction of many Greek classics at Constantinople, in the Preface to Theocritus, Oxon. 1770 tom. 1. Prefat. p. xiv. av. To which I will add, that so early as the fourth century, the Christian priests did no small injury to antient literature, by prohibiting and discouraging the study of the old pagan philosophers. Hence the story, that Jerom dreamed he was whipped by the devil for reading Cicero. Compare what is said of Livy below.

A. D. 823. See Murator, Scriptor.

Rer. Italicar. i. p. 151.

* Cave mentions, "Cænobia Italica, Cassinense, Ferrariense Germanica, Fuldense, Sangellense, Augicuse, Lobiense : Gallica, Corbiense, Rhemense, Orbacense, Floriacense, "&c. Hist. Lit. Sec. Photian, p. 503, edit, 1688, Char-lemagne also founded two archbishopricks and nine bishopricks in the most considerable towns of Germany. Aub. Mirai Op. Diplomat. i. p. 16. Charlemagne seems to have founded libraries.

See J. David. Koeler, Diss. De Bibliotheca Caroli Mag. Altorg. 1727. And Act. Erudit. et Curios. Francoa. P. x. p. 716. seq. 60. And Hist. Lit. Franc. tom. iv. 4to. p. 223. Compare Laun. c. iv. p 30. Eginhart mentions his private library. Vit. Car. Mag. p. 41. a. edit. 1565. He even founded a library at Jerusalem, for the use of those western pagrims who visited the holy sepulchre. Hist. Lit. ut supr. p. 379. His successor also, Charles the Bald, erected many libraries. Two of his librarians, Holdum and Libbo, occur under that title in subscriptions. Bibl. Hist. Literative in the control of the c Struvii et Jugl. cap. n. sect. xvii. p. 172. This monarch, before his last expedition into Italy about the year 870, in case of his decease, orders his large library to be divided into three parts, and disposed of accordingly. Hist. Lit. ut suppletom. v. p. 514. Launoy justly remarks, that many noble public institutions of Charles the Bald were referred, by succeeding historians, to their more favourite hero Charlemagne. Ubi sapr. p. 52 edit. Fabric. Their immediate succession sors, at least of the German race, were not such conspicuous patrons of literathres, were exercised in reading profane authors, together with the antient doctors of the church, and habituated to a Latin style. The monks of Cassino in Italy were distinguished before the year 1000, not only for their knowledge of the sciences, but their attention to polite learning, and an acquaintance with the classics. Their learned abbot Desiderius collected the best of the Greek and Roman writers. This fraternity not only composed learned treatises in music, logic, astronomy, and the Vitruvian architecture, but likewise employed a portion of their time in transcribing Tacitus, Jornandes, Josephus, Ovid's Fasti, Cicero, Seneca, Donatus the grammarian, Virgil, Theocritus, and Homer.

In the mean time England shared these improvements in knowledge: and literature, chiefly derived from the same

Lipsius says, that Leo the Tenth are five hundred pieces of gold for the five first books of Tacitus's Annals, to the monks of a convent in Saxony. This Lipsius calls the resurrection of Tacitus to life. Ad Annal. Tacit. lib. ii. c. 9. At the end of the edition of Tacitus, published under Leo's patronage by Bercaldus in 1515, this edict is printed, "Namine Leonis X. proposita sunt præmis non mediocria his qui ad eum libros vateres neque hactenus editos adtulerint."

* Chron. Cassin. Monast. lib. iii. 2. 35. Poggius Florentinus found a STRATAGEMATA of Frontinus, about the year 1490, in this monastery. Mabil**les, Mus. Ital. tom.** i. p. 133. Manuscripts of the following classics now in the Harleian collection, appear to have hern written between the eighth and tenth centuries inclusively. Two copies of Terence, Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 2670. 2750. Cicero's Paradoxa Stoicorun, the first book De Natura Deorum, Orations against Catiline, De Oratore, De Inventione Rhetorica, Ad Herenn. 2622. 2716. 2623. And the Epistles, with others of his works, n. 2682. A fragment of the Æneid, n. 2772. Livy. n. 2672. Lucius Florus, n. 2620. Ovid's Metamorphoses and Fasti, n.2737. Quintilian, n. 2664. Horace, the Odes excepted, n. 2725. Many of the same and other classic authors occur in the British Museum, written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Sec n. 5443. 2656. 2475. 2624. 2591. 2668. 2593. 2770. 2492. 2709. 2655. 2654. **2664.** 2728. 5534. 2609. 2724. 5412. 264**3.** 5.º04. 2633. There are four copies of Statius, one of the twelfth century, n. 2720: and three others of the thirteenth, n. 2608. 2636. 2665. Plautus's Comedies are among the royal manuscripts, written in the tenth, 15 C. xi. 4. And some parts of Tully in the same, ibid. 1. Suetonius, 15 C. iv. 1. Horace's Art of Poetry, Epistles, and Satires, with Eutropius, in the same, 15 B. vii. 1. 2. 3. xvi. 1, &c. Willibold, one of the learned Saxons whose literature will be mentioned in its proper place, having visited Rome and Jerusalem, retired for some time to this monastery, about the year 730. Vit. Williboldi, Canis. Antiq. Lect. xv. 695. And Pantal. de Vir. Illustr. par. ii. p. 263. And Birinus, who came into England from Rome about the year 630, with a design of converting the Saxons, brought with him one Benedict, a monk of Cassino, whom he placed over the monks or church of Winchester. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 190.

sources, was communicated to our Saxon ancestors about the beginning of the eighth century. The Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity about the year 570. In consequence of this event, they soon acquired civility and learning. Hence they necessarily established a communication with Rome, an acquired a familiarity with the Latin language. During the period, it was the prevailing practice among the Saxons, no only of the clergy but of the better sort of laity, to make a voyage to Rome. It is natural to imagine with what ardon the new converts visited the holy see, which at the same time was fortunately the capital of literature. While they gratified their devotion, undesignedly and imperceptibly they became acquainted with useful science.

In return, Rome sent her emissaries into Britain. Theodora a monk of Rome, originally a Greek priest, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and sent into England by pope Vitalian, in the year 688°. Howas skilled in the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, church music, and the Greek and Latin languages for the new presented brought with him a large library, as it was called an esteemed, consisting of numerous Greek and Latin authors among which were Homer in a large volume, written on pape with most exquisite elegance, the homilies of saint Chrysoston on parchment, the Psalter, and Josephus's Hypomnesticon, alin Greek for Theodore was accompanied into England by Adrian, a Neapolitan monk, and a native of Africa, who was equally skilled in sacred and profane learning, and at the same

[&]quot; Cave, Smeul. Entych. p. 382.

^{4 &}quot; Hus temporibus molti Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles viri et fæminue, duces et privati, divini numinis instinctu, Romam veiure consucverant." &c. Bede, Dr Temp. Apud Leland, Script. Brit. Ceolerain s.

Birthington, apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. L 2. Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 464. Parker, Antiquitat. Brit. p. 53.

Bed. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Angl. iv. 2. Bede says of Theodore and of

Adrian mentioned below, "Usqua he die supersunt de corum discipulis, que Latinara Gracamque linguain, eque propriato in qua nati sunt, norunt." Se also ilud. c. 1,

Parker, ut supr. p. 80. See alan Lambarde's Peramb. Kent, p. 233. Itranscript of the Josephus 500 years old was given to the public library at Cambridge, by the archbishop. See Fabric Bibl. Gr. z. 109.

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND. CXXIII

time appointed by the pope to the abbacy of Saint Austin's at Centerbury. Bede informs as, that Adrian requested Pope Vitalian to confer the archbishoprick on Theodore, and that he pope consented on condition that Adrian, "who had been trice in France, and on that account was better acquainted with the nature and difficulties of so long a journey," would conduct Theodore into Britain h. They were both escorted to the city of Canterbury by Benedict Biscop, a native of Northumberland, and a monk, who had formerly been acquainted with them in a visit which he made to Rome i. Benedict seems at this time to have been one of the most distinguished of the Sexon ecclesiastics: availing himself of the arrival of these two learned strangers, under their direction and assistance he procured workmen from France, and built the monastery of Weremouth in Northumberland. The church he constructed of stone, after the manner of the Roman architecture; and edorned its walls and roof with pictures, which he purchased Rome, representing among other sacred subjects the Virgin Mary, the twelve apostles, the evangelical history, and the visions of the Apocalypse k. The windows were glazed by artists brought from France. But I mention this foundation to introduce an anecdote much to our purpose. Benedict added to his monastery an ample library, which he stored with Greek and Latin volumes, imported by himself from Italy 1. Bede has thought it a matter worthy to be recorded, that Ceolfrid, his successor in the government of Weremouth-abbey, aug-

Bed. Hist. Eccl. iv. 18. He likewise brought over from Rome two silken palls of exquisite workmanship, with which he afterwards purchased of king Aldfrid, successor of Elfrid, two pieces of land for his monastery. Bed. Vit. Abb. ut supr. p. 297. Bale censures Benedict for being the first who introduced into England painters, glasiers, et id genus alios ad voluptatem artifices. Cent. i. 82. This is the language of a PURITAN in LIFE, as well as in Religion.

¹ Lel. ubi supr. 110.

Bed. Hist. Eccl. iv. 1. "Et ob id **jorem noti**tiam hujus itineris," &c. See Math. Westmon. sub an. 703.

Lel Script. Brit. p. 109. • See Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. 2. 295. 297. edit. Cantab. In one of his expeditions to Rome, he brought ever John, arch-chantor of St. Peter's **Rome**, who introduced the Roman maked of singing mass. Bed. ibid. p. 295. He taught the monks of Benatice's abbey; and all the singers of the monasteries of that province came from various parts to hear him sing.

mented this collection with three volumes of pandects, and am book of cosmography wonderfully enriched with curious workmanship, and bought at Rome^m. The example of the pionse Benedict was immediately followed by Acca, bishop of Hexham in the same province: who having finished his cathedral church by the help of architects, masons, and glasiers hired in Italy___ adorned it, according to Leland, with a valuable library or Greek and Latin authors n. But Bede, Acca's cotemporary relates, that this library was entirely composed of the histories of those apostles and martyrs to whose relics he had dedicates several altars in his church, and other ecclesiastical treatises which he had collected with infinite labour. Bede however calls it a most copious and noble library. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to add, that Acca invited from Kent in Northumberland, and retained in his service during the space of twelve years, a celebrated chantor named Maban: by the assistance of whose instructions and superintendance he not only regulated the church music of his diocese, but introduced the use of many Latin hymns hitherto unknown in the northern churches of England q. It appears that before the arrival of Theodore and Adrian, celebrated schools for educating youth in the sciences had been long established in Kent'. Literature, however, seems at this period to have flourished

^a Lel. ibid. p. 105.

monk of this abbey, adds, that this benefaction of Dunstan was inscribed in a Latin distich, which he quotes, on the organ pipes. Vit. Aldhelm. Whart. Ang. Sacr. ii. p. 33. See what is said of Dunstan below. And Osb. Vit. & Dunst. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 93.

[Mr. Turner has quoted a passage from Aldhelm's poem "De Lande Virginum," which confirms this statement

of Malmesbury:

Maxima millenis auscultans organa fa bris Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus ista,

Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste, Quamlibet auratis fulgescant carters capsis. Vol. ii. p. 408.—Ener.]

See Bed. Op. per Smith, p. 724. seq. Append.

^m Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 299. Op. Bed. edit. Cantab.

[°] Bed. Hist. v. 21. P Hist. v. c. 20.

Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. c. 21. Maban had been taught to sing in Kent by the successors of the disciples of Saint Gregory. Compare Bed. iv. 2. If we may believe William of Malmesbury, who wrote about the year 1120, they had organs in the Saxon churches before the Conquest. He says that archbishop Dunstan, in king Edgar's reign, gave an organ to the abbey-church of Malmesbury; which he describes to have been like those in use at present. "Organa, ubi per æreas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras." William, who was a

with equal reputation at the other extremity of the island, and even in our most northern provinces. Ecbert bishop of York founded a library in his cathedral, which, like some of those already mentioned, is said to have been replenished with a variety of Latin and Greek books'. Alcuine, whom Ecbert appointed his first librarian, hints at this library in a Latin epistle to Charlemagne. "Send me from France some learned treatises, of equal excellence with those which I preserve here in England under my custody, collected by the industry of my master Ecbert: and I will send to you some of my youths, who shall carry with them the flowers of Britain into France. So that there shall not only be an inclosed garden at York, but also at Tours some sprouts of Paradise^t," &c. William of Malmesbury judged this library to be of sufficient importance not only to be mentioned in his History, but to be styled, Commium liberalium artium armarium, nobilissimam bibliothecam "." This repository remained till the reign of King Stephen, when it was destroyed by fire, with great part of the city of York. Its founder Ecbert died in the year 767 w. Before the end of the eighth century, the monasteries of Westminster, Saint Alban's, Worcester, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, with some others, were founded, and opulently endowed. That of Saint Alban's was filled with one hundred monks by King Offer. Many new bishopricks were also established in England: all which institutions, by multiplying the number of ecclesiastics, turned the attention of many persons to letters.

The best writers among the Saxons flourished about the eighth century. These were, Aldhelm bishop of Shirburn, Ceolfrid, Alcuine, and Bede; with whom I must also join King Alfred. But in an enquiry of this nature, Alfred deserves particular notice, not only as a writer, but as the illustrious rival of Charlemagne, in protecting and assisting the restoration of He is said to have founded the university of Oxliterature.

Pits, p. 154.

B

W Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 486. * Lel. p. 114. [The only Greek classic A. D. 793. See Dugd. Monast. i. p. 177.

ford; and it is highly probable, that in imitation of Charles magne's similar institutions, he appointed learned persons to give public and gratuitous instructions in theology, but principally in the fashionable sciences of logic, astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry, at that place, which was then a consider able town, and conveniently situated in the neighbourhood those royal seats at which Alfred chiefly resided. He suffered no priest that was illiterate to be advanced to any ecclesiastics dignity. He invited his nobility to educate their sons in learn ing, and requested those lords of his court who had no child dren, to send to school such of their younger servants as discovered a promising capacity, and to breed them to the clerical profession z. Alfred, while a boy, had himself experienced the inconveniencies arising from a want of scholars, and even d common instructors, in his dominions; for he was twelve year of age, before he could procure in the western kingdom master properly qualified to teach him the alphabet. But while yet unable to read, he could repeat from memory a great variety of Saxon songsa. He was fond of cultivating his native tongue: and with a view of inviting the people in general to a love of reading, and to a knowledge of books which the could not otherwise have understood, he translated many Latin authors into Saxon. These, among others, were Boethius or THE CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, a manuscript of which of Alfred's age still remains b, Orosius's HISTORY OF THE PAGANA

Bever, ibid.

the hours went. But as in windy went ther the candles were more wasted; to remedy this inconvenience he invented lanthorns, there being then no glass to be met with in his dominions. Assert Money. Vit. Alfr. p. 68. edit. Wise. In the mean time, and during this very pe riod, the Persians imported into Europe a machine, which presented the first rudiments of a striking clock. It was brought as a present to Charlemagne, from Abdella king of Persis, by two monks of Jerusalem, in the year 800. Among other presents, says Eginlart was an horologe of brass, wonderfully constructed by some mechanical artifices

⁷ MS. Bever, MSS, Coll. Trin. Oxon. Codd. xlvii. f. 82.

^{*}Flor. Vigorn. sub ann. 871. Brompton, Chron. in Arra. p. 814. And MS. Bever, ut supr. It is curious to observe the simplicity of this age, in the method by which Alfred computed time. He caused six wax tapers to be made, each twelve inches long, and of as many ounces in weight, on these tapers he ordered the inches to be regularly marked; and having found that one of them burned just four hours, he committed the care of them to the keepers of his chapel, who from time to time gave due notice how

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND. CXXVII

Saint Gregory's Pastoral Care, the venerable Bede's Ecclesastical History, and the Soliloguies of Saint Austin. Probably Saint Austin was selected by Alfred, because he was the favorite author of Charlemagne^c. Alfred died in the year 900, and was buried at Hyde abbey, in the suburbs of Windester, under a sumptuous monument of porphyry^d.

Aldhelm, kinsman of Ina king of the West Saxons, frequently visited France and Italy. While a monk of Malmesbury in Wiltshire, he went from his monastery to Canterbury, in order to learn logic, rhetoric, and the Greek language, of archbishop Theodore, and of Albin abbot of Saint Austin's , the pupil of Adrian f. But he had before acquired some knowledge of Greek and Latin under Maidulf, an Hibernian or Scot, who had erected a small monastery or school at Malmes-Camden affirms, that Aldhelm was the first of the Sexons who wrote in Latin, and that he taught his countrymen the art of Latin versification h. But a very intelligent antiquarian in this sort of literature, mentions an anonymous Letin poet, who wrote the life of Charlemagne in verse; and edds, that he was the first of the Saxons that attempted to write Latin verse i. It is however certain, that Aldhelm's Latin compositions, whether in verse or prose, as novelties were deemed extraordinary performances, and excited the attention

in which the course of the twelve hours ed elepsydram vertebatur, with as many Ettle brusen balls, which at the close of each hour dropped down on a sort of bells underneath, and sounded the end of the hour. There were also twelve fiweek of horsemen, who, when the twelve hours were completed, issued out at traile windows, which till then stood agen, and returning again, shut the windown after them. He adds, that there ware many other curiosities in this instrument, which it would be tedious to resount. Eginhart, Car. Magn. p. 108. Le is to be remembered, that Eginhart was an eye-witness of what is here desarbed; and that he was an abbot, a difful architect, and very learned in the esiances.

* MESS. Cott. Orn. A. 6. 8vo. membr. * He was particularly fond of Austin's book DE CIVITATE DEL Eginhart, Vit. Car. Magn. p. 29.

d Asser. Menev. p. 72. ed. Wise.

e Rede says, that Theodore and Adrian taught Tobias bishop of Rochester the Greek and Latin tongues so perfectly, that he could speak them as fluently as his native Saxon. Hist. Eccl. v. 23.

f Lel. p. 97. Thorn says, that Albin learned Greek of Adrian. Chron. Dec.

Script. p. 1771.

W. Malmsb. ubi infr. p. 3.

h Wiltsh. p. 116. But this, Aldhelm affirms of himself in his treatise on Metre. See W. Malmsb. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 4. seq.

This poem was printed by Reineccius at Helmstadt many years ago, with a large commentary. Compare Voss. Hist. Lat.

iii. 4.

and admiration of scholars in other countries. A learned cotemporary, who lived in a remote province of a Frankish ter ritory, in an epistle to Aldhelm has this remarkable expression "Vestræ Latinitatis Panegyricus rumor has reached in even at this distance," &c. In reward of these uncommon merits he was made bishop of Shirburn in Dorsetshire in the year 705 k. His writings are chiefly theological: but he have likewise left in Latin verse a book of ENIGMATA, copied from a work of the same title under the name of Symposius!, a poet De Virginitate hereafter cited, and treatises on arithmetic astrology, rhetoric, and metre. The last treatise is a proc that the ornaments of composition now began to be studied Leland mentions his Cantiones Saxonice, one of which continued to be commonly sung in William of Malmesbury time: and, as it was artfully interspersed with many allusion to passages of Scripture, was often sung by Aldhelm himself to the populace in the streets, with a design of alluring the ign norant and idle, by so specious a mode of instruction, to sense of duty, and a knowledge of religious subjects. Malmes bury observes, that Aldhelm might be justly deemed "ex acr mine Græcum, ex nitore Romanum, et ex pompa Anglum P. It is evident, that Malmesbury, while he here characterizes the Greeks by their acuteness, took his idea of them from their scientifical literature, which was then only known. After the revival of the Greek philosophy by the Saracens, Aristotle and Euclid were familiar in Europe long before Homer and Pinda The character of Aldhelm is thus drawn by an antient chronicler: "He was an excellent harper, a most eloquent Saxo and Latin poet, a most expert chantor or singer, a poctor EGREGIUS, and admirably versed in the scriptures and the beral sciences q."

W. Malmsb. ut supr. p. 4.

³ Cave, p. 466.

¹ See Fabric, Bibl. Med. Lat. iv. p. 698. And B bl. Lat. i. p. 681. And W. Malm, ubi supr. p. 7. Among the manuscripts of Exeter cathedral is a book of .Exigmara in Saxon, some of which are written in Runic characters, 11. fol. 98.

^{*} Malmsb. ubi supr. p. 4.

p Lbi supr. p. 4.

Thron. Anon, Leland. Collectan. 278. To be skilled in singing is often mentioned as an accomplishment of the antient Saxon ecclesiasues. Bede says that Edda a monk of Canterbury, and learned writer, was "primus cantand magneter." Hist. lib. iv. cap. 2. Wolstan.

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Alcuine, bishop Ecbert's librarian at York, was a cotemporary pupil with Aldhelm under Theodore and Adrian at Can-

a learned monk of Winchester, of the ware age, was a celebrated singer, and even wrote a treatise de Tonorum Har-MONTA, cited by William of Malmesbury, De Reg. lib. ii. c. 39. Lel. Script. Brit. p. 165. Their skill in playing on the erp is also frequently mentioned. Faint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 988, it is said, that among his secred studies, he cultivated the arts of writing, harping, and painting. Vit. S. Dunstan, MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. Faustin. B. 13. Hickes has engraved a figure of our Saviour drawn by Saint Dunstan, with a specimen of his writing, both remaining in the Bodleian Ebrary. Gram. Saxon. p. 104. cap. xxii. The writing and many of the pictures and illuminations in our Saxon manuscripts were executed by the priests. A book of the gospel, preserved in the Cotton library, is a fine specimen of the Saxon calligraphy and decorations. is written by Eadfrid bishop of Durham, in the most exquisite manner. **wold his successor did the illuminations,** the capital letters, the picture of the cross, and the evangelists, with infinite labour and elegance: and Bilfrid the anachorete covered the book, thus written and adorned, with gold and silver plates and precious stones. All this is related by Aldred, the Saxon glossator, at the end of St. John's gospel. The work was finished about the year 720. MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. Nero. D. 4. Cod. membr. fol. quadrat. Ælfsin, a monk, is the elegant scribe of many Saxon pieces chiefly historical and scriptural in the same library, and perhaps the painter of the figures, probably soon after the year 978. Ibid. Tirus. D. 26. Cod. membr. 8vo. The Saxon copy of the four evangelists, which king Athelstan gave to Durham church, remains in the same library. It has the painted images of S. Cuthbert, radiated and crowned, blessing king Athelstan, and of the four evangelists. [Since engraved in the third volume of Strutt's Manners and Customs of the English: and in vol. i. of the same work there is an engraving of the figure of our Saviour by St. Dunstan mentioned in this note.—

PARK.] This is undoubtedly the work of the monks; but Wanley believed it to have been done in France. Отно. В. 9. Cod. membran. fol. At Trinity college in Cambridge is a Psalter in Latin and Saxon, admirably written, and illuminated with letters in gold, silver, miniated, &c. It is full of a variety of historical pictures. At the end is the figure of the writer Eadwin, supposed to be a monk of Canterbury, holding a pen of metal, undoubtedly used in such sort of writing; with an inscription importing his name, and excellence in the calligraphic art. It appears to be performed about the reign of King Stephen. Cod. membr. fol. post Class. a dextr. Ser. Med. 5. [among the Single Codices.] Eadwin was a famous and frequent writer of books for the library of Christchurch at Canterbury, as appears by a catalogue of their books taken A.D.1315. In Bibl. Cott. GALB. E 4. The eight historical pictures richly illuminated with gold, of the Annunciation, the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, &c. in a manuscript of the gospel, are also thought to be of the reign of King Stephen, yet perhaps from the same kind of artists. The Sexon clergy were ingenious artificers in many other respects. S. Dunstan above mentioned made two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands. Monast. Anglic. tom. i. p. 104. John of Glastonbury, who wrote about the year 1400, relates, that there remained in the abbey at Glastonbury, in his time, crosses, incense-vessels, and vestments, made by Dunstan while a monk there. cap. 161. He adds, that Dunstan also handled "scalpellum ut sculperet." It is said, that he could model any image in brass, iron, gold, or silver. Osb. Vit. S. Dunstan. apud Whart. ii. 94. Ervenc, one of the teachers of Wolstan bishop of Worcester, perhaps a monk of Bury, was famous for calligraphy, and skill in colours. To invite his pupils to read, he made use of a Psalter and Sacramentary, whose capital letters he had richly illuminated with gold. This was about the year 980. Will. Malmesb. Vit. Wulst. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. p. 244. William of Malmesbury says, that Elfric,

terbury . During the present period, there seems to have been a close correspondence and intercourse between the French and Anglo-Saxons in matters of literature. was invited from England into France, to superintend the studies of Charlemagne, whom he instructed in logic, rhetoric, and astronomy'. He was also the master of Rabanus Maurus who became afterwards the governor and preceptor of the great abbey of Fulda in Germany, one of the most flourishing seminaries in Europe, founded by Charlemagne, and inhabited by two hundred and seventy monks. Alcuine was likewise employed by Charlemagne to regulate the lectures and discipline of the universities', which that prudent and magnificent potentate had newly constituted ". He is said to have joined to the Greek and Latin, an acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, which perhaps in some degree was known sooner than we may suspect; for at Trinity college in Cambridge there is an Hebrew Psalter, with a Normanno-Gallic interlinear version of great antiquity *. Homilies, lives of saints, commentaries on

skilful architect, ædificandi gnarus. Vit. Aldhelm. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii p. 33. Herman, one of the Norman bishops of Salisbury, about 1080, condescended to write, bind, and illuminate books. Momest. Angl. tom. bi. p. 375.

In some of these instances I have wandered below the Saxon times. It is indeed evident from various proofs which I could give, that the religious practised these arts long afterwards. But the object of this note was the existence of them among the Saxon clergy.

^q Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed.

* Eginhart, Vit. Kar Magn. p. 90.

ed. 1565. 4to.
* Rabanus instructed them not only in the Scriptures, but in profane literature. A great number of other scholars frequented these lectures. He was the first founder of a library in this monastery. Cave, Hist, Lit. p. 540. Sec. Phot. His leisure hours being entirely taken up in reading or transcribing, he was accused by some of the idle monks of attending so much to his studies, that he neglected the public duties of his tation, and the care of the revenues of

a Saxon abbot of Malmesbury, was a the abboy. They therefore removed him, yet afterwards in vain attempted to recall him. Serrar. Rer. Mogunt. lib. iv.

> ' John Mailros, a Scot, one of Bede's scholars, is said to have been employed by Charlemagne in founding the university of Pavia. Dempst. xii. 904.

" See Op. Alcuin, Paris, 1617. fol. Præfat. Andr. Quercetan. Mabillon says that Alcume pointed the homilies, and St. Austin's epistle, at the instance of Charlemagne, Cart. Maon. R. Diplomat. p. 52. a. Charlemagne was most fond of astronomy. He learned also arithmetic. In his treasury he had three tables of silver, and a fourth of gold, utgreat weight and size. One of these which was square, had a picture or representation of Constantinople another, a round one, a map of Rome a third. which was of the most exquisite workmanship, and greatest weight, consisting of three orbs, contained a map of the world. Eginhart, ubi supr. p. 29.

91, 41. MSS. Cod. Coll. S. S. Trin. Cant. Class, a dextr. Ser. Med. 5. membran, 4to Bede says, that he compiled to

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the bible, with the usual systems of logic, astronomy, rhetoric, and grammar, compose the formidable catalogue of Alcuine's numerous writings. Yet in his books of the sciences, he sometimes ventured to break through the pedantic formalities of a systematical teacher: he has thrown one of his treatises in logic, and, I think, another in grammar, into a dialogue between the author and Charlemagne. He first advised Bede to write his ecclesiastical history of England; and was greatly instrumental in furnishing materials for that early and authentic record of our antiquities.

In the mean time we must not form too magnificent ideas of these celebrated masters of science, who were thus invited into fereign countries to conduct the education of mighty monarchs, and to plan the rudiments of the most illustrious academies. Their merits are in great measure relative. Their circle of reading was contracted, their systems of philosophy jejune; and their lectures rather served to stop the growth of ignorance, than to produce any positive or important improvements in knowledge. They were unable to make excursions from their circumscribed paths of scientific instruction, into the spacious and fruitful regions of liberal and manly study. Those of their hearers, who had passed through the course of the sciences with applause, and aspired to higher acquisitions, were exhorted to read Cassiodorus and Boethius; whose writings they placed at the summit of profane literature, and which they believed to be the great boundaries of human erudition.

I have already mentioned Ceolfrid's presents of books to Benedict's library at Weremouth abbey. He wrote an account of his travels into France and Italy. But his principal work, and I believe the only one preserved, is his dissertation concerning the clerical tonsure, and the rites of celebrating Easter?.

TATE, that is, from S. Jerom's Latin translation of the Bible; for he adds, "nos qui per beati interpretis Hieronymi industriam puro Hebraica veritatis fonte potamur," &c. And again, "Ex Hebraica veritate, quæ ad nos per memoretum interpretem pure pervenisse," &c.

He mentions on this occasion the Greek Septuagint translation of the Bible, but not as if he had ever seen or consulted it. Bed. Chron. p. 34. edit. Cant. Op. Bed.

Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed. To King Ceolwulphus, p. 37. 38. edit. Op. Cant.

Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 22. And Concil.

Gen. vi. p. 1423.

This was written at the desire of Naiton, a Pictish king, who dispatched ambassadors to Ceolfrid for information concerning these important articles; requesting Ceolfrid at the same time to send him some skilful architects, who could build in him country a church of stone, after the fashion of the Romans ? Ceolfrid died on a journey to Rome, and was buried in a mo-

nastery of Navarre, in the year 706b.

But Bede, whose name is so nearly and necessarily connected with every part of the literature of this period, and which has therefore been often already mentioned, emphatically styled the Venerable by his cotemporaries, was by far the most learned of the Saxon writers. He was of the northern school if it may be so called; and was educated in the monastery of Saint Peter at Weremouth, under the care of the abbots Cook frid and Biscop c. Bale affirms, that Bede learned physics and mathematics from the purest sources, the original Greek and Roman writers on these subjects^d. But this hasty assertion in part at least, may justly be doubted. His knowledge, if we consider his age, was extensive and profound: and it is amaze ing, in so rude a period, and during a life of no considerable length, he should have made so successful a progress, and such rapid improvements, in scientifical and philological studies and have composed so many elaborate treatises on different subjects. It is diverting to see the French critics censuring Bede for credulity: they might as well have accused him of superstition f. There is much perspicuity and facility in his

full and exact list of Bede's works, the curious reader is referred to Mabillon; Sec. iii. p. i. p. 539. Or Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. p. 242.

It is true, that Bede has introduced many miracles and visions into his history. Yet some of these are pleasing to the imagination: they are unctured with the gloon, of the cloister, operating on the extravagancies of oriental invention. I will give an instance or two. A monk of Northumberland died, and was brought again to life. In this interval of death, a young man in sluning apparel came and led him, without speak

Bed. Hist. Eccl. ib. c. 21, iv. 18.

^b Bed. Hist. Abb. p. 300. ⁶ Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 24.

[&]quot; "Labros septuaginta octo edidit, quos ad finem Historias sum Angua-CANZ edidit. [See Op. edit. Cant. p. 222. 228. lib. v. c. 24.] Hie succumbit in-genium, deficit eloquium, sufficienter admirari hominem a scholastico exercitio tam procul amotum, tam sobrio sertnone tanta elaborasse volumina." &c. Chron. Præf. Bever. MSS. Coll. Trip. Oxon. ut supr. f. 65. [Bever was a monk of Westminster circ. A.D. 1400.] For a

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Latin style. But it is void of elegance, and often of purity; it shews with what grace and propriety he would have written, had his mind been formed on better models. Whoever looks for digestion of materials, disposition of parts, and accuracy of narration, in this writer's historical works, expects what could not exist at that time. He has recorded but few civil transactions: but besides that his History professedly considers ecclesistical affairs, we should remember, that the building of a church, the preferment of an abbot, the canonisation of a martyr, and the importation into England of the shin-bone of an apostle, were necessarily matters of much more importance in Bede's conceptions than victories or revolutions. He is fond of minute description; but particularities are the fault and often the merit of early historians. Bede wrote many pieces of Latin

mg, to a valley of infinite depth, length, and breadth: one side was formed by a prodigious sheet of fire, and the opposite side filled with hail and ice. Both sides were swarming with souls of departed men; who were for ever in search of rest, alternately shifting their situation to these extremes of heat and cold. The mank supposing this place to be hell, was told by his guide that he was mis-The guide then led him, greatly **terrified** with this spectacle, to a more Electric place, where he says, "I saw on a smdden a darkness come on, and every thing was obscured. When I entered this place I could discern no object, on account of the encreasing darkness, except the countenance and glittering garments of my conductor. As we went **Sarward** I beheld vast torrents of flame spouting upwards from the ground, as from a large well, and falling down into it again. As we came near it my guide suddenly vanished, and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrible vision. Deformed and uncouth spirits arose from this blazing chasm, and attempted to draw me in with fiery forks." But his guide here returned, and they all retired at his appearance. Heaven is then described with great strength of fancy. I have seen an old ballad, called the Dead Man's Song, on this story. And Milton's hell may perhaps be taken

from this idea. Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 13. Our historian in the next chapter relates, that two most beautiful youths came to a person lying sick on his death-bed, and offered him a book to read, richly ornamented, in which his good actions were recorded. Immediately after this, the house was surrounded and filled with an army of spirits of most horrible aspect. One of them, who by the gloom of his darksome countenance appeared to be their leader, produced a book, codicem horrendæ visionis, et magnitudinis enormis et ponderis pæne importabilis, and ordered some of his attendant demons to bring it to the sick man. In this were contained all his sins, &c. ib. cap. 14.

^r An ingenious author, who writes under the name of M. de Vigneul Marville, observes, that Bede, "when he speaks of the Magi who went to worship our Saviour, is very particular in the account of their names, age, and respective offerings. He says, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard; and that it was he who offered gold to Christ, in acknowledgment of That Gaspar, the his sovereignty. second of the magi, was young, and had no beard, and that it was he who offered frankincense, in recognition of our Lord's divinity: and that Balthasar, the third, was of a dark complexion, had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our

Judicii, a translation of which into Saxon verse is now preserved in the library of Bennet college at Cambridge, are at least well turned and harmonious.

> Inter florigeras fœcundi cespitis herbas, Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramis t.

Some of Aldhelm's verses are exactly in this cast, written on the Dedication of the abbey-church at Malmesbury to Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Hic celebranda rudis a florescit gloria templi,
Limpida quæ sacri celebrat vexilla triumphi:
Hic Petrus et Paulus, tenebrosi lumina mundi,
Præcipui patres populi qui frena gubernant,
Carminibus crebris alma celebrantur in aula.
Claviger o cæli, portam qui pandis in æthra,
Candida qui meritis recludis limina cæli,
Exaudi clemens populorum vota tuorum,
Marcida qui riguis humectant fletibus ora.

The strict and superabundant attention of these Latin poets to prosodic rules, on which it was become fashionable to write didactic systems, made them accurate to excess in the metrical conformation of their hexameters, and produced a faultless and flowing monotony. Bede died in the monastery of Weremouth, which he never had once quitted, in the year 735*.

I have already observed, and from good authorities, that many of these Saxon scholars were skilled in Greek. Yet scarce any considerable monuments have descended to modern

Saviour's humanity." He is likewise very circumstantial in the description of their dresses. Mclanges de l'Hist. et de Lit. Paris, 1725. 12mo. tom, iti, p. 283. &c. What was more natural than this in such a writer and on such a subject? In the mean time it may be remarked, that this description of Bede, taken perhaps from constant tradition, is now to be seen in the old pictures.

and popular representations of the Wise

* Cod. MSS. lxxix. P. 161.

Malmsh. apud Whart, ut supr. p. 8. recent, newly built.

W. Makush, ut supr. Apud Whart, p. 8.

Cave, ubi supr. p. 473. Seec. Eico-

nocl.

times, to prove their familiarity with that language. I will, however, mention such as have occurred to me. Archbishop Parker, or rather his learned scribe Jocelin, affirms, that the copy of Homer, and of some of the other books imported into England by archbishop Theodore, as I have above related, remained in his time. There is however no allusion to Homer, nor any mention made of his name, in the writings of the Saxons now existing z. In the Bodleian library are some extracts from the books of the Prophets in Greek and Latin: the Latin is in Saxon, and the Greek in Latino-greek capital characters. A Latino-greek alphabet is prefixed. In the same manuscript is a chapter of . Deuteronomy, Greek and Latin, but both are in Saxon characters2. In the curious and very valuable library of Bennet college in Cambridge, is a very antient copy of Aldhelm DE LAUDE VIRGINITATIS. In it is inserted a specimen of Saxon poetry full of Latin and Greek words, and at the end of the manuscript some Runic letters occurb. I suspect that their Grecian literature was a matter of ostentation rather than use. William of Malmesbury, in his Life of Aldhelm, censures an affectation in the writers of this age; that they were fond of introducing in their Latin compositions a difficult and abstruse word latinised from the Greek c. There many instances of this pedantry in the early charters of Dugdale's Monasticon. But it is no where more visible than in the Life of Saint Wilfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, written by Fridegode a monk of Canterbury, in Latin heroics, about the year 960^d. Malmesbury observes of this author's style, "Latinitatem perosus, Græcitatem amat, Græcula verba Probably to be able to read Greek at this time frequentat c." was esteemed a knowledge of that language. Eginhart relates, that Charlemagne could speak Latin as fluently as his native

Antiquitat. Brit. p. 80.

See Secr. iii. vol. ii. p. 128. Where it is observed, that Homer is cited by Geoffrey of Monmouth. But he is not mentioned in Geoffrey's Armoric original. [Who has has seen the original?—Douce.]

^{*} NE. D. 19. M88. membr. 8vo. fol. 24. 19.

b Cod. MSS. K 12.

^c Ubi supr. p. 7.

^d Printed by Mabillon, Sæc. Benedictin. iii. p. 1. P. 169.

e Gest. Pontific. i. f. 114.

Frankish; but slightly passes over his accomplishment in Greek, by artfully saying, that he understood it better than he could pronounce it'. Nor, by the way, was Charlemagne's boasted facility in the Latin so remarkable a prodigy. The Latin language was familiar to the Gauls when they were conquered by the Franks; for they were a province of the Roman empire till the year 485. It was the language of their religious offices, their laws, and public transactions. The Franks who conquered the Gauls at the period just mentioned, still continued this usage, imagining there was a superior dignity in the language of imperial Rome: although this incorporation of the Franks with the Gauls greatly corrupted the latinity of the latter, and had given it a strong tincture of barbarity before the reign of Charlemagne. But while we are bringing proofs which tend to extenuate the notion that Greek was now much known or cultivated, it must not be dissembled, that John Erigena, a native of Aire in Scotland, and one of King Alfred's first lecturers at Oxford⁵, translated into Latin from the Greek original four large treatises of Dionysius the Areopagite, about the year 860 b. This translation, which is dedicated to Charles the Bald, abounds with Greek phraseology, and is hardly intelligible to a mere Latin reader. He also translated into Latin the Scholia of Saint Maximus on the difficult passages of Gregory Nazianzen'. He frequently visited

into Latin ten of Dionysius's Epistles."
Hoveden and Matthew Paris have literally transcribed the words of Malmesbury just cited, and much more. Hove fol. 234. And M. Paris, p. 253. It is doubtful whether the Vrasio Monatium Anistorizms is from the Greek: it might be from the Arabic. Or whether our author's. See Prefat. Op. nonnull. Onon edit. per Gale, cum Not. 1681, fol.

Printed at Oxford as above. Erigena died at Malmesbury, where he had opened a school in the year 883. Cave, Hist. Lit Swe, Phot. p. 548, 549. William of Malmesbury says, that Erigena was one of the was of Charles the Baid's table, and his constant companion. Ubi supr. p. 27.

Vit. Kar. Magn. p. 90.

* Wood Hist. Antiquit, Univ. Oxor.

This translation, with dedications in verse and prose to Charles the Bald, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, viz. MSS. Mus. 148. And Hyper. Bodl. 148. p. 4. seq. See also Land I 59. And in Saint John's college Oxford, A. 21. 2. 3. William of Malmesbury says, that he wrote a book crutied, Prairmsmentsment, (that is, His poster megapic) and adds, that in this piece "a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit." Vit. Aldhelm, p. 28. Wharton, Angl. Sacrin. It was printed at Oxford by Gale. Engena, in one of the decications above mentioped, says, that he had translated

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his munificent patron Charles the Bald, and is said to have taken a long journey to Athens, and to have spent many years in studying not only the Greek but the Arabic and Chaldee languages.

As to classic authors, it appears that not many of them were known or studied by our Saxon ancestors. Those with which they were most acquainted, either in prose or verse, seem to have been of the lower empire; writers who, in the declension of taste, had superseded the purer and more antient Roman models, and had been therefore more recently and frequently transcribed. I have mentioned Alfred's translations of Boethius and Orosius. Prudentius was also perhaps one of their favorites. In the British Museum there is a manuscript copy of that poet's Psycomachia. It is illustrated with drawings of historical figures, each of which have an explanatory legend in Latin and Saxon letters; the Latin in large red characters, and the Saxon in black, of great antiquity 1. Prudentius is likewise in Bennet college library at Cambridge, transcribed in the time of Charles the Bald, with several Saxon words written into the text^m. Sedulius's hymns are in the same repository in Saxon characters, in a volume containing other Saxon manuscriptsⁿ. Bede says, that Aldhelm wrote his book DE VIRGINITATE, which is both prose and verse, in imitation of the manner of Sedulius°. We learn from Gregory of Tours, what is not foreign to our purpose to remark, that King Chilperic, who began to reign in 562, wrote two books of Latin verses in imitation of Sedulius. But it was without any idea of the common quantities. A manuscript of this poet in the British Museum is bound up with Nennius and Felix's MIRACLES OF SAINT GUTHLAC, dedicated to Alfwold king of the East Angles, and written both in Latin and Saxon q. But these classics were most of them read as books of religion

^{*} Spelm. Vit. Ælfred. Bale xiv. 32. Pits. p. 168.

¹ M88. Cott. CLEOPATE. C. 8. membr.

Miscellan. MSS. M. membran.

^a MSS, S. 11. Cod. membran.

^o Eccl. Hist. 19.

P Gregor. Turonens. l. vi. c. 46.

^q MSŠ. Cotton. Vzsr. D. xxi. 8vo.

and morality. Yet Aldhelm, in his tract de Metrorum Grunding, quotes two verses from the third book of Virgil's Georgics': and in the Bodleian library we find a manuscript of the first book of Ovid's Art of Love, in very antient Saxon characters, accompanied with a British gloss'. And the venerable Bede, having first invoked the Trinity, thus begins a Latin panegyrical hymn on the miraculous virginity of Ethildryde: "Let Virgil sing of wars, I celebrate the gifts of peace My verses are of chastity, not of the rape of the adultered Helen. I will chant heavenly blessings, not the battles of miserable Troy'." These however are rare instances. It was the most abominable heresy to have any concern with the pagas fictions. The graces of composition were not their objects and elegance found no place amidst their severer pursuits in philosophy and theology ".

W. Malmesb. Vit. Aldhelm. Whar-too, Angl. Saor. n. 4.

* NE. D. 19. membr. 8vo. fol. 37.

* Bed. Eccl. Hist. iv. 20.

" Medicine was one of their favorite sciences, being a part of the Arabian learning. We have now remaining Saxon munuscript translations of Apuleius de Virisus Herrarym. They have also left a large system of medicine in Saxon, often cited by Somner in his Lexicon, under the title of Libra Me-DICENALIS. It appears by this tract, that they were well acquainted with the Latin physicians and naturalists, Marcellus, Scribonius Largus, Pliny, Calius Aurelianus, Theodore, Priscus, &c. MSS, Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. Cod. membr.... It is probable that this manuscript is of the age of King Alfred. Among Hatton's books in the Bodleian library, is a Saxon manuscript which has been entitled by Junius Medicina ex Quadrupedinus. It is pretended to be taken from Idpart, a fabulous king of Egypt. It is followed by two episties in Latin of Evax king of the Arabians to Tiberius Cesar, concerning the names and virtues of oriental precious stones used in medicine. Cod. Hatton, 100, membr, fol. It is believed to be a manuscript before the Conquest. These ideas of a king of Egypt, and

another of Arabia, and of the use of oriental precious stones in the medical art, evidently betray their origin. Apuleius's Herbariu moccurs in the British Museum in Latin and Saxon, "quod accept ab Esculatio et a Chirone Crataviro Magistro Achitlus." Together with the Medicina ex Quadacterium above mentioned. MSS. Cot. Vitel. Citi. Cod. membr. fol. in. p. 19. iv. p. 75. It is remarkable that the Arabians attribute the invention of Simila, one of their magical sciences, to Kiron or Caron, that is Chiron the centaur, the master of Achilles. See Herbelot. Dict. Orient. Artic. Simila, p. 1005.

The Greeks reputed Chiron the inventor of medicine. His medical books are mentioned by many antient writers, particularly by Apuleius Celsus, De Herbis and Kircher observes, that Chiron's treatise of Mulonantonia was familiar to the Arabians. Oedip. Egypt, tom. ni. p. 68. Lambeccius describes a very curious and antient manuscript of Dioscorides among the beautiful tiluminations with which it was enriched, was a square picture with a gold ground, on which were represented the seven antient physicians, Machaon, Chinon, Niger, Herculides, Mantias, Xenocrates, and Pamphilus. P. Lambecc. de Bibl.

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND. CXXXIX

It is certain that literature was at its height among our Sexon ancestors about the eighth century. These happy beginnings were almost entirely owing to the attention of King Alfred, who encouraged learning by his own example, by founding seminaries of instruction, and by rewarding the labours of scholars. But the efforts of this pious monarch were soon blasted by the supineness of his successors, the incursions of the Danes, and the distraction of national affairs. from the establishment of learned bishops in every diocese, and the universal tranquillity which reigned over all the provinces of England, when he finished his ecclesiastical history, flatters his imagination in anticipating the most advantageous consequences, and triumphantly closes his narrative with this pleasing presentiment. The Picts, at this period, were at peace with the Saxons or English, and converted to Christianity. The Scots lived contented within their own boundary. Britons or Welsh, from a natural enmity, and a dislike to the catholic institution of keeping Easter, sometimes attempted to disturb the national repose; but they were in some measure subservient to the Saxons. Among the Northumbrians, both the nobility and private persons rather chose their children should receive the monastic tonsure, than be trained to arms x.

But a long night of confusion and gross ignorance succeeded. The principal productions of the most eminent monasteries for three centuries, were incredible legends which discovered no marks of invention, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of the Scriptures. Many bishops and abbots began to consider learning as pernicious to true piety, and confounded illiberal ignorance with Christian simplicity. Leland frequently laments the loss of libraries destroyed in the Danish invasions?

Vindob. lib. fi. p. 525 seq. I have mentioned above, Medicina ex Quadruperseus. A Greek poem or fragment called Menicina ex Piscibus has been attributed to Chiron. It was written by Marcula Sidetas of Pamphylia, a physician under Marcus Antoninus, and is printed by Pabricius. Bibl. Gr. i. p. 16. seq. And see ziii. p. 317. The Medicina ex Quadrupedibus seems to be the trea-

under the name of Sextus Platonicus, and printed in Stephens's Medicae Artes Principes, p. 684. This was a favorite medical system of the dark ages. See Fabric. ibid. xiii. 395. xii. 613.

^x Bede, Eccl. Hist. v. 23.

y See Malmesb. apud Lel. Coll. i. p. 140. edit. nup.

Some slight attempts were made for restoring literary pursuits, but with little success. In the tenth century, Oswald archibishop of York, finding the monasteries of his province extremely ignorant not only in the common elements of grammar but even in the canonical rules of their respective orders, wat obliged to send into France for competent masters, who might remedy these evils 2. In the mean time, from perpetual commotions, the manners of the people had degenerated from that mildness which a short interval of peace and letters had introduced, and the national character had contracted an air of rudeness and ferocity.

England at length, in the beginning of the eleventh century received from the Normans the rudiments of that cultivation which it has preserved to the present times. The Normans were a people who had acquired ideas of splendour and refine ment from their residence in France; and the gallantries of their feudal system introduced new magnificence and elegance among our rough unpolished ancestors. The Conqueror's army was composed of the flower of the Norman nobility: who sharing allotments of land in different parts of the new territory, diffused a general knowledge of various improvements entirely unknown in the most flourishing eras of the Saxon government, and gave a more liberal turn to the manners even of the provincial inhabitants. That they brought with them the arts, may yet be seen by the castles and churches which they built on a more extensive and stately plan. Literature, in particular, the chief object of our present research, which had long been reduced to the most abject condition, appeared. with new lustre in consequence of this important revolution.

* Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 201. Many evidences of the ignorance which prevailed in other countries during the tenth century have been collected by Mursteri, Antiquit. Ital. Med. Æv. in. 831. ii. 141. And Boulay, Hist. Acad. Pa-

ris. i. 288.

This point will be further illustrated press, entitled, ORSERVATIONS CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, OR CASTLES, CHURCHES,

MONASTERIES, and other MONUMENTS OF ANTIQUITY IN VARIOUS PARTS OF EM-GLAND. To which will be prefixed, Tus HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLARD.

[This production, which Mr. Price of the Bodleran library affirms to have been written out fairly for the press, bas not been discovered among the papers of Mr. Warton, though the prime stanting were found in a crude state. - PARK.]

Towards the close of the tenth century, an event took place, which gave a new and very fortunate turn to the state of letters in France and Italy. A little before that time, there were no schools in Europe but those which belonged to the monasteries or episcopal churches; and the monks were almost the only masters employed to educate the youth in the principles of secred and profane erudition. But at the commencement of the eleventh century, many learned persons of the laity, as well as of the clergy, undertook in the most capital cities of France and Italy this important charge. The Latin versions of the Greek philosophers from the Arabic, had now become so frequent and common, as to fall into the hands of the people; and many of these new preceptors having travelled into Spain with a design of studying in the Arabic schoolsb, and comprehending in their course of instruction, more numerous and useful branches of science than the monastic teachers were acquainted with, communicated their knowledge in a better method, and taught in a much more full, perspicuous, solid, and rational manner. These and other beneficial effects, arising from this practice of admitting others besides ecclesiastics to the profession of letters, and the education of youth, were imported into England by means of the Norman conquest.

The Conqueror himself patronised and loved letters. He filled the bishopricks and abbacies of England with the most learned of his countrymen, who had been educated at the university of Paris, at that time the most flourishing school in Europe. He placed Lanfranc, abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen at Caen, in the see of Canterbury: an eminent master of logic, the subtleties of which he employed with great dexterity in a famous controversy concerning the real presence. Anselm, an acute metaphysician and theologist, his immediate

brought back with him into England several books of the Arabian philosophy. Wood Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 56. col. i.

This fashion continued for a long time. Among many who might here be mentioned was Daniel Merlac, an Englishman who in the year 1185 went to Toledo to learn mathematics, and

successor in the same see, was called from the government of the abbey of Bec in Normandy. Herman, a Norman bishop of Salisbury, founded a noble library in the antient cathedral of that see . Many of the Norman prelates preferred in En gland by the Conqueror, were polite scholars. Godfrey, prior of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, a native of Cambray, was an elegant Latin epigrammatist, and wrote with the smartness and ease of Martiald. A circumstance, which by the way shews that the literature of the monks at this period was of more liberal cast than that which we commonly annex to their character and profession. Geoffrey, a learned Norman, was invited from the university of Paris to superintend the direction of the school of the priory of Dunstable, where he composed a play called the Play of SAINT CATHARINE, which was acted by his scholars. This was perhaps the first spectacle of the kind that was ever attempted, and the first trace of theatrical

"Nobilem bibliothecam, comparatis in hoc optimis juxta ac antiquissimis illustrium autorum monumenus, Severim posuit." Leland. Script. Brit. p. 174. He died 1099. He was so fond of letters, that he did not disdain to bind and illuminate books. Mon. Angl. in. p. 875. Vid. supr. The old church of Salisbury stood within the area of that noble autient military work, called Old-castle. Leland says, that he finished the church which his predecessor Herman had begun, and filled its chapter with eminent scholars.

d Camden has cited several of his epigrams. Remains, p. 421. edit. 1674. I have read all his pieces now remaining. The chief of them are, "PROVERMA, RT EPIGRAMNATA SATYRICA."—"CARMINA HISTORICA, DE REGE CANUTO, REGINA EMMA," &c. Among these last, none of which were ever printed, is an eulogy on Walkelin bishop of Winchester, and a Norman, who built great part of his stately cathedral, as it now stands, and was bishop there during Godfrey's priorate, viz.

Consilium, virtutis amor, facuncia co-

WALCHELINE pater, fixe fucre tibi.

Corrector juvenum, senibus documente

Exemplo vite pastor utrosque regia.

Pes fueras claudis, cacis imitabile in-

Portans invalidos, qui cecidere levant.
Divitiis dominus, facilis largitor earum.
Dum reficis multos, deficis ipse tibl.
&c.

Among the Epigrams, the following is not cited by Camden.

Pauca Titus pretiosa dabat, sed vilia plura.

Ut meliors habeam, pauca det, cree Titus.

These pieces are in the Bodleian library. MSS. Digb. 65. ut. 112. The whole collection is certainly worthy of publication. I do not mean merely as a curresity. Leland mentions his epistles "farmilian illo et nutci stylo editæ" Script. Brit. p. 159. Godfrey died 1107. He was made prior of Winchester A. D. 1082. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 324. He was interred in the old chapter-house, whose area now makes part of the dean's garden.

See infr. Spor. vi. vol. ii. p. 68.

on the introduction of learning into england. cxlin

who first records this anecdote, says, that Geoffrey borrowed types from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of Saint Aller's to dress his characters. He was afterwards elected ables of that opulent monastery.

The king himself gave no small countenance to the clergy, in sending his son Henry Beauclerc to the abbey of Abingdon, where he was initiated in the sciences under the care of the abbot Grymbald, and Farice a physician of Oxford. Robert d'Oilly, constable of Oxford castle, was ordered to pay for the board of the young prince in the convent, which the king himself frequently visited 8. Nor was William wanting in giving ample revenues to learning: he founded the magnificent abbeys of Battel and Selby, with other smaller convents. His nobles and their successors cooperated with this liberal spirit in erecting many monasteries. Herbert de Losinga, a monk of Normandy, bishop of Thetford in Norfolk, instituted and endowed with large possessions a Benedictine abbey at Norwich, consisting of sixty monks. To mention no more instances, such great institutions of persons dedicated to religious and literary leisure, while they diffused an air of civility, and schened the manners of the people in their respective circles, must have afforded powerful invitations to studious pursuits, and have consequently added no small degree of stability to the interests of learning.

By these observations, and others which have occurred in the course of our enquiries, concerning the utility of monateries, I certainly do not mean to defend the monastic system.

"Mr. Warton has here most strangely misquoted Matthew Paris. This writer mys, that Geoffrey was sent for by Richard abbot of St. Alban's, to superintend the school there: but arriving too late, the school was given to another person; that Geoffrey still expecting the office, emblished himself at Dunstaple, where he composed the miracle play of St. Catherine; for the decoration of which he berrowed copes from St. Alban's: but that on the following night his house to-

gether with the copes and all his books was burned. Nothing is mentioned about the priory of Dunstaple, which was not founded before 1131, long after Abbot Richard's death; immediately upon which Geoffrey was elected abbot of St. Alban's.—Douce.]

f Vit. Abbat. ad calc. Hist. p. 56. edit. 1639. See also Bul. Hist. Acad. Paris. ii. 225.

⁸ Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 46.

We are apt to pass a general and undistinguishing censure of the monks, and to suppose their foundations to have been the retreats of illiterate indolence at every period of time. Be it should be remembered, that our universities about the time of the Norman conquest, were in a low condition: while the monasteries contained ample endowments and accommodations and were the only respectable seminaries of literature. A few centuries afterwards, as our universities began to flourish, consequence of the distinctions and honours which they con ferred on scholars, the establishment of colleges, the introduction of new systems of science, the universal ardour which prevailed of breeding almost all persons to letters, and the about lition of that exclusive right of teaching which the ecclesiastic had so long claimed; the monasteries of course grew inatter tive to studies, which were more strongly encouraged, more commodiously pursued, and more successfully cultivated, other places; they gradually became contemptible and unfashionable as nurseries of learning, and their fraternities degenerated into sloth and ignorance. The most eminent scholar which England produced, both in philosophy and humanity before and even below the twelfth century, were educated in our religious houses. The encouragement given in the Engl lish monasteries for transcribing books, the scarcity of which in the middle ages we have before remarked, was very consider derable. In every great abbey there was an apartment called the Scriptorium; where many writers were constantly busied in transcribing not only the service-books for the choir, but books for the library b. The Scriptorium of Saint Alban's abbey was built by abbot Paulin, a Norman, who ordered

windows of the library of Saint Altuan abbey. Ibid, 183. At the foundation of Winchester college, one or more trans scribers were hired and emplayed by the founder to make books for the library They transcribed and took their commons within the college, as appears by computations of expenses on their ac

This was also a practice in the monasteries abroad; in which the boys and novices were chiefly employed. But the missals and hibles were ordered to be written by monks of mature age and discretion. Du Fresne, Gloss. Lat. They transcribed and Med. V. Scairroatum. And Præfat. mons within the college, vi. edit. prim. See also Monast. computations of exper Anglic. ii. 726. And references in the count now remaining.

many volumes to be written there, about the year 1080. Archbishop Lanfranc furnished the copies i. Estates were often granted for the support of the Scriptorium. That at Saint Edmondsbury was endowed with two mills k. The tythes of s rectory were appropriated to the cathedral convent of Saint Swithin at Winchester, ad libros transcribendos, in the year 1171. Many instances of this species of benefaction occur from the tenth century. Nigel, in the year 1160, gave the monks of Ely two churches, ad libros faciendos^m. This employment appears to have been diligently practised at Croyland, for Ingulphus relates, that when the library of that convent was burnt in the year 1091, seven hundred volumes were consumed a. Fifty-eight volumes were transcribed at Glastonbury, during the government of one abbot, about the year 1300°. And in the library of this monastery, the richest in England, there were upwards of four hundred volumes in the year 1248 p. More than eighty books were thus transcribed for Saint Alban's abbey, by abbot Wethamstede, who died about 1440 q. Some of these instances are rather below our period; but they illustrate the subject, and are properly connected with those of more antient date. I find some of the classics written in the English monasteries very early. Henry, a Benedictine monk of Hyde-abbey, near Winchester, transcribed in the year 1178 Terence, Boethius', Suetonius', and Claudian. Of these he

Mat. Paris, p. 1003. See Leland, Script. Brit. p. 166.

Registr. Nigr. S. Edmund. Abbat. 228.

¹ Registr. Joh. Pontissar. episcop. Wint. f. 164. MS.

See Mon. Angl. i. 131. Heming. Chartul. per Hearne, p. 265. Compare also Godwin, de Præsul. p. 121. edit. 1616.

Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 619. See also, p. 634, and 278. Hearne has published a grant from R. De Paston to Bromholm abbey in Norfolk, of 12d. per annum, a rent-charge on his lands, to keep their books in repair, ad emendacionem librorum. Ad. Domerham, Num. iii.

ⁿ Hist. Croyland. Dec. Script. p. 98.

^o Tanner, Not. Mon. edit. 8vo. Pref. ^p See Joann. Glaston. ut infr. And Leland, Script. Brit. p. 131.

Weaver, Fun. Mon. p. 566.

It is observable, that Boethius in his metres constantly follows Seneca's tragedies. I believe there is not one form of verse in Boethius but what is taken from Seneca.

Suetonius is frequently cited by the writers of the middle ages, particularly by Vincentius Bellovacensis. Specul. Hist. lib. x. c. 67. And Rabanus Maurus, Art. Gram. Op. tom. i. p. 46. Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, about the year 838, a learned philosophical writer, educated under Rabanus Maurus, desires

formed one book, illuminating the initials, and forming the brazen bosses of the covers with his own hands. But this abbot had more devotion than taste: for he exchanged the manuscript a few years afterwards for four missals, the Legen of Saint Christopher, and Saint Gregory's Pastoral Carawith the prior of the neighbouring cathedral convent. But nedict, abbot of Peterborough, author of the Latin chronic of king Henry the second, amongst a great variety of scholastic and theological treatises, transcribed Seneca's epistland tragedies. Terence, Martial, and Claudian, to which I will add Gesta Alexandria, about the year 1180. In catalogue of the books of the library of Glastonbury we firm

abbot Marquard to send him Suctonius, On the Casars, "in duos nec magnos codices thvisum." Epistol. Lup. Ferrariens. xcix. Apud Andr. Du Chesne, Script. Rer. Franc. tom. u. p. 726. Isidorus Hispalensis, a bishop of the seventh century, gives the origin of poetry from Suctonius, Origin. viii. 7. Chaucer's tale of Nero in the Monke's Talk is taken from Suctonius, "as tellith us Suctonius." v. 491. p. 164. edit. Urr.

9 44 Suts manibus apices literarum aruficiose pinxit et illuminavit, necnon servos umbones in tegminibus appinxit." MS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin, Winton. Quatern. . . . In archiv. Wulves. Many of the monks were skilful illuminators. They were also taught to bind books. In the year 1277, these constitutions were given to the Benedictine monasteries of the province of Canterbury "Abbates monachos suos claustrales, loco operis manualis, secundum suam habilitatem casteris occupationibus deputent in studendo, bbros scribendo, corrigendo, illuminando, ligando." Capit. Gen. Ord. Benedictio. Provinc. Cant. 1277. apud MSS. Br. Twyne, 8vo. p. 272. archiv. Oxon. Tbid. 8vo. p. 272. archiv. Oxon.

"Nicholas Antonius says, that Nicholas Francth, a Dominican, illustrated Seneca's tragedies with a gloss, soon after the year 1500. Bibl. Vet. Hispan. apud Fabric B.bl. Lat. lib. ii. c. 9. He means Nicholas Trivet, an English Dominican, nuther of the Annals published by Anthony Hall.

Y John of Salisbury calls Martial Co-

cus, Policrat. vi. 3. As do several w ters of the middle ages. Martial is con by Jerom of Padua, a Latin poet physician, who flourished about the ye 1300. See Christian. Daumii Not. Catonis Distich, p. 140. One of two famous manuscripts of Terenomia the Vatican, is said to have been written in the time, perhaps under the ence ragement, of Charlemagne; and to he been compared with the more until copies by Calliopius Scholasticus. Fil tanın, Vindic, Antiquit.Diplomat. p. 🎥 Scholasticus means a master in the eco siastical schools. Engelbert, abbot Trevoux, a writer of the tenth centar mentions Terentius Porta, but in such manner as shews he had but little of knowledge of him. He confounds poet with Terentius the Roman sen whom Scipio delivered from prison Carthage, and brought to Rome. Be Patr. tom. xxv. edit. Lugd. p. 370-

* See Sucr. til. infr. p. 132.

* Swaffham, Hist. Cænob. Burg.
p. 97. per Jos. Sparke. * Epistolæ in necæ cum ahis Senecus in uno volumba Martialis totus et Terentius in une tumine, ' &c. Sub Tit. De I ibras que He died in 1193. In the library of Peterborough abbey, at the Dissolute there were one thousand and seven but dred books in manuscript. Gunton Peterb. p. 173.

borum Glastoniensu ecclenæ qui fuere de LIBRARIA anno graciæ M.CC. XI. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND. CXIVII

Livy^b, Sallust^c, Seneca, Tully De Senectute and Amicitia^d, Virgil, Persius, and Claudian, in the year 1248. Among the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, is one of the twelve books of Statius's Thebaid, supposed to have been written in the tenth century, which once belonged to the cathedral convent of Rochester^c. And another of Virgil's Eneid, written in the thirteenth, which came from the library of Saint Austin's at Canterbury^f. Wallingford, abbot of Saint Alban's, gave or sold from the library of that monastery to Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham, author of the Philobiblion, and a great collector of books, Terence, Virgil, Quintilian, and Jerom against Rufinus, together with thirty-two other volumes valued at fifty pounds of silver^g. The scarcity of parchment undoubt-

p. 423. Leland, who visited all the monasteries just before their dissolution, seems to have been struck with the venerable air and amplitude of this room. Script. Brit. p. 196. See what is said of the monastery libraries above.

It is pretended, that Gregory the Great, in the year 580, ordered all the menuscripts of Livy to be burnt which could be found, as a writer who enforced the doctrine of prodigies. By the way, Livy himself often insinuates his disbehe of those superstitions. He studies to relate the most ridiculous portents; and he only meant, when it came in his wey, to record the credulity of the peopls, not to propagate a belief of such abardities. It was the superstition of the people, not of the historian. Antono Beccatelli is said to have purchased of Poggius a beautiful manuscript of Livy, for which he gave the latter a large feld, in the year 1455. Gallæs. De Bi-Methecis, p. 186. See Liron, Singulatités Hist. et Litt. tom. i. p. 166.

Fabricius mentions two manuscripts of Sallust, one written in the year 1178, and the other in the year 900. Bibl. Let I. i. c. 9. Sallust is cited by a Bymatine writer, Joannes Antiochenus, of an early century. Excerpt. Peiresc. p. 393. Mr. Hume says, that Sallust's larger history is cited by Fitz-Stephens, in his description of London. Hist. Bagl. ii. 440. 4to edit.

^d Paulus Jovius says, that Poggius, about the year 1420, first brought Tully's books De Finibus and De Legibus into Italy, transcribed by himself from other manuscripts. Voss. Hist. Lat. p. 550. About the same time Baurus de Claris Oratoribus, and some of the rhetorical pieces, with a complete copy of De Oratore, were discovered and circulated by Flavius Blondus, and his friends. Flav. Blond. Ital. Illustrat. p. 346. Leland says, that William Selling, a monk of Canterbury, about 1480, brought with him from Italy Cicero's book De Republica, but that it was burnt with other manuscripts. Script. Brit. CELLINGUS.

* 15 C. x. 1. ¹ 15 B. vi. ⁸ Vit. Abbat. S. Albani. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Claud. E. iv. In the royal manuscripts in John of Salisbury's ENTENTICUS, there is written, "Hunc librum fecit dominus Symon abbas & Albani: quem postes venditum domino RICARDO DE BURY, episcopo Dunelmensi, emit Michael abbas & Albani ab executoribus pradicti episcopi, A.D. 1845." MSS. 13 D. iv. & Richard de Bury, otherwise called Richard Aungervylle, is said to have alone possessed more books than all the bishops of England Besides the fixed libraries together. which he had formed in his several palaces, the floor of his common apartment was so covered with books, that those who airped could not with due

edly prevented the transcription of many other books in these societies. About the year 1120, one master Hugh, being appointed by the convent of Saint Edmondsbury in Suffolk to write and illuminate a grand copy of the bible for their library, could procure no parchment for this purpose in England.

reverence approach his presence. Chambre, Contin. Hist. Dunelm. apud Whart. Angl. Sacr. i. 765. He kept binders, illuminators, and writers in his palaces. "Antiquariorum, scriptorum, correctorum, colligatorum, illuminatorum," &c. Philobibl. cap. viii. p. 34. edit. 1599. Petrarch says, that he had once a conversation with Aungervylle, concerning the island called by the antients Thule, whom he calls Virum ardentis ingenii. Petrarch, Epist. i. 3. His book entitled Philobiblion, or De Amore librorum et institutione Bibliothecæ, supposed to be really written by Robert Holcott a Dominican friar, was finished in his manor of Aulkland, A.D. 1343. He founded a library at Oxford: and it is remarkable, that in the book above mentioned, he apologises for admitting the poets into his collection. "Quare non negleximus fabulas Poetabum." Cap. xiii. p. 43. xviii. p. 57. xix. 58. But he is more complaisant to the prejudices of his age, where he says, that the laity are unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books. "Laici omnium librorum communione sunt indigni." Cap. xvii. p. 55. He prefers books of the liberal arts to treatises in law. Cap. xi. p. 41. He laments that good literature had entirely ceased in the university of Paris. Cap. ix. p. 38. He admits Panfletos exiguos into his library. Cap. viii. 30. He employed Stationarios and Librarios, not only in England, but in France, Italy, and Germany. Cap. x. p. 34. He regrets the total ignorance of the Greek language; but adds, that he has provided for the students of his library both Greek and Hebrew grammars. Ibid. p. 40. He calls Paris the paradise of the world, and says, that he purchased there a variety of invaluable volumes in all sciences, which yet were neglected and perishing. Cap. viii. p. 31. While chancellor and treaserver of England, instead of the usual presents and new-year's gifts appendant

to his office, he chose to receive those perquisites in books. By the favour of Edward the Third he gained access to the libraries of the most capital monasteries; where he shook off the dust from volumes preserved in chests and presses which had not been opened for many

ages. Ibid. 29, 30.

To this note it may be added from Bp. Godwin, (Cat. of Eng. Bishops, 1601. p. 524-5) as has been suggested by Mr. Dibdin, (Bibliom. 1811. p. 248.) that De Bury was the son of Sir Richard Angaruill, knt.; that he said of himself " exstatico quodam librorum amore potenter se abreptum "-that he was mightily carried away, and even beside himself, with immoderate love of books and desire of reading. He had always in his house many chaplains, all great scholars. His manner was at dinner and suppertime to have some good book read to him, whereof he would discourse with his chaplains a great part of the day following, if business interrupted not his course. He was very bountiful unto the poor: weekly he bestowed for their relief 8 quarters of wheat made into bread. beside the offal and fragments of his ta-Riding between Newcastle and Durham, he would give 81. in alms; and from Durham to Stockton 51., &c. He bequeathed a valuable library of MSS. to Durham, now Trinity, college, Oxford: and upon the completion of the room to receive them, they were put into pews or studies, and chained to them. See Gutch's edit. of Wood's Hist, of the Univ. of Oxf. ii. 911.—PARK.]

h Monast. Angl. i. p. 200. In the great revenue-roll of one year of John Gerveys, bishop of Winchester, I find expended "in parcheamento empto ad rotulos, vs." This was a considerable sum for such a commodity in the year 1266. But as the quantity or number of the rolls is not specified, no precise conclusion can be drawn. Comp. MS.

In consequence of the taste for letters and liberal studies introduced by the Normans, many of the monks became almost as good critics as catholics; and not only in France but in England, a great variety of Latin writers, who studied the elegancies of style, and the arts of classical composition, appeared soon after the Norman conquest. A view of the writers of this class who flourished in England for the two subsequent centuries, till the restless spirit of novelty brought on an attention to other studies, necessarily follows from what has been advanced, and naturally forms the conclusion of our present investigation.

Soon after the accession of the Conqueror, John commonly called Joannes Grammaticus, having studied polite literature at Paris, which not only from the Norman connection, but from the credit of its professors, became the fashionable university of our countrymen, was employed in educating the sons of the Norman and English nobility i. He wrote an explanation of Ovid's Metamorphosesk, and a treatise on the art of metre or versification 1. Among the manuscripts of the library of New College in Oxford, I have seen a book of Latin poetry, and many pieces in Greek, attributed to this writer^m. He fourished about the year 1070. In the reign of Henry the First, Laurence, prior of the church of Durham, wrote nine books of Latin elegies. But Leland, who had read all his works, prefers his compositions in oratory; and adds, that for

Compare Anderson, Comm. i. 153. sub 1313.

membran. in archiv. Wulves. Winton. and theologist. He flourished about A.D. 1250. Alexander Necham wrote in Metamorphosin Ovidii. Tann. Bibl. p. 540.

^{1 8}ee Bale, iv. 40.

Lintegumenta super Ovidii Metamorphoes. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. sup. A 1. Art. 86. Where it is given to Johannes Gullensis, a Franciscan friar of Oxford, ad afterwards a student at Paris. It is **MSS.** Digb. 104. fol. 323. we piece is extant under the name of this latter John, entitled, Expositiones tive meralitates in Lib.1. Metamorphoseos inc Fabularum, &c. Printed at Paris But this Johannes Guallensis neems to have been chiefly a philosopher

Another title of this piece is, Poetria magna Johannis Anglici, &c. Cantabr. MSS. More, 121. It is both in prose and verse. He begins with this panegyric on the university of Paris: "Parisiana jubar diffundit gloria clerus." He likewise wrote Compendium Grammalices.

^m MSS. Bibl. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 236, But these are said to belong to Joannes Philoponus. See Phot. Bibl. Cod. lxxv. Cave, p. 441. edit. 1.

an improvement in rhetoric and eloquence, he frequently exercised his talents in framing Latin defences on dubious cases which occurred among his friends. He likewise, amongst a variety of other elaborate pieces on saints, confessors, and holy virgins, in which he lumoured the times and his profession, composed a critical treatise on the method of writing Epistles, which appears to have been a favourite subject. He died in 1154°. About the same time Robert Dunstable, a monk of Saint Alban's, wrote an elegant Latin poem in elegiac verse, containing two books, on the life of Saint Alban. The first book is opened thus:

Albani celebrem cœlo terrisque triumphum Ruminat inculto carmine Clio rudis.

We are not to expect Leonine rhymes in these writers, which became fashionable some years afterwards. Their verses are

^a See what is said of John Hanvill below.

. O Lel. Script. Brit. p. 204, 205.

P It is a long poem, containing thirteen hundred and sixty lines.

In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. JUL. D. iii. 2. CLAUD. E. 4. There are more of his Latin poems on sacred subjects in the British Museum. But most of them are of an inferior composition, and, as I suppose, of another hand.

Leonine verses are said to have been invented and first used by a French monk of Saint Victor at Marseilles, named Leoninus, or Leonine, about the year 1135. Pasquier, Recherch. de la France, vii. 2. p. 596. 3. p. 600. It is however certain, that rhymed Latin verses were in use much earlier. I have before observed, that the Schola Salernitana was published 1100. See Massieu, Hist. Fr. Poes. p. 77. Fauchet, Rec. p. 52. 76. seq. And I have seen a Latin poem of four hundred lines, "Moysis Mutii Bergomatis de rebus Bergomensibus, Justiniani hujus nominia secundi Bysantii Imperatoris jussu conscriptum, anno a salute nostra 707." was the emperor's scribe or secretary. It begins thus:

Alme Deus, rector qui mundi regna gubernas,

Nec sinis absque modo sedes fluitare supernas.

It is at the end of "Achillis Mutii thea-trum. Bergomi, typis Comini Venturac, 1596." Pelloutier has given a very early specimen of Latin Rhymes, Mem. sur la Lang. Celt. part i. vol. i. ch. xii. p. 30. He quotes the writer of the Life of S. Faron, who relates, that Clotarius the Second, having conquered the Saxons in the beginning of the seventh century, commanded a Latin panegyrical song to be composed on that occasion, which was sung all over France. It is somewhat in the measure of their vernacular poetry, at that time made to be sung to the harp, and begins with this stanza.

De Clotario est canere rege Francorum Qui ivit pugnare cum gente Saxonum Quam graviter provenisset missis Saxonum

Si non fuisset inclitus Faro de gente Burgundionum.

Latin rhymes seem to have been first used in the church-hymne. But Leonine verses are properly the Rossan hexameters or pentameters rhymed. And

of a higher cast, and have a classical turn. The following line, which begins the second book, is remarkably flowing and harmonious, and much in the manner of Claudian.

Pieridum studiis claustri laxare rigorem.

Smoothness of versification was an excellence which, like their Saxon predecessors, they studied to a fault. Henry of Huntingdon, commonly known and celebrated as an historian, was likewise a terse and polite Latin poet of this period. He was educated under Alcuine of Anjou, a canon of Lincoln cathedral. His principal patrons were Aldwin and Reginald, both Normans, and abbots of Ramsey. His turn for poetry did not hinder his arriving to the dignity of an archdeacon. Leland mentions eight books of his epigrams, amatorial verses; and poems on philosophical subjects. The proem to his book De Herbis, has this elegant invocation,

Vatum magne parens, herbarum Phœbe repertor, Vosque, quibus resonant Tempe jocosa, deæ! Si mihi serta prius hedera florente parastis, Ecce meos flores, serta parate, fero.

it is not improbable that they took their name from the monk above mentioned, who was the most popular and almost only Latin poet of his time in France. He wrote many Latin pieces not in rhyme, and in a good style of Latin versification. Particularly a Latin heroic poem in twelve books, containing the history of the bible from the creation of the world to the story of Ruth. Also some elegies, which have a tolerable degree of classic purity Some suppose that pope Leo the Second, about the year 680, a great reformer of the chants and hymns of the church, invented this sort of verse.

It is remarkable that Bede, who lived in the eighth century, in his book DE ARTE METRICA, does not seem to have known that rhyme was a common ornament of the church-hymns of his time, many of which he quotes. See Opp. ten. i. 34. cap. penult. But this chapter, I think, is all taken from Marius Victo-

rinus, a much older writer. The hymns which Bede quotes are extremely barbarous, consisting of a modulated structure, or a certain number of feet without quantity, like the odes of the minstrels or scalds of that age. "Ut sunt," he says, "carmina vulgarium portarum." In the mean time we must not forget, that the early French troubadours mention a sort of rhyme in their vernacular poetry partly distinguished from the common species, which they call Leonine or Leonime. Thus Gualtier Arbalestrier de Belle-perche, in the beginning of his romance of Judas Maccabeus, written before the year 1280:

> Je ne di pas k' aucun biau dit Ni mette par faire la ryme Ou consonante ou leonime.

But enough has been said on a subject of so little importance.

* See Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 29.

Lel. Script. Brit. p. 197.

But Leland appears to have been most pleased with Henry's poetical epistle to Elsleda, the daughter of Alfredu. In the Bodleian library, is a manuscript Latin poem of this writer, on the death of king Stephen, and the arrival of Henry the Second in England, which is by no means contemptible w. He occurs as a witness to the charter of the monastery of Sautree in the year 1147x. Geoffrey of Monmouth was bishop of Saint Asaph in the year 11527. He was indefatigable in his enquiries after British antiquity; and was patronised and assisted in this pursuit by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a diligent antiquarian, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln². His credulity as an historian has been deservedly censured: but fabulous histories were then the fashion, and he well knew the recommendation his work would receive from comprehending all the popular traditions 2. His latinity rises far above mediocrity, and his Latin poem on Merlin is much applauded by Lelandb.

We must not judge of the general state of society by the more ingenious and dignified churchmen of this period; who seem to have surpassed by the most disproportionate degrees in point of knowledge, all other members of the community. Thomas of Becket, who belongs to the twelfth century, and his friends, in their epistles, distinguish each other by the appellation of philosophers, in the course of their correspondence. By the present diffusion of literature, even those who are illiterate are yet so intelligent as to stand more on a level with men of professed science and knowledge; but the learned ecclesiastics of those times, as is evident from many passages in their writings, appear, and not without reason, to have considered the rest of the world as totally immersed in ignorance and barbarity. A most distinguished ornament of this age

[&]quot; Ut supr.

MSS. Digb. 65. fol. 27. His writings are numerous, and of various kinds. In Trinity college library at Oxford there is a fine copy of his book *De imagine Mundi*. MSS. Cod. 64. pergamen. This is a very common manuscript.

Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 872. Wharton, Eccles. Assav. p. 306.

Leland, Script. Brit. p. 190.

^a See Sect. iii. infr. p. 127.

b In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. Trr. A. xix. Vespas. E. iv.

c See Quadrilog. Vit. T. Becket, Bruxell. 1682. 4to. And Concil. Mag. Brit. et Hib. tom. i. p. 441. Many of these epistles are still in manuscript.

was John of Salisbury^b. His style has a remarkable elegance and energy. His Policraticon is an extremely pleasant miscellany; replete with erudition, and a judgment of men and things, which properly belongs to a more sensible and reflecting period. His familiar acquaintance with the classics appears, not only from the happy facility of his language, but from the many citations of the purest Roman authors with which his works are perpetually interspersed. Montfaucon asserts, that some parts of the supplement to Petronius, published as a genuine and valuable discovery a few years ago, but since supposed to be spurious, are quoted in the POLICRA-TICON c. He was an illustrious rival of Peter of Blois, and the friend of many learned foreigners^d. I have not seen any specinens of his Latin poetry; but an able judge has pronounced, that nothing can be more easy, finished, and flowing than his verses f. He was promoted to high stations in the church by Henry the Second, whose court was crouded with scholars, and almost equalled that of his cotemporary William king of Sicily, in the splendor which it derived from encouraging erudition, and assembling the learned of various countries. Eadmer was a monk of Canterbury, and endeared by the brilliancy

"Studuit in Italia omnium bonarum artium facile post Græciam parente." Leland, Script. Brit. p. 207. But he likewise spent some time at Oxford. Policrat. viii. 22.

Bibl. MSS. There is an allusion to the Policraticon in the ROMAN DE LA

Rosz,

Et verras en Polichatique.

v. 7056.

Lel. ibid.

Except the Fable of the belly and members in long and short. Fabric. Med. Æv. iv. p. 877.

Lel. ut supr. p. 207.

See Leland, Script. Brit. p. 2:0. Henry the Second sent Gualterus, styled Auglicus, his chaplain, into Sicily, to instruct William king of Sicily in literature. William was so pleased with his master, that he made him archbishop of Palermo. Bale, xiii. 73. He died in 1177. Peter of Blois was Gualter's

coadjutor; and he tells us, that he taught William the rudiments "versificatoriæ artis et literatoriæ," Epist. Petr. Blesens. ad Gualt. Pitts mentions a piece of Gualterus De linguæ Latinæ rudimentis, p. 141. There is a William of Blois, cotemporary with Peter and his brother, whom I mention here, as he appears to have written what were called Comædiæ et Tragædiæ, and to have been preferred to an abbacy in Sicily. [See SECT. vi. inf. vol. ii. p. 67. Peter mentions this William in his Epistles, "Illud nobile ingenium fratris mei magistri Gulielmi, quandoque in scribendis Comœdiis et Tragordiis quadam occupatione servili degenerans," &c. Epist. lxxvi. And again to the said William, "Nomen vestrum diuturniore memoria quam quatuor abhatiæ commendabile reddent Tragredia vestra de Flaura et Marco, versus de Pulicz et Musca, Comædia vestra de Alda," &c. Epist. xciii.

of his genius, and the variety of his literature, to Anselm, bishop of that see h. He was an elegant writer of history, exceeded in the artifices of composition, and the choice matter, by his cotemporary William of Malmesbury. 31 latter was a monk of Malmesbury, and it reflects no min honour on his fraternity that they elected him their librarian His merits as an historian have been justly displayed and commended by lord Lyttelton 1. But his abilities were !confined to prose. He wrote many pieces of Latin positi and it is remarkable, that almost all the professed writers prose of this age made experiments in verse. His patron Robert earl of Glocester; who, amidst the violent civil motions which disquieted the reign of King Stephen, for leisure and opportunity to protect and promote literary men Till Malmesbury's works appeared, Bede had been the and principal writer of English history. But a general spin writing history, owing to that curiosity which more political manners introduce to an acquaintance with the antient him rians, and to the improved knowledge of a language in whi facts could be recorded with grace and dignity, was now in vailing. Besides those I have mentioned, Simeon of Durk Roger Hoveden, and Benedict abbot of Peterborough, historians whose narratives have a liberal cast, and whose tails rise far above the dull uninteresting precision of pate annalists and regular chronologers. John Hanvill, a more Saint Alban's, about the year 1190, studied rhetoric at Page 1 and was distinguished for his taste even among the numerous and polite scholars of that flourishing seminary m. His Anc TRENIUS is a learned, ingenious, and very entertaining formance. It is a long Latin poem in nine books, dedicate to Walter bishop of Rouen. The design of the work may

patronised by Anselm. Script. p. 185.

Lel p. 195. But see Wharton, Le Sacr. ii. Præf. p. xii.

* In his History of Henry the See | See Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 661.

^{nt} Lel. p. 259.

h Leland, Script. Brit. p. 179. There is a poem De Laudines Ansethe, and an epicedion on that prelate, commonly ascribed to Eadmer. See Fabric. Bibl. Med. Lat. p. 210. seq. Leland doubts whether these pieces belong to him or to William of Chester, a learned monk,

partly conjectured from its affected Greek title: but it is, on the whole, a mixture of satire and panegyric on public vice and virtue, with some historical digressions. In the exordium is the following nervous and spirited address:

Tu Cyrrhæ latices nostræ, deus, implue menti; Eloquii rorem siccis infunde labellis: Distillaque favos, quos nondum pallidus auro Scit Tagus, aut sitiens admotis Tantalus undis: Dirige quæ timide suscepit dextera, dextram Audacem pavidamque juva: Tu mentis habenas Fervoremque rege, &c.

In the fifth book the poet has the following allusions to the fables of Corineus, Brutus, king Arthur, and the population of Britain from Troy. He seems to have copied these traditions from Geoffrey of Monmouthⁿ.

- Tamen Architrenius instat, Et genus et gentem quærit studiosius: illi Tros genus, et gentem tribuit Lodonesia, nutrix Præbuit irriguam morum Cornubia mammam, Post odium fati, Phrygiis inventa: Smaraudus Hanc domitor mundi Tyrinthius, alter Achilles, Atridæque timor Corinæus, serra gygantum, Clavaque monstrifera, sociæ delegit alumnam Omnigenam Trojæ, pluvioque fluviflua lacte Filius exilio fessæ dedit ubera matri. A quo dicta prius Corineia, dicitur aucto Tempore corrupte Cornubia nominis hæres. Ille gygantæos attritis ossibus artus Implicuit letho, Tyrrheni littoris hospes, Indomita virtute gygas; non corpore mole Ad medium pressa, nec membris densior æquo, Sarcina terrifica tumuit Titania mente. Ad Ligeris ripas Aquitanos fudit, et amnes Francorum potuit lacrymis, et cæde vadoque

[&]quot; See Hist. Galfrid. Mon. i. zi. zvi. zvii. &c.

Sanguinis ense ruens, satiavit rura, togaque Punicea vestivit agros, populique verendi Grandiloquos fregit animosa cuspide fastus. Integra, nec dubio bellorum naufraga fluctu, Nec vice suspecta titubanti saucia fato, Indilata dedit subitam victoria laurum. Inde dato cursu, Bruto comitatus Achate, Gallorum spolio cumulatus, navibus æquor Exarat, et superis auraque faventibus utens, Litora felices intrat Tolonesia portus: Promissumque soli gremium monstrante Diana, Incolumi census loculum ferit Albion alno. Hæc cadem Bruto regnante Britannia nomen Traxit in hoc tempus: solis Titanibus illa, Sed paucis, habitata domus; quibus uda ferarum Terga dabant vestes, cruor haustus pocula, trunci Antra lares, dumeta toros, cænacula rupes, Prada cibos, raptus venerem, spectacula cædes, Imperium vires, animum furor, impetus arma, Mortem pugna, sepulchra rubus; monstrisque gemeb-Monticolis tellus: sed eorum plurima tractus Pars erat occidui terror; majorque premebat Te furor extremum zephyri, Cornubia, limen. Hos avidum belli Corinæi robur Averno Præcipites misit; cubitis ter quatuor altum Gogmagog Herculea suspendit in aere lucta, Anthæumque suum scopulo demisit in æquor: Potavitque dato Thetis ebria sanguine fluctus, Divisumque tulit mare corpus, Cerberus umbram. Nobilis a Phrygiæ tanto Cornubia gentem Sanguine derivat, successio cujus Iulus In generis partem recipit complexa Pelasgam Anchisæque domum: ramos hinc Pandrasus, inde Sylvius extendit, socioque a sidere sidus Plenius effundit triplicatæ lampadis ignes. Hoc trifido sola Corinæi postera mundum

ITRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND. CIVIL

iat pubes, quartique puerpera Phœbi t Arthurum, facie dum falsus adulter el irrumpit, nec amoris. Pendragon æstu et omnificas Merlini consulit artes, irque ducis habitus, et rege latente absentis præsentia Gorlois ora.

alse glare of expression, and no great justness of these verses; but they are animated, and flow in poetry. They are pompous and sonorous; but have been reckoned beauties even in polished ages. book our author thus characterises the different satires of Horace and Persius:

in Flacci pelago decurrit, et audet asse stylum satyræ, serraque cruentus et ignorat polientem pectora limam.

book he describes the happy parsimony of the nonks:

ta, o felix, albis galeata cucullis, paupertas! Nudo jejunia pastu diu solvens, nec corruptura palatum e mensæ. Bacchus convivia nullo re conturbat, nec sacra cubilia mentis

ears to have been much part of the antient Brind to have designed it of an epic poem. Eri, v. 162.

iias Rutupina per æquora

ndrasidos regnum vetus

rviragumque duces, priselinum,

moricos Britonum sub

Arturo, fatali fraude,

is, assumptaque Gorlois

P Juvenal is also cited by John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Vincentius Bellovacensis, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the middle ages. They often call him ETHICUS. See particularly Petr. Bles. Epist. Ixxvii. lines from Juvenal are cited by Honorius Augustodunus, a priest of Burgundy, who wrote about 1900, in his De Philosophia Mundi, Præfat. ad lib. iv. The tenth satire of Juvenal is quoted by Chaucerin Troilus and Cresseide, b. iv. v. 197. pag. 307. edit. Urr. There is an old Italian metaphrase of Juvenal done in 1475, and published soon afterwards, by Georgio Summaripa, of Verona. Giornale de Letterati d'Italia, tom. viii. p. 41. Juvenal was printed at Rome as early as 1474.

ton's Mansus, v. 80.

Inquinat adventu. Stomacho languente ministrat Solennes epulas ventris gravis hospita Thetis, Et paleis armata Ceres. Si tertia mensæ Copia succedat, truncantur oluscula, quorum Offendit macies oculos, pacemque meretur, Deterretque famem pallenti sobria cultu. 9

Among Digby's manuscripts in the Bodleian library, are Hanvill's Latin epigrams, epistles, and smaller poems, many of which have considerable merit. They are followed by a metrical tract, entitled DE Epistolarum Compositione. But this piece is written in rhyme, and seems to be posterior to the age, at least inferior to the genius, of Hanvill. He was buried in the abbey church of Saint Alban's, soon after the year 1200'. Gyraldus Cambrensis deserves particular regard for the universality of his works, many of which are written with some degree of elegance. He abounds with quotations of the best Latin poets. He was an historian, an antiquary, topographer, a divine, a philosopher, and a poet. His love of science was so great, that he refused two bishopricks; and from the midst of public business, with which his politice talents gave him a considerable connection in the court of Richard the First, he retired to Lincoln for seven years, with a design of pursuing theological studies t. He recited his booling on the topography of Ireland in public at Oxford, for three days successively. On the first day of this recital he enter tained all the poor of the city; on the second, all the doctors in the several faculties, and scholars of better note; and on the third, the whole body of students, with the citizens and soldiers of the garrison u. It is probable that this was a ceremony practised on the like occasion in the university of Paris";

^q There are two manuscripts of this p. 286. This edition I have never seen, poem, from which I transcribe, in the and believe it to be an extremely scarce Bodleian library. MSS. Digb. 64. and book. 157. One of these has a gloss, but not hat of Hugo Legatus, mentioned by Baillet, Jugem. Sav. iv. p. 257. edit. 4to. This poem is said to have been printed at Paris 1517. 4to. Bibl. Thuan. tom. ii.

^r Cod. Digb. 64. ut supr.

Bale, iii. 49.

^t Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 374.

[&]quot; Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ.Oxon. i. 56.

W But Wood insinuates, that this

where Giraldus had studied for twenty years, and where he had been elected professor of canon law in the year 1189*. His account of Wales was written in consequence of the observations he made on that country, then almost unknown to the English, during his attendance on an archiepiscopal visitation. I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing from this book his picture of the romantic situation of the abbey of Lentony in Monmouthshire. I will give it in English, as my meaning is merely to show how great a master the author was of that selection of circumstances which forms an agreeable description, and which could only flow from a cultivated mind. "In the deep vale of Ewias, which is about a bowshot over, and enclosed on all sides with high mountains, stands the

emptuous entertainment was partly given by Gyraldus, as an inceptor in the ata. Ubi supr. p. 25. col. 1. Which practice I have mentioned, SECT. ix. vol. ii. 1 126. infr. And I will here add other estances, especially as they are proofs of the estimation in which letters, at hast literary honours, were held. In the year 1268, the inceptors in civil law **■ Oxford were so numerous, and attend**ed by such a number of guests, that the academical houses or hostels were not **reficient** for their accommodation: and the company filled not only these, but even the refectory, cloisters, and many spartments of Oseney abbey, near the suburbs of Oxford. At which time many Italians studying at Oxford were admitted in that faculty. Wood, ubi supr. **p. 25. col. 1.** It appears that the mayor and citizens of Oxford were constantly invited to these solemnities. In the year 1400, two monks of the priory of Christ Church in Canterbury were severally admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity and civil law at Oxford. The expences were paid by their monastery, and amounted to 1181. 3s. 8d. Registr. Priorat. pergamen. MSS. Tanner, Oxon. Num. 165. fol. 212. a. Among other articles there is, "In solutione facta Histrionibus." fol. 213. a. [See that it was ordered in the year 1434, V. i. 323. seq. that no inceptor in arts should expend

more than "3000 grossos Turonenses." Vet. Stat. See Leland, Coll. P. ii. tom. i. p. 296, 297. edit. 1770. But the limitation was a considerable sum. Each is somewhat less than an English groat. Notwithstanding, Neville, afterwards archbishop of York, on his admission to the degree of master of arts in 1452, feasted the academics and many strangers for two successive days, at two entertainments, consisting of nine hundred costly dishes. Wood, ibid. 219. col. 1. 2. Nor was this reverence to learning, and attention to its institutions, confined to the circle of our universities. Such was the pedantry of the times, that in the year 1503, archbishop Wareham, chancellor of Oxford, at his feast of inthronisation, ordered to be introduced in the first course a curious dish, in which were exhibited the eight towers of the university. In every tower stood a bedell; and under the towers were figures of the king, to whom the chancellor Wareham, encircled with many doctors properly habited, presented four Latin verses, which were answered by his majesty. The eight towers were those of Merton, Magdalene, and New College, and of the monasteries of Oseney, Rewley, the Dominican, Augustine, and Franciscan friars, which five last are now utterly SECT. ii. p. 95. infr.] At length these destroyed. Wood, ubi supr. lib. i. p. 239. scholastic banquets grew to such excess, col. i. Compare Robertson's Charles destroyed. Wood, ubi supr. lib. i. p. 239. Wharton, ibid.

abbey church of Saint John, a structure covered with lead, ar not unhandsomely built for so lonesome a situation: on u very spot, where formerly stood a small chapel dedicated Saint David, which had no other ornaments than green mo and ivy. It is a situation fit for the exercise of religion; are a religious edifice was first founded in this sequestered retre to the honour of a solitary life, by two hermits, remote from t noise of the world, upon the banks of the river Hondy, whi winds through the midst of the valley.—The rains which mour tainous countries usually produce, are here very frequent, L. winds exceedingly tempestuous, and the winters almost co tinually dark. Yet the air of the valley is so happily tempere as scarcely to be the cause of any diseases. The monks sitti in the cloisters of the abbey, when they chuse for a momentarefreshment to cast their eyes abroad, have on every side pleasing prospect of mountains ascending to an immense heig with numerous herds of wild deer feeding aloft on the high extremity of this lofty horizon. The body of the sun is visible above the hills till after the meridian hour, even when the air is most clear." Giraldus adds, that Roger bishop of lisbury, prime minister to Henry the First, having visited place, on his return to court told the king, that all the trease. of his majesty's kingdom would not suffice to build such anoth cloister. The bishop explained himself by saying, that meant the circular ridge of mountains with which the vale Ewias was enclosed. Alexander Neckham was the frience the associate, and the correspondent of Peter of Blois alress mentioned. He received the first part of his education in abbey of Saint Alban's, which he afterwards completed Paris z. His compositions are various, and croud the dependent ment of manuscripts in our public libraries. He has left = 20 merous treatises of divinity, philosophy, and morality: but was likewise a poet, a philologist, and a grammarian. wrote a tract on the mythology of the antient poets, Esop an

Girald, Cambrens, Itin, Camaa, Lib, i. c. 3, p. 89, seq. Lond, 1585, 12200.

Lel. Script, Brit. p. 240, seq.

fables, and a system of grammar and rhetoric. I have seen his elegiac poem on the monastic life², which contains some finished lines. But his capital piece of Latin poetry is On the Praise of DIVINE WISDOM, which consists of seven books. In the introduction he commemorates the innocent and unreturning pleasures of his early days, which he passed among the learned monks of Saint Alban's, in these perspicuous and unaffected elegiacs.

— Claustrum Martyris Albani sit tibi tuta quies. Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit, Annos felices, lætitiæque dies. Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit. Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos, Felix eximio martyre, gente, situ. Militat hic Christo, noctuque dieque labori Indulget sancto religiosa cohors. b

Neckham died abbot of Cirencester in the year 1217°. was much attached to the studious repose of the monastic prolession, yet he frequently travelled into Italy d. Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, has been very happily styled the Ana-Greon of the eleventh century. He studied at Paris. His Tein was chiefly festive and satiricals: and as his wit was frequently levelled against the corruptions of the clergy, his poems often appeared under fictitious names, or have been ascribed to others h. The celebrated drinking ode i of this genial archdescon has the regular returns of the monkish rhyme: but they are here applied with a characteristical propriety, are so happily invented, and so humourously introduced, that they

^b Apud Lel. Script. Brit. p. 240.

^{*} Willis, Mitr. Abb. i. 61, 62.

⁴ Lel. ibid.

[•] Lord Lyttclton's Hist. Hen. II. Not. B. ii. p. 133. 4to.

See infr. Secr. il. p. 67.

Tanner, Bibl. p. 507.

Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 65. f. 18. h Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 706. Compare Tanner, Bibl. 351. 507. In return, many pieces went under the name of our author. As, for instance, De Thetide et de Lyceo, which is a ridiculous piece of scurrility. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 166. f. 104.

See Camd. Rem. p. 436. RYTHML

not only suit the genius but heighten the spirit of the piece.

He boasts that good wine inspires him to sing verses equal those of Ovid. In another Latin ode of the same kind, attacks with great liveliness the new injunction of pope Interest, concerning the celibacy of the clergy; and hopes the every married priest with his bride, will say a pater noster the soul of one who had thus hazarded his salvation in the defence.

Ecce jam pro clericis multum allegavi, Necnon pro presbyteris plura comprobavi: PATER NOSTER nunc pro me, quoniam peccavi, Dicat quisque Presbyter, cum sua Suavi.¹

But a miracle of this age in classical composition was Joseph of Exeter, commonly called Josephus Iscanus. He wrote two epic poems in Latin heroics. The first is on the Trojan War; it is in six books, and dedicated to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury^m. The second is entitled Antiochers, the War

Curialism is given to Mapes. MSS. Arch. B. 52. It was written A.D. 1182. As appears from Destinct. iv. cap. 1. It is in five books. Many Latin poems in this manuscript are given to Mapes. One in particular, written in a flowing style, in short lines, preserving no fixed metrical rule, which seems to have been intended for singing. In another manuscript I find various pieces of Latin poetry, by some attributed to Mapes, Bihl. Bodl. NE. F. iii. Some of these are in a good taste. Camden has printed his Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum. Rem. p. 43%. It is written in a sort of Anacreontic verse, and has some humour. It is in MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. ut supr. 166. See also Camd. ibid. p. 437.

[It appears from several of the MS. copies of Lancelot du Lac, Le Saint Graal, and other romances, that Walter de Mapes translated them into French prose, at the instance of Henry II. He also composed the Mort Artur at the particular desire of that monarch, Many

of his poems remain in MS. (See Index to Harl. MSS.) Some of them have been printed in Leyser, Hist, Poetarus medu avi, în Flacius de corrupts esciesim statu. Basil 1557, and in Wolfd Lectiones memorabiles. There is nave. to suppose that a piece entitled vanouily as follows, was written by him Vista lamentabilis cujusdam heremice super disceptatione animie contra corpus-Disputatio inter corpus et animem alle cujus replati et dannan i Conficia inter corpus et animam. See Harl MSS. 978. 2851. Cotton MSS. Titus, 4. 12.

—Douce.] [There is however reset to believe that Mapes only gave a Land version of a very popular theme the same idea exemplified in . Saton poem from the Exon MS, given by Mr. Convbeare in the Archeologis, vol. 17.-Entr.]

1 Camd. Rem. ut supr.

at Basil, but very corruptly, in the very 1541. Svo. under the name of Connelius Nepot. The existence and part of this poem seem to have been utter.

of Antioch, or the Crusade; in which his patron the archbishop was an actor. The poem of the Trojan war is founded on Dares Phrygius, a favorite fabulous historian of that time. The diction of this poem is generally pure, the periods round, and the numbers harmonious: and on the whole, the structure of the versification approaches nearly to that of polished Latin poetry. The writer appears to have possessed no common command of poetical phraseology, and wanted nothing but a knowledge of the Virgilian chastity. His style is a mixture of Ovid, Statius, and Claudian, who seem then to have been the popular patterns. But a few specimens will best illustrate this criticism. He thus, in a strain of much spirit and dignity,

wknown in England when Leland wote. He first met with a manuscript copy of it by mere accident in Magdalen college library at Oxford. He never had even heard of it before. He afterwards found two more copies at Paris. But these were all impersect, and without the name of the author, except a margihint. At length he discovered a complete copy of it in the library of Thorney abbey in Cambridgeshire, which seems to have ascertained the auwas name, but not his country. Script. This. p. 238. The neglect of this poem cong our ancestors, I mean in the ages which followed Iscanus, appears from www.manuscripts of it now remaining in England. Leland, who searched all braries, could find only two. There ** present one in the church of Westinter. Another in Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 157. That in Magdalen college is MSS. The best edition is at the end "Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius, Sereniss. Delph. cum Interpret. A Dacerize, &c. Amstæl. 1702." 4to. all the printed copies have omitted Penges which I find in the Digby ma-Particularly they omit, in the dress to Baldwin, four lines after v. 32. i. Thirteen lines, in which the poet studes to his intended Antiocheis, are witted before v. 962. lib. vi. Nor have the verses in which he compliments Henry the Second, said by Leland to be at the end of the fourth book, Script. Brit. p. 238. The truth is, these pas-

sages would have betrayed their first editor's pretence of this poem being written by Cornelius Nepos. As it is, he was obliged in the address to Baldwin, to change Cantia, Kent, into Tantia; for which he substitutes Pontia in the margin, as an ingenious conjecture.

* Leland, p. 224, 225.

O The manuscript at Magdalen college, mentioned by Leland, is entitled Dares Phrygius de bello Trojano. Lel. p. 236. As also MSS. Digb. supr. citat. But see Sect. iii. p. 140. infr.

p Statius is cited in the epistles of Stephen of Tournay, a writer of the twelfth century. "Divinam ejus responsionem, ut Thebais Æneida, longs sequor, et vestigia semper adoro." Hedied in 1200. Eristolæ, Paris. 1611. 4to. Epist. v. p. 535. On account of the variety of his matter, and the facility of his manner, none of the antient poets are more frequently cited in the writers of the dark ages than Ovid. His FASTI seems to have been their favorite: a work thus admirably characterised by an ingenious French writer. "Les Fastes d'Ovide renferment plus d'erudition qu'aucun autre ouvrage de l'antiquité. C'est le chef d'œuvre de ce poete, et une espece de devotion paienne." Vigneul Marville, Misc. Hist. et Lit. tom. ii. p. 306. A writer of the thirteenth century, Dr. Mirabilibus Rome, published by Montfaucon, calls this work MARTYnologium Ovidii de Fastis Monts. Diar. Italic. c. xx. p. 295.

addresses king Henry the Second, who was going to the holy war, the intended subject of his Antiocheis.

Tuque, oro, tuo da, maxime, vati
Ire iter inceptum, Trojamque aperire jacentem:
Te sacræ assument acies, divinaque bella,
Tunc dignum majore tuba; tunc pectore toto
Nitar, et immensum mecum spargere per orbem.

The tomb or mausoleum of Teuthras is feigned with a brikliancy of imagination and expression; and our poet's classiceideas seem here to have been tinctured with the description some magnificent oriental palace, which he had seen in the romances of his age.

Regia conspicuis moles inscripta figuris
Exceptura ducem, senis affulta columnis,
Tollitur: electro vernat basis, arduus auro
Ardet apex, radioque stylus candescit eburno.

—Gemmæ quas littoris Indi
Dives arena tegit, aurum quod parturit Hermus,
In varias vivunt species, ditique decorum
Materie contendit opus: quod nobile ductor
Quod clarum gessit, ars explicat, ardua pandit
Moles, et totum reserat sculptura tyrannum.

He thus describes Penthesilea and Pyrrhus:

Eminet, horrificas rapiens post terga secures, Virginei regina chori: non provida cultus Cura trahit, non forma juvat, frons aspera, vestis Discolor, insertumque armis irascitur aurum. Si visum, si verba notes, si lumina pendas, Nil leve, nil fractum: latet omni fœmina facto. Obvius ultrices accendit in arma cohortes, Myrmidonasque suos, curru prævectus anhelo, Pyrrhus, &c.

Voltaire has expressed his admiration of the happy choice of subject which Tasso made. We here see a poet of an

age much earlier than Tasso celebrating the same sort of expedition.

Lib. 1, 47.

Lib. iv. 451.

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND. CIXV

——Meritosque offensus in hostes Arma patris, nunc ultor, habet: sed tanta recusant Pondera crescentes humeri, majoraque cassis Colla petit, breviorque manus vix colligit hastam.

Afterwards a Grecian leader, whose character is invective, insults Penthesilea, and her troop of heroines, with these representations.

Tunc sic increpitans, Pudeat, Mars inclyte, dixit:
En! tua signa gerit, quin nostra effœminat arma
Staminibus vix apta manus. Nunc stabitis hercle
Perjuræ turres; calathos et pensa puellæ
Plena rotant, sparguntque colos. Hoc milite Troja,
His fidit telis. At non patiemur Achivi:
Etsi turpe viris timidas calcare puellas,
Ibo tamen contra. Sic ille: At virgo loquacem
Tarda sequi sexum, velox ad prælia, solo
Respondet jaculo^u, &c.——

will add one of his comparisons. The poet is speaking of the reluctant advances of the Trojans under their new leader tempon, after the fall of Hector:

Qualiter Hyblæi mellita pericula reges, Si signis iniere datis, labente tyranno Alterutro, viduos dant agmina stridula questus; Et, subitum vix nacta ducem, metuentia vibrant Spicula, et imbelli remeant in prælia rostro.

His Antiocheis was written in the same strain, and had equal merit. All that remains of it is the following fragment, in which the poet celebrates the heroes of Britain, and particularly king Arthur.

^t Lib. vi. p. 589.

" Lib. vi. 609. " Lib. vi. 19.

Camd. Rem. p. 410. Porms. See also Camd. Brit. Leland having learned from the Bellum Trojanum that Josephus had likewise written a poem on the Crusade, searched for it in many places, but without success. At length

he found a piece of it in the library of Abingdon abbey in Berkshire. "Cum excuterem pulverem et tineas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ." Ut supr. p. 238. Here he discovered that Josephus was a native of Exeter, which city was highly celebrated in that fragment.

— Inclyta fulsit Posteritas ducibus tantis, tot dives alumnis, Tot fæcunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem Et fama veteres. Hinc Constantinus adeptus Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit. Hinc, Schonum ductor, captiva Brennius urbe" Romuleas domuit flammis victricibus arces. Hinc et Scæva satus, pars non obscura tumultus Civilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus. Hinc, celebri fato, felici floruit ortu, Flos regum Arthurus", cujus tamen acta stupori Non micuere minus: totus quod in aure voluptas, Et populo plaudente favor*. Quecunque priorum Inspice: Pellæum commendat fama tyrannum, Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romana triumphos; Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstris; Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem Æquant. Annales Graios Latiosque revolve, Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes: Solus præteritis melior, majorque futuris.

Camden asserts, that Joseph accompanied king Richard First to the holy land 2, and was an eye-witness of that herose monarch's exploits among the Saracens, which afterwards be celebrated in the Antiochers. Leland mentions his love verses and epigrams, which are long since perished. He flourished in the year 1210'.

* f. "Captiva Brennus in."

From this circumstance, Pits absurdly recites the title of this poem thus, Antiochers in Regem Arthurum, Jos. Isc.

* The text seems to be corrupt in this sentence. Or perhaps somewhat is wanting. I have changed fanus, which is in Camden, into fatur.

3 f. quemennque.

Rem. ut supr. p. 407.

graphers mention Panegyricum in Bern raum. But the notion of this portal seems to have taken r'se from the verses on Henry the Second, quoted by land from the Bellum Trojanum. is likewise said to have written in Lates. verse De Institutione Cyri.

h Italy had at that t me produced to

writer comparable to Iscanus,

Bale, il. 60. Compare Dreamus Prefixed to the De Pen-

There seems to have been a rival spirit of writing Latin heroic poems about this period. In France, Guillaume le Breton, or William of Bretagny, about the year 1230, wrote Latin heroic poem on Philip Augustus king of France about the commencement of the thirteenth century, in twelve books, entitled Philippis^d. Barthius gives a prodigious character of is poem; and affirms that the author, a few gallicisms exepted, has expressed the facility of Ovid with singular hapiness. The versification much resembles that of Joseph Isnus. He appears to have drawn a great part of his materials Tom Roger Hoveden's annals. But I am of opinion, that the HILIPPID is greatly exceeded by the ALEXANDREID of Philip Sualtier de Chatillon, who flourished likewise in France, and was provost of the canons of Tournay, about the year 1200 f. This poem celebrates the actions of Alexander the Great, is Tounded on Quintus Curtius⁸, consists of ten books, and is edicated to Guillerm archbishop of Rheims. To give the reader an oportunity of comparing Gualtier's style and manher with those of our countryman Josephus, I will transcribe a few specimens from a beautiful and antient manuscript of the ALEXANDREID in the Bodleian library b. This is the exordium:

> Gesta ducis Macedum totum digesta per orbem, Quam large dispersit opes, quo milite Porum. Vicit aut Darium; quo principe Græcia victrix Risit, et a Persis rediere tributa Corinthum, Musa, refer.

TROJANO. Francof. 1620. 4to. Mr. Wise, the late Radcliffe librarian, told me that a manuscript of the Antiocheis was in the library of the duke of Chandois at Canona.

He wrote it at fifty-five years of age. PRILIPP. lib. iii. v. 381. It was first printed in Pithou's "Eleven Historians of France," Francof. 1536. fol. Next in Du Chesne, Scripp. Franc. tom. v. p. 93. Paris. 1694. fol. But the best edition is with Barthius's notes, Cygn. 1657. 4to. Brito says in the Philippis, that he wrote a poem called Karloppis, in praise of

Petri Carlotti sui, then not fifteen years old. Philipp. lib. i. v. 10. This poem was never printed, and is hardly known.

In Not. p. 7. See also Adversar. xliii. 7. He prefers it to the ALEXANDREIS mentioned below, in Not. p. 528. See Mem. Lit. viii. 536. edit. 4to.

f It was first printed, Argent. 1513. 8vo. And two or three times since.

See infr. SECT. iii. p. 143. And Barth.

h MSS. Digb. 52. 4to.

1 fol. 1. a.

A beautiful rural scene is thus described:

Laurus odoriferas celabat crinibus herbas:
Sæpe sub hac memorant carmen sylvestre canentes
Nympharum vidisse choros, Satyrosque procaces.
Fons cadit a læva, quem cespite gramen obumbrat
Purpureo, verisque latens sub veste jocatur,
Rivulus et lento rigat inferiora meatu,
Garrulus, et strepitu facit obsurdescere montes.
Hic mater Cybele Zephyrum tibi, Flora, maritans,
Pullulat, et vallem fœcundat gratia fontis.
Qualiter Alpinis spumoso vortice saxis
Descendit Rhodanus, ubi Maximianus Eoos
Extinxit cuneos, cum sanguinis unda meatum
Fluminis adjuvit.

He excells in similies. Alexander, when a stripling, is thus compared to a young lion:

Qualiter Hyrcanis cum forte leunculis arvis
Cornibus elatos videt ire ad pabula cervos,
Cui nondum totos descendit robur in artus,
Nec bene firmus adhuc, nec dentibus asper aduncis,
Palpitat, et vacuum ferit improba lingua palatum;
Effunditque prius animis quam dente cruorem. k

The ALEXANDREID soon became so popular, that Henry of Gaunt, archdeacon of Tournay, about the year 1330, complains that this poem was commonly taught in the rhetorical schools, instead of Lucan¹ and Virgil^m. The learned Charpentier

* fol. xiii. a. * fol. xxi, a.

* Here, among many other proofs which might be given, and which will occur hereafter, is a proof of the establishment in which Lucan was held during the middle ages. He is quited by Geotfrey of Monmouth and John of Salisbury, writers of the eleventh century. Hist, But, iv. 9. and Policrat, p. 21% establishment, with the carry as an anonymous linking translation of Lucan, as early as

the year 1810. The Italians have also Lucano in colgare, by cardinal Montichelli, at Milan 1492. It is in the octave rime, and in ten books. But the translator has so much departed from the original, as to form a sort of romance of his own. He was translated into Spanish prose, I no mo poet a y historiador antiquo, by Marun Lusse de Orespe, at Antwerp, 1585. Lucan was first printed in the year 1469. And before the year 1500.

Tholouse, dated 1328, in which the professors of grammar re directed to read to their pupils "De Historiis Alexandri"." Among which I include Gualtier's poem. It is quoted as a smiliar classic by Thomas Rodburn, a monkish chronicler, who wrote about the year 1420°. An anonymous Latin poet, eemingly of the thirteenth century, who has left a poem on he life and miracles of Saint Oswald, mentions Homer, Gualter, and Lucan, as the three capital heroic poets. Homer, e says, has celebrated Hercules, Gualtier the son of Philip, and Lucan has sung the praises of Cesar. But, adds he; these troes much less deserve to be immortalised in verse, than the eds of the holy confessor Oswald.

In nova fert animus antiquas vertere prosas Carmina, &c.

Alciden hyperbolice commendat Homerus, Gualterus pingit torvo Philippida vultu, Cæsareas late laudes Lucanus adauget: Tres illi famam meruerunt, tresque poetas Auctores habuere suos, multo magis autem Oswaldi regis debent insignia dici. q

do not cite this writer as a proof of the elegant versification wich had now become fashionable, but to shew the popularity the Alexandreid, at least among scholars. About the ar 1206, Gunther a German, and a Cistercian monk of the

were six other editions of this wic, whose declamatory manner rented him very popular. He was publed at Paris in French in 1500. Labb. bl. p. 339.

See Hen. Gandav. Monasticon. 22 and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ii. 218. Ima de Insulis, who died in 1202, in poem called Anti-claudianus, a tin poem of nine books, much in the mer of Claudian, and written in dece of divine providence against a nage in that poet's Rufinus, thus seeks the rising reputation of the EXAMPARID:

were six other editions of this Mævius in cælis ardens os ponere muwic, whose declamatory manner ren-

GESTA DUCIS MACEDUM, tenebrosi carminis umbra,

Dicere dum tentat.

ⁿ Suppl. Du Cang. Lat. Gloss. tom. ii. p. 1255. V. Metrefficatura. By which barbarous word they signified the Art of poetry, or rather the Art of writing Latin verses.

° See SECT. iil. p. 132. infr.

P Hist. Maj. Winton. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 242.

q I will add some of the exordial lines almost immediately following, as they

diocese of Basil, wrote an heroic poem in Latin verse, entitle LIGURINUS, which is scarce inferior to the PHILIPPID of God laume le Breton, or the ALEXANDREID of Gualtier: but not a polished and classical as the Trojan War of our Josephan Iscanus. It is in ten books, and the subject is the war of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa against the Milanese in Light ria q. He had before written a Latin poem on the expedition of the emperor Conrade against the Saracens, and the reco very of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bullaga, which he called SOLYMARIUM'. The subject is much like the of the Antiocheis; but which of the two pieces was writes first it is difficult to ascertain.

While this spirit of classical Latin poetry was universally prevailing, our countryman Geoffrey de Vinesauf, an accom-

contain names, and other circumstances, which perhaps may lead to point out the age if not the name of the author. They were never before printed.

Tu quoque digneris, precor, aspirare labors

Flos cleri, Martinz, meo; qui talis es

Abhates, qualis est patronus tuus inter Pontifices . hic est primas, to primus eorum, &c.

Hic per Aidanum sus munificentia mu-

Illi promervit, &c.

Tuque benigne Prior, primes, et prime

Qui cleri, Rogene, rosam geris, annue vati, &c.

Tuque Sacrista, sacris instans, qui jure

Symon, id est humilis, quo nemo benigmor alter

Abbatis præcepta sui velocius audit, Tardius obloquitur, qui tot mea car-

IR DA SETVAS Sertpia volumimbus, nec plura requirere

Præteritos laudas, præsentes delige ver-

The manuscript is Hild, Bodl, A. 1.2. B. (Laugh, 5, p. 6.) Thurpiere begins at C 57 Other pieces precede, in Latin. posstry on Viral Sancroaux. T. Becker.

Qui moritur ? Præsul. Cur? pro 6mp. Sec.

Prol. pr. f. 29.

Detineant alios Parnassi cultuins Cp

Plausus, Pieridum voz, Heliconis open

De partu Virginis, f. 28, b.

Nectareum rorem terris, &c.

S. Birinus, f. 42.

Et pudet, et fateor, &c.

The author of the ble of Biriam ## he was commanded to write by Pelice probably Peter de Rupibus, bistor Winchester. Perhaps he is Michael Blaunpayne. Alexander Esseby with lives of saints in Latin verse, See MSC Harl. 1819, 581.

First printed August. Vindel 1508.

fol. And frequently since.

He mentions it in his Ligential lib. i. v. 13. seq. v. 648, seq. Sec. 1. Voss. Poet. Lat. c. vi p. 78. lt never printed. Gunther wrote a prohistory of the sack of Constantinople by Baldwin The materials were take from the mouth of abbot ligron, of was present at the siege, in 1204. was printed by Canisius, Antiqu. Inc. tom. iv. P. u. p. 358. Ingolstad. 160 die. Again, in a new edition of the compilation, Amst. 1725. fol tout-See also Pagi, ad A. D. 1519, n. ave.

plished scholar, and educated not only in the priory of Saint Frideswide at Oxford, but in the universities of France and Italy, published while at Rome a critical didactic poem entitled Dr Nova Poetria. This book is dedicated to pope Innocent the Third: and its intention was to recommend and illustrate the new and legitimate mode of versification which had lately begun to flourish in Europe, in opposition to the Leonine or barbarous species. This he compendiously styles, and by way of distinction, The New Poetry. We must not be surprised to find Horace's Art of Poetry entitled Horatii Nova Poetria, so late as the year 1389, in a catalogue of the library of a monastery at Dover'.

Even a knowledge of the Greek language imported from France, but chiefly from Italy, was now beginning to be diffused in England. I am inclined to think, that many Greek manuscripts found their way into Europe from Constantinople in the time of the Crusades: and we might observe that the Italians, who seem to have been the most polished and intelligent people of Europe during the barbarous ages, carried on communications with the Greek empire as early as the reign of Charlemagne. Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, an universal scholar, and no less conversant in polite letters than the most abstruse sciences, cultivated and patronised the study of the Greek language. This illustrious prelate, who is said to have composed almost two hundred books, read lectures in the school of the Franciscan friars at Oxford about the year 1230 w. He translated Dionysius the Areopagite and Damascenus into Latin x. He greatly facilitated the knowledge of

it is called in some manuscripts, De Arte dictandi, versificandi, et transferendi. See Selden, Præfat. DEC. SCRIPTOR. p. xxxix. And Selden, Op. ii. 168. He is himself no contemptible Latin poet, and is celebrated by Chaucer. See Urry's edit. p. 468. 560. He seems to have lived about 1200.

^{*} Ex Matricula Monach. Monast. Dover. apud MSS. Br. Twyne, notat. 8.

It has been often printed. I think p. 758. archiv. Oxon. Yet all Horace's writings were often transcribed, and not unfamiliar, in the dark ages. His odes are quoted by Fitz-Stephens in his Dzscription of London. Rabanus Maurus above mentioned quotes two verses from the ART OF POETRY. Op. tom. ii. p. 46. edit. Colon. 1627. fol.

W Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. p. 217.

² Leland, Script. Brit. p. 289.

Greek by a translation of Suidas's Lexicon, a book in high repute among the lower Greeks, and at that time almost a recent compilation. He promoted John of Basingstoke to the archdeaconry of Leicester; chiefly because he was a Greek scholar, and possessed many Greek manuscripts, which he is said to have brought from Athens into England. He entertained, as a domestic in his palace, Nicholas chaplain of the abbot of Saint Alban's, surnamed Græcus, from his uncommon proficiency in Greek; and by his assistance he translated from

Boston of Bury says, that he translated the book called Suna. Catal. Script. Eccles. Rosest Lincoln, Boston lived in the year 1410. Such was their ignorance at this time even of the

name of this lexicographer.

⁴ Lel. Script. Brit. p. 266. Matthew Paris asserts, that he introduced into England a knowledge of the Greek numeral letters. That historian adds, " De quibus figuris нос махіме адміважисм, quod unica figura quilibet numerus repræsentatur, quod non est in Latino vel in Algorismo." Hist. edit. Loud. 1684. p. 721. He translated from Greek into Latin a grammar which he called Donatus Graconum. Pegge's Lafe of Roger de Weseham, p. 46, 47, 51. And infr. p. 281. He seems to have flourished about the year 1250. Bacon also wrote a Greek grammar, in which is the following curious passage "Episcopus consectans ecclestam, scribat Alphabetum Gracum in pulvere cum cuspide baculi pastoralis. aed omnes episcopi qui Grazcum igno-RANT, scribant tres notes numerorum que non sunt litera," &c. Gr. Gran. cap. ult. p. iii. MSS. Apud MSS. Br. Twyne, 8vo. p. 649, archiv. Oxon. See what is said of the new translations of Aristotle, from the original Greek into Latin, about the twelfth century, Szer, ix, vol. n. p. 128, infr. I believe the translators understood very little Greek. Our countryman Michael Scotus was one of the first of them; who was assisted by Andrew a Jew. Michael was astrologer to Frederick emperor of Germany, and appears to have executed his translations at Toledo in Spain, about the year 1920.

These new versions were perhaps little. more than corrections from those of the early Arabians, made under the inspection of the learned Spanish Saracens. To the want of a true knowledge of the original language of the antient Greek philosophers, Roger Bacon attributes the slow and imperfect advances of real sience at this period. On this account their improvements were very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the appearance of erudition, and the fervour with which abnost every branch of philosophy had been now studied in various countries for near half a century. See Wood, Hist, Annq. Univ. Oxon. i. 120. seq. Demps. ster, xit. 940. Baconi Op. Maj. per Jebb, i. 15. ii. 8. Tanner, Bibl. p. 526. And MSS. Cotton, C. 5 fol. 138. Brit.

A learned writer affirms, that Ariston tle's books in the original Greek were brought out of the east into Europe about the year 1200. He is also of opinion. that during the crusades many Europeans, from their commerce with the Syrian Palestines, got a knowledge of rope Arabic versions of some parts of Artstotle's works, which they found ic the east, they turned them into Latin. These were chiefly his Ethics and Politics And these new translatous he further supposes were employed at their return. into Europe in revising the old transla-tions of other patts of Aristotle, made from Arabic into Laun. Euseb Renaudot, De Barbar, Aristot, Vernaonib. apud Fabric, Bibl. Gr. xii p. 248. See also Murator, Antiq. Ital. Med. A.v. iii.

Greek into Latin the testaments of the twelve patriarchs. Grosthead had almost incurred the censure of excommunication for preferring a complaint to the pope, that most of the opu-Lent benefices in England were occupied by Italians^b. this practice, although notoriously founded on the monopolising and arbitrary spirit of papal imposition, and a manifest act of injustice to the English clergy, probably contributed to introduce many learned foreigners into England, and to propagate philological literature.

Bishop Grosthead is also said to have been profoundly skilled in the Hebrew language c. William the Conqueror permitted great numbers of Jews to come over from Rouen, and to settle in England about the year 1087d. Their multitude soon encreased, and they spread themselves in vast bodies throughout most of the cities and capital towns in England, where they built synagogues. There were fifteen hundred at York about the year 1189°. At Bury in Suffolk is a very complete remain of a Jewish synagogue of stone in the Norman style, large and magnificent. Hence it was that many of the learned English ecclesiastics of these times became acquainted with their books and language. In the reign of William Rufus, at Oxford the Jews were remarkably numerous, and had acquired a considerable property; and some of their rabbis were permitted to open a school in the university, where they instructed not only their own people, but many Christian students, in the Hebrew literature, about the year 1054 f. Within two hundred years after their admission or establishment by the Conqueror, they were banished the kingdom^g. This circumstance was highly favourable to the circulation of their learning in England. The suddenness of their dismission

And M. Paris, sub anno 1242.

[•] Godwin, Episc. p. 348. edit. 1616.

[&]quot; He is mentioned again, Sucr. ii. p. 63. 81. infr.

⁴ Hollinsh. Chron. sub ann. p. 15. a.

^{*} Anders. Comm. i. 93.

f Angl. Judaic. p. 8.

See MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 4 D. vii. 4. BHollinsh. ibid. sub ann. 1289. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 82. p. 285. a. Matthew of Westminster says that 16511 were banished. Flor. Hist. ad an. 1290. Great numbers of Hebrew rols and charts, relating to their estates in England, and escheated to the king, are now remaining in the Tower among the royal records.

obliged them for present subsistence, and other reasons, to see their moveable goods of all kinds, among which were large quantities of rabbinical books. The monks in various pare availed themselves of the distribution of these treasures. Huntingdon and Stamford there was a prodigious sale of the effects, containing immense stores of Hebrew manuscript which were immediately purchased by Gregory of Hunting don, prior of the abbey of Ramsey. Gregory speedily became an adept in the Hebrew, by means of these valuable acquisit tions, which he bequeathed to his monastery about the year 1250 h. Other members of the same convent, in consequence of these advantages, are said to have been equal proficients in the same language, soon after the death of prior Gregory among which were Robert Dodford, librarian of Ramsey, and Laurence Holbech, who compiled a Hebrew Lexicon!. Oxford, great multitudes of their books fell into the hands & Roger Bacon, or were bought by his brethren the Francisco friars of that university k.

But, to return to the leading point of our enquiry, this premising dawn of polite letters and rational knowledge was sociobscured. The temporary gleam of light did not arrive to perfect day. The minds of scholars were diverted from the liberal studies in the rapidity of their career; and the arts composition and the ornaments of language were neglected to make way for the barbarous and barren subtleties of scholastic divinity. The first teachers of this art, originally founde on that spirit of intricate and metaphysical enquiry which the Arabians had communicated to philosophy, and which no became almost absolutely necessary for defending the doctrine of Rome, were Peter Lombard archbishop of Paris, and the celebrated Abelard: men whose consummate abilities were rather qualified to reform the church, and to restore useful

b Leland, Script. Brit. p. 321 And MSS. Bibl. Lambeth. Wharton, L. p. 661. "Libri Prieris Gregorii de Ramesey. Prima para Bibliothece Hebraica," &c.

¹ Bale, iv. 41. ix. 9. Lel. ubi sugp. 452.

^{*} Wood, Hist, Antiq. Univ. Over 1. 77, 198. See also Secr. ix. vol. 5 p. 196. infr.

science, than to corrupt both, by confounding the common sense of mankind with frivolous speculation. These visionary theologists never explained or illustrated any scriptural topic: on the contrary, they perverted the simplest expressions of the sacred text, and embarrassed the most evident truths of the Gospel by laboured distinctions and unintelligible solutions. From the universities of France, which were then filled with multitudes of English students, this admired species of sophistry was adopted in England, and encouraged by Lanfranc and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury. And so successful was its progress at Oxford, that before the reign of Edward the Second, no foreign university could boast so conspicuous a catalogue of subtle and invincible doctors.

Nor was the profession of the civil and canonical laws a small impediment to the propagation of those letters which humanize the mind, and cultivate the manners. I do not mean to deny, that the accidental discovery of the imperial code in the twelfth century contributed in a considerable degree to civilise Europe, by introducing, among other beneficial consequences, more legitimate ideas concerning the nature of government and the administration of justice, by creating a necessity of transferring judicial decrees from an illiterate nobility to the cognisance of scholars, by lessening the attachment to the military profession, and by giving honour and importance to civil employments: but to suggest, that the mode in which this invaluable system of jurisprudence was studied, proved injurious to polite literature. It was no sooner revived, than it was received as a scholastic science, and taught by regular professors, in most of the universities of Europe. To be skilled in the theology of the schools was the chief and general ambition of scholars: but at the same time a knowledge of both the laws was become an indispensable requisite, at least an essential recommendation, for obtaining the most opulent ecclesiastical

¹ They both flourished about the year 1150.

[&]quot;Baccalaureus qui legit textum (sc. S. Scripturæ) succumbit lectori

SENTENTIARUM Parisiis," &c. Rog. Bacon, apud A. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 53. Lombard was the author of the Scutences.

dignities. Hence it was cultivated with universal avidity. It became so considerable a branch of study in the plan of academical discipline, that twenty scholars out of seventy were detined to the study of the civil and canon laws, in one of the most ample colleges at Oxford, founded in the year 1385. And it is easy to conceive the pedantry with which it was pursued in these seminaries during the middle ages. It was treated with the same spirit of idle speculation which had been carried into philosophy and theology, it was overwhelmed with endless commentaries which disclaimed all elegance of language, and served only to exercise genius, as it afforded materials for framing the flimsy labyrinths of casuistry.

It was not indeed probable, that these attempts in elegant literature which I have mentioned should have any permanent effects. The change, like a sudden revolution in government, was too rapid for duration. It was moreover premature, and on that account not likely to be lasting. The habits of superstition and ignorance were as yet too powerful for a reformation of this kind to be effected by a few polite scholars. It was necessary that many circumstances and events, yet in the womb of time, should take place, before the minds of men could be

so far enlightened as to receive these improvements.

But perhaps inventive poetry lost nothing by this relapse. Had classical taste and judgement been now established, imagination would have suffered, and too early a check would have been given to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling. In a word, truth and reason would have chased before their time those spectres of illusive fancy, so pleasing to the imagination, which delight to hover in the gloom of ignorance and superstition, and which form so considerable a part of the poetry of the succeeding centuries.

GESTA ROMANORUM.

DISSERTATION III.

ALES are the learning of a rude age. In the progress of ters, speculation and enquiry commence with refinement of term. Literature becomes sentimental and discursive, in proportion as a people is polished: and men must be instructed by facts, either real or imaginary, before they can apprehend the subtleties of argument, and the force of reflection.

Vincent of Beauvais, a learned Dominican of France, who courished in the thirteenth century, observes in his MIRROR HISTORY, that it was a practice of the preachers of his age, rouse the indifference and relieve the languor of their hears, by quoting the fables of Esop: yet, at the same time, he ecommends a sparing and prudent application of these pro-Fine fancies in the discussion of sacred subjects. Among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum we find a very milent collection of two hundred and fifteen stories, romantic, **Ellegorical**, religious, and legendary, which were evidently compaled by a professed preacher, for the use of monastic societies. Some of these appear to have been committed to writing from the recitals of bards and minstrels: others to have been invented and written by troubadours and monks. In the year 1389, a grand system of divinity appeared at Paris, afterwards translated by Caxton under the title of the Court of Sapyence, which abounds with a multitude of historical examples, parables, and apologues; and which the writer wisely supposes, to

SPECUL. HIST. lib. iv. c. viii. fol. 31.b. b MSS. HARL. 463. membran. fol. Ven. 1591.

be much more likely to interest the attention and excite devotion of the people, than the authority of science, and parade of theology. In consequence of the expediency of t. mode of instruction, the Legends of the Saints were received into the ritual, and rehearsed in the course of public worsh For religious romances were nearly allied to songs of chival and the same gross ignorance of the people, which in the ear if centuries of Christianity created a necessity of introducing visible pomp of theatrical ceremonies into the churches, ver taught the duties of devotion, by being amused with the achieve ments of spiritual knight-errantry, and impressed with the amples of pious heroism. In more cultivated periods, the Da-CAMERON of Boccace, and other books of that kind, ought to be considered as the remnant of a species of writing which was founded on the simplicity of mankind, and was adapted to the exigencies of the infancy of society.

Many obsolete collections of this sort still remain, both printed and manuscript, containing narratives either fictitions

or historical,

- Of king and heroes old, Such as the wise Demodocus once told In solemn songs at king Alcinous' feast.c

But among the antient story-books of this character, a Latin compilation entitled GESTA ROMANORUM seems to have been the favourite.

This piece has been before incidentally noticed: but as it operated powerfully on the general body of our old poetry affording a variety of inventions not only to Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, but to their distant successors, I have judged it of sufficient importance to be examined at large in a separate dissertation: which has been designedly reserved for this place for the purpose both of recapitulation and illustration, and of

Milton. AT a Vacation Extracts, the beginning of his Third Volume, which was published seven years after the First This Dissertation on the Gesta Ro- it has now been thought best to let it fol-

manorum was placed by the author at low the other Dissertations,- Ener.]

giving the reader a more commodious opportunity of surveying at leisure, from this intermediate point of view, and under one comprehensive detail, a connected display of the materials and original subjects of many of our past and future poets.

Indeed, in the times with which we are now about to be concerned, it seems to have been growing more into esteem. At the commencement of typography, Wynkyn de Worde published this book in English. This translation was reprinted, by one Robinson, in 1577. And afterwards, of the same translation there were six impressions before the year 1601d. There is an edition in black letter so late as the year 1689. About the year 1596, an English version appeared of "Epitomes des cent Histoires Tradiques, partie extraictes des Acres des ROMAINS et autres," &c. From the popularity, or rather familiarity, of this work in the reign of queen Elisabeth, the title of GESTA GRAYORUM was affixed to the history of the acts of the Christmas Prince at Grays-inn, in 1594°. In Sir GILES GOOSECAP, an anonymous comedy, presented by the Children of the Chapel in the year 1606, we have, "Then for Your lordship's quips and quick jests, why GESTA ROMANO-RUM were nothing to them f." And in George Chapman's MAY-DAY, a comedy, printed at London in 1611, a man of the highest literary taste for the pieces in vogue is characterised, "One that has read Marcus Aurelius, GESTA ROMA-NORUM, the Mirrour of Magistrates, &c .-- to be led by the nose like a blind beare that has read nothing !" The critics and collectors in black-letter, I believe, could produce many other proofs.

The Gesta Romanorum were first printed without date, but as it is supposed before or about the year 1473, in solio, with this title, Incipiunt Historie Notabiles collecte ex Gestis Romanorum et quibusdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem. This edition has one hundred and fifty-two

⁴ See vol. ii. p. 322. seq.

Printed, or reprinted, in 1688. 4to.

Lond. Printed for John Windet, 1606. 4to.

Act iii. pag. 39.

h Much the same title occurs to a manuscript of this work in the Vatican, "Historiæ Notabiles collectæ ex Gestis

chapters, or gests, and one hundred and seventeen leave It is in the Gothic letter, and in two columns. The first change ter is of king Pompey, and the last of prince, or king, Cal nicus. The initials are written in red and blue ink. This tion, slightly mutilated, is among bishop Tanner's prinbooks in the Bodleian library. The reverend and learned de tor Farmer, master of Emanuel college in Cambridge, has second (?) edition, as it seems, printed at Louvain, in quasithe same or the subsequent year, by John de Westfalia, und the title, Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicationibus moralisati mysticis. And with this colophon, GESTA ROMANORUN 6 quibusdam aliis Historiis eisdem annexis ad Moralitates 🦥 lucide redacta hic finem habent. Que, diligenter corrects orum viciis, impressit Joannes de Westfalia in alma Universit Louvaniensi. It has one hundred and eighty-one chapters That is, twenty-nine more than are contained in the form edition: the first of the additional chapters being the story Antiochus, or the substance of the romance of Apollonius Tyre. The initials are inserted in red ink!. Another lowed soon afterwards, in quarto, Ex Gestis Romanon Historic notabiles moralizata, per Girardum Lieu, Gour 1480. The next edition, with the use of which I have be politely favoured by George Mason, esquire, of Aldenham lodge, in Hertfordshire, was printed in folio, and in the 1488*, with this title, GESTA RHOMANORUM cum Applitionibus moralisatis et misticis. The colophon is, Ex Gen Romanorum cum pluribus applicatis Historiis de virtutibu vicus mystice ad intellectum transsumptis Recollectorii finis. 🧥 ure salutis MCCCCLXXX viii kalendas vero februarii Xviii. A neral, and alphabetical, table are subjoined. The book, when

Romanorum et quibusdam aliis libris cum explicationibus corundem." Montfauc. Bibl. Manusca. tom. i. pag. 17. Num. 172. fore. The last is entitled De Appun

Without mitials, paging, signatures, or catch-words.

^{*} The first is of king Pompey, as be-

Mr. Donce enumerates two tions between this and Lieu's; not one printed at Hasselt in 1461, and other in 1462 without the name of place.—Entr]

is printed in two columns, and in the Gothic character, abounding with abbreviations, contains ninety-three leaves. The initials are written or flourished in red and blue, and all the capitals in the body of the text are miniated with a pen. There were many other later editions^m. I must add, that the Gesta Romanorum were translated into Dutch, so early as he year 1484. There is an old French version in the British Museum.

This work is compiled from the obsolete Latin chronicles of he later Roman or rather German story, heightened by romentic inventions, from Legends of the Saints, oriental apoques, and many of the shorter fictitious narratives which came not Europe with the Arabian literature, and were familiar in he ages of ignorance and imagination. The classics are somewhere cited for authorities; but these are of the lower order, ach as Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Seneca, Pliny, and Boethius. To every tale a Moralisation is subvined, reducing it into a christian or moral lesson.

Most of the oriental apologues are taken from the Cleriulis Disciplina, or a Latin dialogue between an Arabian hilosopher and Edric his son, never printed, written by Peter Alphonsus, a baptised Jew, at the beginning of the welfth century, and collected from Arabian fables, apothegms, and examples. Some are also borrowed from an old Latin tanslation of the Calilah u Damnah, a celebrated set of estern fables, to which Alphonsus was indebted.

On the whole, this is the collection in which a curious inquirer might expect to find the original of Chaucer's Cambuscan:

phonsus.

P See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, vol. iv.

p. 325. seq.

For which see vol. ii. p. 319: and k. Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, w. ii. p. 358.

EDAIC was the name of ENOCH many the Arabians, to whom they attitude many fabulous compositions. Harbelot, in V. Lydgate's CHORLE and BIRD, mentioned above, is taken the CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA of Al-

other libraries. It occurs in old French verse, MSS. Dign. 86. membran. "Le Romaunz de Peres Aunfour coment il aprist et chastia son fils belement." [See vol. ii. p. 430.]

Or,—if aught else great bards beside
It sage and solemn tunes have sung,
Of turneys and of trophies hung,
Of forests and inchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear.

Our author frequently cites GESTA ROMANORUM, the title of his own work. By which I understand no particular book of that name, but the Roman history in general. Thus in the title of the SAINT ALBANS CHRONICLE, printed by Caxton, Titus Livres de Gestis Romanorum is recited. In the year 1544, Lucius Florus was printed at Paris under the same title. In the British Museum we find "LES FAIS DE ROMAINI jusques a la fin de l'empire Domician, selon Orose, Justin Lucan, &c." A plain historical deduction's. The ROMULEON, an old manuscript history of Rome from the foundation the city to Constantine the Great, is also called de Gestal ROMANORUM. This manuscript occurs both in Latin and French: and a French copy, among the royal manuscripts has the title, "Romuleon, ou des fais de Romains"." Amon the manuscript books written by Lapus de Castellione, a Flo rentine civilian, who flourished about the year 1350, there one, De Origine URBIS ROME et de GESTIS ROMANORIM Gower, in the Confessio Amantis, often introduces Roma stories with the Latin preamble, Hic secundum GESTA. When he certainly means the Roman History, which by degrees he acquired simply the appellation of Gesta. Herman Korne in his Chronica Novella, written about the year 1438, a fers for his vouchers to Bede, Orosius, Valerius Maximus, J. sephus, Eusebius, and the Chronicon et Gesta Romanogui Most probably, to say no more, by the CHRONICON he means the later writers of the Roman affairs, such as Isidore and the monish compilers; and by Gesta the antient Roman history, as in lated by Livy and the more established Latin historians.

Milton's It PENSEROSO

Apud Vascosan, 4to,

MSS. Rec 20, C1,

⁴ MS. 19 E. v.

[&]quot; See vol. ii, p 322.

Neither is it possible that this work could have been brought a proof or authority, by any serious annalist, for the Roman story.

For though it bears the title of Gesta Romanorum, yet this title by no means properly corresponds with the contents of the collection: which, as has been already hinted, comprehends a multitude of narratives, either not historical; or, in another respect, such as are either totally unconnected with the Roman people, or perhaps the most preposterous misrepresentations of their history. To cover this deviation from the promised plan, which, by introducing a more ample variety of matter, has contributed to encrease the reader's entertainment, our collector has taken care to preface almost every story with the name or reign of a Roman emperor; who, at the same time, is often a monarch that never existed, and who seldom, whether real or suppositious, has any concern with the circumstances of the narrative.

But I hasten to exhibit a compendious analysis of the chapters which form this very singular compilation: intermixing occasional illustrations arising from the subject, and shortening or lengthening my abridgement of the stories, in proportion as I judge they are likely to interest the reader. Where, for that reason, I have been very concise, I have yet said enough to direct the critical antiquarian to this collection, in case he should find a similar tale occurring in any of our old poets. I have omitted the mention of a very few chapters, which were beneath notice. Sometimes, where common authors are quoted, I have only mentioned the author's name, without specifying the substance of the quotation. For it was necessary that the reader should be made acquainted with our collector's track of reading, and the books which he used. In the mean time, this review will serve as a full notification of the edition of 1488, which is more comprehensive and complete than some others of later publication, and to which all the rest, as to a general criterion, may be now comparatively referred.

CHAP. i. Of a daughter of king Pompey, whose chamber

was guarded by five armed knights and a dog. Being permitted to be present at a public show, she is seduced by a duke, who is afterwards killed by the champion of her father's court. She is reconciled to her father, and betrothed to a nobleman: which occasion, she receives from her father an embroidered to the and a crown of gold, from the champion a gold ring, another from the wise man who pacified the king's anger, another from the king's son, another from her cousin, and from her spouse a seal of gold. All these presents are inscribed with proverbial sentences, suitable to the circumstances of the princess.

The latter part of this story is evidently oriental. The feudal manners, in a book which professes to record the achievements of the Roman people, are remarkable in the introductory circumstances. But of this mixture we shall see many striking instances.

CHAP. ii. Of a youth taken captive by pirates. The king's daughter falls in love with him; and having procured his escape, accompanies him to his own country, where they are married.

CHAP. vi. An emperor is married to a beautiful young princess. In case of death, they mutually agree not to survive one another. To try the truth of his wife, the emperor going into a distant country, orders a report of his death to be circulated. In remembrance of her vow, and in imitation of the wives of India, she prepares to throw herself headlong from a high precipice. She is prevented by her father; who interposes his paternal authority, as predominating over a rash and unlawful promise.

CHAP. vii. Under the reign of Dioclesian, a noble knight had two sons, the youngest of which marries a harlot.

This story, but with a difference of circumstances, ends like the beautiful apologue of the Prodigal Son.

CHAP. viii. The emperor Leo commands three female statues to be made. One has a gold ring on a finger pointing forward, another a beard of gold, and the third a golden clock

and purple tunic. Whoever steals any of these ornaments, is to be punished with an ignominious death.

This story is copied by Gower, in the Confessio Amantis: but he has altered some of the circumstances. He supposes a statue of Apollo.

Of plate of golde a berde he hadde,
The wiche his brest all ovir spradde:
Of golde also, without fayle,
His mantell was, of large entayle,
Besette with perrey all aboute:
Forth ryght he straught his fynger oute,
Upon the whiche he had a rynge,
To seen it was a ryche thynge,
A fyne carbuncle for the nones
Moste precious of all stones.

In the sequel, Gower follows the substance of our author.

CHAP. x. Vespasian marries a wife in a distant country, who refuses to return home with him, and yet declares she will kill herself if he goes. The emperor ordered two rings to be made, of a wonderous efficacy; one of which, in the stone, has the image of Oblivion, the other the image of Memory: the ring of Oblivion he gave to the empress, and returned home with the ring of Memory.

CHAP. xi. The queen of the south sends her daughter to king Alexander, to be his concubine. She was exceedingly beautiful, but had been nourished with poison from her birth. Alexander's master, Aristotle, whose sagacity nothing could escape, knowing this, entreated, that before she was admitted to the king's bed, a malefactor condemned to death might be sent for, who should give her a kiss, in the presence of the king. The malefactor, on kissing her, instantly dropped down dead. Aristotle, having explained his reasons for what he had done, was loaded with honours by the king, and the princess was dismissed to her mother.

This story is founded on the twenty-eighth chapter of Aristotle's Secretum Secretorum: in which, a queen of India is said to have treacherously sent to Alexander, among other costly presents, the pretended testimonies of her friendship, a girl of exquisite beauty, who having been fed with serpents from her infancy, partook of their nature. If I recollect right, in Pliny there are accounts of nations whose natural food was poison. Mithridates, king of Pontus, the land of venomous herbs, and the country of the sorceress Medea, was supposed to eat poison. Sir John Maundeville's Travels, I believe, will afford other instances.

CHAP. xii. A profligate priest, in the reign of the emperor Otto, or Otho, walking in the fields, and neglecting to say mass, is reformed by a vision of a comely old man.

CHAP. xiii. An empress having lost her husband, becomes so dotingly fond of her only son, then three years of age, as not to bear his absence for a moment. They sleep together every night, and when he was eighteen years of age, she proves with child by him. She murthers the infant, and her left hand is immediately marked with four circles of blood. Her repentance is related, in consequence of a vision of the holy virgin.

This story is in the Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about the year 1250 z.

CHAP. xiv. Under the reign of the emperor Dorotheus, a remarkable example of the filial piety of a young man, who redeems his father, a knight, from captivity.

CHAP. xv. Eufemian, a nobleman in the court of the emperor of Rome, is attended by three thousand servants girt with golden belts, and clothed in silken vestments. His house

[See p. 136.] This I now cite from scarce, he translated it into Latin. a Latin translation, without date, but evidently printed before 1500. It is dedicated to Guido Vere de Valencia, bishop of Tripoly, by his most humble Clerk, Philippus: who says, that he found this treatise in Arabic at Antioch, quo carebant Latini, and that therefore, and because the Arabic copies were

This printed copy does not exactly correspond with MS. Bodl. 495. membr. In the last, Alexander's miraculous horn is mentioned at fol. 45. b. In the former, in ch. lxxii. cation is the same in both.

² Lib. vii. cap. 93. seq. f. 86. b. edit.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. CIXXXVII

was crouded with pilgrims, orphans, and widows, for whom three tables were kept every day. He has a son, Allexius; who quits his father's palace, and lives unknown seventeen years in a monastery in Syria. He then returns, and lives seventeen years undiscovered as a pilgrim in his father's family, where he suffers many indignities from the servants.

Allexius, or Alexis, was canonised. The story is taken from his Legend². In the metrical Lives of the Saints, his life is told in a sort of measure different from that of the rest, and not very common in the earlier stages of our poetry. It begins thus.

Lesteneth alle and herkeneth me,
Zonge and olde, bonde and fre,
And ich zow telle sone,
How a zought man, gent and fre,
By gan this worldis wele to fle,
Y born he was in Rome.

In Rome was a dozty man
That was y cleped Eufemian,
Man of moche myzte;
Gold and seluer he hadde ynouz,
Hall and boures, oxse and plouz,
And swith wel it dyzte.

When Alexius returns home in disguise, and asks his father about his son, the father's feelings are thus described.

So sone so he spake of his sone,

The guode man, as was his wone,

Gan to sike sore^b;

His herte fel^c so colde so ston,

The teres felle to his ton^d,

On her berd hore.

At his burial, many miracles are wrought on the sick.

With mochel sizt^e, and mochel song, That holy cors, hem alle among, Bischoppis to cherche bere.

^a See Caxton, Gold. Leo. f. ccclxiii. b. ^b sigh. ^c felt. ^d feet. ^e sighs.

Amyddes rizt the heze strete , So moche folke hym gone mete That they resten a stonde, All the sike that to him come. I heled wer swithe sone Of fet b and eke of honde:

The blinde come to hare sizt, The croked gonne sone rizt's, The lame for to go: That dombe wer fonge speeche, Thez herede God the sothe leclie, And that halwe also.

The day zede and drouz to nyzt, No lenger dwelle they ne myzt, To cherche they moste wende; The bellen they gonne to rynge, The clerkes heze to synge, Everich in his ende'.

Tho the corse to cherche com-Glad they wer everichon That there youre wer, The pope and the emperour By fore an auter of seynt Savour Ther sette they the bere.

Aboute the bere was moche lizt With proude palle was bedizt, I beten al with golde '.

The history of saint Alexius is told entirely in the words in the Gesta Romanorum, and in the Legenda

f high-street. * they sighed.

*.] * feet. [All the sick .- Rzz-* straight. their. ' found [took, received].

in heried, bleased.

[&]quot; the true physician. at his seat in the choir * MSS, Coll. Trin. Oxon. C. supr. citat.

medium, by Caxton. This work of Jacobus does not consist solely of the legends of the saints, but is interspersed with multis aliis pulcherrimis et peregrinis historiis, with many other most beautiful and strange histories.

CHAP. xvi. A Roman emperor in digging for the foundation of a new palace, finds a golden sarcophagus, or coffin, inscribed with mysterious words and sentences. Which being explained, prove to be so many moral lessons of instruction for the emperor's future conduct.

CHAP. xvii. A poor man named Guido, engages to serve an emperor of Rome in six several capacities, or employments. One of these services is, to show the best way to the holy land. Acquitting himself in all with singular address and fidelity, he is made a knight, and loaded with riches.

CHAP. xviii. A knight named Julian is hunting a stag, who turns and says, "You will kill your father and mother." On this he went into a distant country, where he married a rich lady of a castle. Julian's father and mother travelled into various lands to find their son, and at length accidentally came to this castle, in his absence; where telling their story to the lady, who had heard it from her husband, she discovered who they were, and gave them her own bed to sleep in. the morning, while she was at mass in the chapel, her husband Julian unexpectedly returned; and entering his wife's chamber, perceived two persons in the bed, whom he immediately slew with his sword, hastily supposing them to be his wife and ber adulterer. At leaving the chamber, he met his wife coming From the chapel; and with great astonishment asked her, who the persons were sleeping in her bed? She answered, "They The your parents, who have been seeking you so long, and whom I have honoured with a place in our own bed." After-

t Hysron. lxxxix. f. clviii. edit. 1479. quotes Gesta Allexii. Specue. Hist. fol. And in Vincent of Beauvais, who Lib. xviii. cap. 43. seq. f. 241. b.

v In the Colophon.

wards they founded a sumptuous hospital for the accommodition of travellers, on the banks of a dangerous river.

This story is told in Caxton's Golden Legende, and in the metrical Lives of the Saints. Hence Julian, or Sain Julian, was called hospitator, or the gode herberjour; and the Pater Noster became famous, which he used to say for the souls of his father and mother whom he had thus unfortunately killed. The peculiar excellencies of this prayer are displayed by Boccace. Chaucer speaking of the hospitable disposition of his Frankelein, says,

Saint Julian he was in his own countre *.

This history is, like the last, related by our compiler, in the words of Julian's Legend, as it stands in Jacobus de Voragine Bollandus has inserted Antoninus's account of this saint, which appears also to be literally the same b. It is told, yet not exactly in the same words, by Vincent of Beauvais c.

I take this opportunity of observing, that the Legends the Saints, so frequently referred to in the Gesta Romand Rum, often contain high strokes of fancy, both in the structure and decorations of the story. That they should abount in extravagant conceptions, may be partly accounted for, from the superstitious and visionary cast of the writer: but the truth is, they derive this complexion from the east. Some were originally forged by monks of the Greek church, to whom the oriental fictions and mode of fabling were familiar. The more early of the Latin lives were carried over to Constantinople where they were translated into Greek with new embellishments of eastern imagination. These being returned into Europe, were translated into Latin, where they naturally superseded the old Latin archetypes. Others of the Latin lives con-

⁶ Fol. 90, edit. 1493.

[&]quot; MSS. Bont, 1596, f. 4.

^{*} Ibid. * Der am, D. ii. N. 2.
* Prot. v. 842. See vol. ii. Sect. zvii.

⁶ Hyston, xxxii. f. lxii a.

^b Аст. Sancton, tom, ü. Januas p. 974. Antv. 1649.

SPECIAL. HIET. lib. ix. c. 115. f. 114. Venet. 1591.

the Life of Saint Pelagian evidently betray their original. "As the bysshop sange masse in the cyte of Usanance, he saw thre chopes ryghte clere all of one gratenesse whiche were upon the maker, and all thre ranne to gyder in to a precyous gemme: and whan they had set thys gemme in a crosse of golde, all the other precyous stones that were there, fyllend out, and thys gemme was clere to them that were clene out of synne, and it was obscure and dark to synners," &c. The peculiar cast of momantic invention was admirably suited to serve the purposes of superstition.

Possevin, a learned Jesuit, who wrote about the close of the sixteenth century, complains, that for the last five hundred years the courts of all the princes in Europe had been infatuated by reading romances: and that, in his time, it was a mark of inelegance, not to be familiarly acquainted with Lancelot du Lake, Perceforest, Tristan, Giron the Courteous, Amadis de Gaul, Primaleon, Boccace's Decameron, and Ariosto. He even goes so far as to say, that the devil instigated Luther to procure a translation of Amadis from Spanish into French, for the purpose of facilitating his grand scheme of overthrowing the catholic religion. The popularity of this book, he adds, warped the minds of the French nation from their ancient notions and studies; introduced a neglect of the Scriptures, and propagated a love for astrology, and other fantastic arts f. But with the leave of this zealous catholic I would observe, that this sort of reading was likely to produce, if any, an effect quite contrary. The genius of romance and of popery was the same; and both were strengthened by the reciprocation of a similar spirit of credulity. The dragons and the castles of the one, were of a piece with the visions and pretended miracles of the other. The ridiculous theories of false and unsolid science, which, by the way, had been familiarised to the French by

fell out.
f Biblioth. Select. lib. i. cap. 25.
Caxton's Gold. Leg. f. ccclxxxxviii. p. 113. edit. 1593.

other romances, long before the translation of Amadis, we surely more likely to be advanced under the influence of a religion founded on deception, than in consequence of Luther's reformed system, which aimed at purity and truth, and which was to gain its end by the suppression of antient prejudices.

Many of the absurdities of the catholic worship were perhaps, as I have hinted, in some degree necessary in the early ages of the church, on account of the ignorance of the people; at least, under such circumstances they were natural, and therefore excusable. But when the world became wiser, those murmeries should have been abolished, for the same reason that the preachers left off quoting Esop's fables in their sermons, and the stage ceased to instruct the people in the scripture history by the representation of the Mysteries. The advocates of the papal communion do not consider, that in a cultivated age, abounding with every species of knowledge, they continue to retain those fooleries which were calculated only for Christians in a condition of barbarism, and of which the use now no longer subsists.

CHAP. xix. When Julius Cesar was preparing to pass the Rubicon, a gigantic spectre appeared from the middle of the river, threatening to interrupt his passage, if he came not to establish the peace of Rome. Our author cites the Gesta Romanorum for this story.

It was impossible that the Roman history could pass through the dark ages, without being infected with many romantic corruptions. Indeed, the Roman was almost the only antient history, which the readers of those ages knew: and what related even to pagan Rome, the parent of the more modern papal metropolis of Christianity, was regarded with a superstitious veneration, and often magnified with miraculous additions.

Chap. xx. The birth of the emperor Henry, son of earl Leopold, and his wonderful preservation from the stratagems of the emperor Conrade, till his accession to the imperial throne.

This story is told by Caxton in the Golden Legende, under the life of Pelagian the pope, entitled, Here followeth the life of Saynt Pelagyen the pope, with many other hystoryes and gestys of the Lombardes, and of Machomete, with other cronyder. The Gesta Longobardorum are fertile in legendary matter, and furnished Jacobus de Voragine, Caxton's original, with many marvellous histories b. Caxton, from the gestes of the Lombardis, gives a wonderful account of a pestilence in Italy, under the reign of king Gilbert.

There is a Legenda Sanctorum, sive Historia Lom-Bardica, printed in 1483. This very uncommon book is not mentioned by Maittaire. It has this colophon. "Expliciunt quorundam Sanctorum Legende adjuncte post Lombardicam historiam. Impressa Argentine, M. CCCC. LXXXIII."
That is, the latter part of the book contains a few saints not in the history of the Lombards, which forms the first part. I have neither time nor inclination to examine whether this is Jacobus's Legenda: but I believe it to be the same. I think I have seen an older edition of the work, at Cologne 1470.

I have observed that Caxton's Golden Legende is taken from Jacobus de Voragine. This perhaps is not precisely true. Caxton informs us in his first preface to the first edition of 1483^m, that he had in his possession a Legend in French, another in Latin, and a third in English, which varied from the other two in many places: and that MANY HISTORIES were contained in the English collection, which did not occur in the French and Latin. Therefore, says he, "I have wryton One oute of the sayd three bookes: which I have orderyd otherwyse than in the sayd Englysshe Legende, which was so to fore made." Caxton's English original might have been the old Metrical Lives of the Saints.

CHAP. xxi. A story from Justin, concerning a conspiracy of the Spartans against their king.

AOL 1'

quæ et Lombandica dicitur." Lugd.

Fol. ecclxxxxvii. b.
See his Legend. Aur. fol. eccxv.

^{*} See his Legend. Aur. fol. cccxv. 1509. fol.

1 Ubi supr. f. lxxvi.
1 Fol. See also " Legenda Sanctorum of the finest of Caxton's publications.

CHAP. XXII. How the Egyptians deified Isis and Osiris From saint Austin. As is the following chapter.

CHAP, xxiv. Of a magician and his delicious garden, which he shews only to fools and to his enemies.

CHAP, XXV. Of a lady who keeps the staff and scrip of a stranger, who rescued her from the oppressions of a tyrant: but being afterwards courted by three kings, she destroys thos memorials of her greatest benefactor.

Chap. xxvi. An emperor, visiting the holy land, committee his daughter and his favorite dog, who is very fierce, to the custody of five knights, under the superintendance of his sene shall. The seneshall neglects his charge: the knights are obliged to quit their post for want of necessaries; and the dog being fed with the provisions assigned to the knights, grows fiercer, breaks his three chains, and kills the lady who was permitted to wander at large in her father's hall. When the emperor returns, the seneshall is thrown into a burning furnace

CHAP. XXVIII. The old woman and her little dog.

CHAP. XXX. The three honours and three dishonours, decreed by a certain king to every conqueror returning from war.

CHAP. XXXI. The speeches of the philosophers on seeing

king Alexander's golden sepulchre.

CHAP, XXXIII. A man had three trees in his garden, on which his three wives successively hanged themselves. Another begs an offset from each of the trees, to be planted in the gardens of his married neighbours. From Valerius Maximus, who is cited.

CHAP. XXXIV. Aristotle's seven rules to his pupil Alexander. This, I think, is from the Secreta Secretorum. Aristotle for two reasons, was a popular character in the dark ages. He was the father of their philosophy: and had been the proceptor of Alexander the Great, one of the principal heroes of Nor was Aristotle himself without his romantic history; in which he falls in love with a queen of Greece, who quickly confutes his subtlest syllogisms.

CHAP. XXXV. The GESTA ROMANORUM cited, for the cus-

tom among the antient Romans of killing a lamb for pacifying quarrels.

CHAP. XXXVI. Of a king who desires to know the nature of man. Solinus, de MIRABILIBUS MUNDI, is here quoted.

CHAP. XXXVII. Pliny's account of the stone which the eagle places in her nest, to avoid the poison of a serpent.

CHAP, xxxix. Julius Cesar's mediation between two brothers. From the GESTA ROMANORUM.

We must not forget, that there was the Romance of Julius CESAR. And I believe Antony and Cleopatra were more known characters in the dark ages, than is commonly supposed. Shakespeare is thought to have formed his play on this story from North's translation of Amyot's unauthentic French Pluturch, published at London in 1579. Montfaucon, among the manuscripts of Monsieur Lancelot, recites an old piece written about the year 1500, "LA VIE ET FAIS DE MARC ANTOINE le triumvir et de sa mie CLEOPATRA, translaté de l'historien Pluterque pour tres illustre haute et puissante dame Madame Françoise de Fouez Dame de Châteaubriand n." I know not whether this piece was ever printed. At least it shews, that the story was familiar at a more early period than is imagined; and leads us to suspect, that there might have been other materials used by Shakespeare on this subject, than those hitherto pointed out by his commentators.

That Amyot's French version of Plutarch should contain corruptions and innovations, will easily be conceived, when it is remembered that he probably translated from an old Italian version. A new exhibition in English of the French caricature of this most valuable biographer by North, must have still more widely extended the deviation from the original.

CHAP. xl. The infidelity of a wife proved by feeling her pulse in conversation. From Macrobius.

Bibl. Manusca. tom. ii. p. 1669. markable, that he was rewarded with an abbacy for translating the THEAGENES and CHARICLEA of Heliodorus: for writing which, the author was deprived of a bishoprick. He died about 1580.

col. 2.

[°] See Bibl. Fa. de la Croix, &c. tom. i. p. 388. Amyot was a great translator of Greek books; but I fear, not always from the Greek. It is re-

CHAP. xlii. Valerius Maximus is cited, concerning a colucat Rome inscribed with four letters four times written.

CHAP. xliv. Tiberius orders a maker of ductile glass, which could not be broken, to be beheaded, lest it should become more valuable than silver and gold.

This piece of history, which appears also in Cornelin Agrippa De Vanitate Scientiarum^p, is taken from Pliny, or rather from his transcriber Isidore^q. Pliny, in relating this story, says, that the temperature of glass, so as to render it flexible, was discovered under the reign of Tiberius.

In the same chapter Pliny observes, that glass is susceptible of all colours. "Fit et album, et murrhinum, aut hyacinthes sapphirosque imitatum, et omnibus aliis coloribus. Nec est alia nunc materia sequacior, aut etiam PICTURÆ ACCOMMODA-TIOR. Maximus tamen honor in candido ." But the Romans. as the last sentence partly proves, probably never used any coloured glass for windows. The first notice of windows of a church made of coloured glass occurs in chronicles quoted by Muratori. In the year 802, a pope built a church at Rome, and, "fenestras ex vitro diversis coloribus conclusit atque decoravit'." And in 856, he produces "fenestras vero vitreis coloribus'," &c. This however was a sort of mosaic in glass. To express figures in glass, or what we now call the art of painting in glass, was a very different work: and, I believe, I can shew it was brought from Constantinople to Rome before the tenth century, with other ornamental arts. Guicciardin, who wrote about 1560, in his Descrittione de tutti Paesi Bassi, ascribes the invention of baking colours in glass for churchwindows to the Netherlanders : but he does not mention the

P Onto. lib. xvi. cap. xv. p. 1224. Apud Auct. Ling. Lat. 1602.

Isidore's was a favorite RETERTORY of the middle age. He is cited for an account of the nature and qualities of the Falcon, in the Prologue to the second or metrical part of the old Phebus de deduct de la chasse des Bestes souvages et des vymans de Proye, printed early at Paris without date, and written, as ap-

pears by the rubric of the last section, by Le Comte de Tankarralle.

9 Sandford's English TRANSLAT. 00. 90. p. 159. a. edit. Lord. 1569. 410. NAT. HIST. lib. XXXVI. cap. 10. p. 725. edit. Lugd. 1615.

Dissent Anticrit. Ital. tom. I

⁴ Ibid. p. 281.

" Antw. Plantiu. 1580, fol.

period, and I think he must be mistaken. It is certain that this art owed much to the laborious and mechanical genius of the Germans; and, in particular, their deep researches and experiments in chemistry, which they cultivated in the dark ages with the most indefatigable assiduity, must have greatly assisted its operations. I could give very early anecdotes of this art in England. But, with the careless haste of a lover, I am anticipating what I have to say of it in my HISTORY OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.

CHAP. xlv. A king leaves four sons by his wife, only one which is lawfully begotten. They have a contest for the throne. The dispute is referred to the deceased king's secretary, who orders the body to be taken from the tomb; and decrees, that the son who can shoot an arrow deepest into it shall be king. The first wounds the king's right hand; the second his mouth: the third his heart. The last wound is supposed to be the successful one. At length the fourth, approaching the body, cried out with a lamentable voice, "Far be it from me to wound my father's body!" In consequence of this speech, he is pronounced by the nobles and people present to be the true heir, and placed on the throne.

CHAP. xlviii. Dionysius is quoted for the story of Perillus's brasen bull.

Gower in the Confessio Amantis has this story; which be prefaces by saying that he found it in a Cronike. In Caxton's Golden Legende, Macrobius is called a chronicle. "Macrobius sayth in a cronike." Chronicles are naturally the first efforts of the literature of a barbarous age. The writers, if any, of those periods are seldom equal to any thing more than a bare narration of facts: and such sort of matter is suitable to the taste and capacity of their cotemporary readers. A further proof of the principles advanced in the beginning of this Dissertation.

CHAP. xlix. The duchess Rosmilla falls in love with Conan, king of Hungary, whom she sees from the walls of the city of

^{*} Lib. vii. f. 161. b. col. 1.

Fol. lxii. b.

Foro-Juli, which he is besieging. She has four sons and two daughters. She betrays the city to Conan, on condition the he will marry her the next day. Conan, a barbarian, executed the contract; but on the third day exposed her to his whole army, saying, "Such a wife deserves such a husband."

Paulus, that is, Paulus Diaconus, the historian of the Longobards, is quoted. He was chancellor of Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards; with whom he was taken captive by Charlemagne. The history here referred to is entitled Gesta Longobardorum.

CHAP. l. From Valerius Maximus.

CHAP. li. From Josephus.

CHAP. lii. From Valerius Maximus.

CHAP. liii. From the same.

Chap. liv. The emperor Frederick's marble portico near Capua.

I wonder there are not more romances extant on the lives of the Roman emperors of Germany; many of whom, to say no more, were famous in the crusades. There is a romance in old German rhyme, called Teuerdank, on Maximilian the First, written by Melchior Pfinzing his chaplain. Printed at Nuremberg in 1517².

CHAP. lv. Of a king who has one son exceedingly beautiful, and four daughters, named Justice, Truth, Mercy, and Peace.

CHAP. lvi. A nobleman invited a merchant to his castle, whom he met accordingly upon the road. At entering the castle, the merchant was astonished at the magnificence of the chambers, which were overlaid with gold. At supper, the nobleman placed the merchant next to his wife, who immediately shewed evident tokens of being much struck with her beauty. The table was covered with the richest dainties; but while all were served in golden dishes, a pittance of meat was

in Paulus's description of this siege.

² Fol. on vellum. It is not printed with moveable types: but every page is graved in wood or brass. With weeden cuts. It is a most beautiful book.

y See lib. iv. cap. xxviii. Apud Muratorii Scriptor. Ital. i. p. 465. edit. Mediolan. 1723. Where she is called Romikla. The king is Cacan, or Cacanus, a king of the Huns. There are some fine circumstances of distress

placed before the lady in a dish made out of a human scull. The merchant was surprised and terrified at this strange spectacle. At length he was conducted to bed in a fair chamber; where, when left alone, he observed a glimmering lamp in a nook or corner of the room, by which he discovered two dead bodies hung up by the arms. He was now filled with the most harrible apprehensions, and could not sleep all the night. When he rose in the morning, he was asked by the nobleman how he liked his entertainment? He answered, "There is plenty of every thing; but the scull prevented me from eating at supper, and the two dead bodies which I saw in my chamber from sleeping. With your leave therefore I will depart." The nobleman answered, "My friend, you observed the beauty of my wife. The scull which you saw placed before her at supper, was the head of a duke, whom I detected in her embraces, and which I cut off with my own sword. As a memorial of her crime, and to teach her modest behaviour, her adulterer's scull is made to serve for her dish. The bodies of the two young men hanging in the chamber are my two kinsmen, who were murthered by the son of the duke. To keep up my sense of revenge for their blood, I visit their dead bodies every day. Go in peace, and remember to judge nothing without knowing the truth."

Caxton has the history of Albione, a king of the Lombards, who having conquered another king, "lade awaye wyth hym Rosamounde his wyf in captyvyte, but after he took hyr to hys wyf, and he dyde do make a cuppe of the skulle of that kynge and closed in fyne golde and sylver, and dranke out of it." This, by the way, is the story of the old Italian tragedy of Messer Giovanni Rucellai planned on the model of the antients, and acted in the Rucellai gardens at Florence, before Leo the

p. 297. edit. 1580. The English reader may find it in Heylin's Cosmographie, B. i. col. i. p. 57. And in Machiavel's History of Florence, in English, Lond. 1680. B. i. p. 5. seq. See also Lydgate's Bochas, B. ix. ch. xxvii.

GOLDEN LEG. f. ccclxxxvii. a. edit. 1493. The compilers of the Sanctiloge probably took this story from Paulus Dinconus, Geor. Longorand. ut supr. 128. ii. cap. xxviii. p. 435. seq. It has been adopted, as a romantic tale, into the Hestorans Tragiques of Belleforest,

Tenth and his court, in the year 15165. Davenant has also tragedy on the same subject, called Albovine king of the Lorbards his Tragedy.

A most sanguinary scene in Shakespeare's Titus Adroncus, an incident in Dryden's, or Boccace's, TANCRED ar will Sigismonda, and the catastrophe of the beautiful metrical romance of the Lady of Faguel, are founded on the sarma horrid ideas of inhuman retaliation and savage revenge: but in the two last pieces, the circumstances are so ingenious ly imagined, as to lose a considerable degree of their atrocity, and to be productive of the most pathetic and interesting situations.

CHAP. lvii. The enchanter Virgil places a magical image the middle of Rome's, which communicates to the emperor Titus all the secret offences committed every day in the city

This story is in the old black-lettered history of the necro-

mancer Virgil, in Mr. Garrick's collection.

Vincent of Beauvais relates many wonderful things, miral to liter actitata, done by the poet Virgil, whom he represents a magician. Among others, he says, that Virgil fabricat those brazen statues at Rome, called Salvacio Roma, whi were the gods of the provinces conquered by the Romar Every one of these statues held in its hand a bell framed magic; and when any province was meditating a revolt, t statue, or idol, of that country struck his bell . This fiction is mentioned by the old anonymous author of the MIRABIL. ROME, written in the thirteenth century, and printed by More faucon'. It occurs in Lydgate's Bochas. He is speaking the Pantheon.

> Whyche was a temple of old foundation, Ful of ydols, up set on hye stages; There throughe the worlde of every nacion

" In the Canto Novalle Asticus. Nov. vii.

DIAR. ITAL. cap. xx. p. 288, cd. For the necromancer Virgil, see 1702. Many wonders are also relace of Rome, in an old metrical romarcalled THE STACYONS OF ROME, in whis Romulus is said to be born of the duck of Traye. MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. fol. 81.

See vol. iii. p. 237. vol. iii p. 62.

Specuta Hisron, lib. iv. cap. 61. f. 66. a.

Were of theyr goddes set up great ymages, To every kingdom direct were their visages, As poetes and Fulgens by hys live In bokes olde plainly doth dyscrive.

Every ymage had in his hande a bell, As apperteyneth to every nacion, Which, by craft some token should tell Whan any kingdom fil in rebellion, &c.^h

This fiction is not in Boccace, Lydgate's original. It is in the above-cited Gothic history of Virgil. Gower's Virgil, I think, belongs to the same romance.

And eke Virgil of acqueintance I sigh, where he the maiden prayd, Which was the doughter, as men sayd, Of the emperour whilom of Rome.

CHAP. lviii. King Asmodeus pardons every malefactor condemned to death, who can tell three indisputable truths or maxims.

CHAP. lix. The emperor Jovinian's history.

On this there is an antient French MORALITE, entitled, L'Orgueil et presomption de l'Empereur Jovinian^k. This is also the story of Robert king of Sicily, an old English poem, or romance, from which I have given copious extracts¹.

CHAP. lx. A king has a daughter named Rosimund, aged ten years; exceedingly beautiful, and so swift of foot, that her father promises her in marriage to any man who can overcome her in running. But those who fail in the attempt are to lose their heads. After many trials, in which she was always victorious, she loses the race with a poor man, who throws in her way a silken girdle, a garland of roses, and a silken purse in-

Fulgentius.

Confess. Amant. L. viii. f. clxxxix.

Tragedies of Bochas, B. ix. ch. i. a. col. 2.

st. 4. Compare vol. ii. p. 379.

See vol. ii. p. 30.

See vol. ii. p. 17.

closing a golden ball, inscribed, "Whoso plays with me mever be satisfied with play." She marries the poor man, with me inherits her father's kingdom.

This is evidently a Gothic innovation of the classical tale of Atalanta. But it is not impossible that an oriental apologue might have given rise to the Grecian fable.

CHAP. lxi. The emperor Claudius marries his daughter to the philosopher Socrates.

CHAP. lxii. Florentina's picture.

CHAP. Ixiii. Vespasian's daughter's garden. All her loves are obliged to enter this garden before they can obtain her love, but none return alive. The garden is haunted by a lion; and has only one entrance, which divides into so many windings, that it never can be found again. At length, she furnishes a knight with a ball or clue of thread, and teaches him how to foil the lion. Having achieved this adventure, he marries the lady.

Here seems to be an allusion to Medea's history.

CHAP. lxiv. A virgin is married to a king, because she makes him a shirt of a piece of cloth three fingers long and broad.

CHAP. lxv. A cross with four inscriptions.

Chap. lxvi. A knight offers to recover a lady's inheritance, which had been seized by a tyrant, on condition, that if he is slain, she shall always keep his bloody armour hanging in her chamber. He regains her property, although he dies in the attempt; and as often as she was afterwards sued for in marriage, before she gave an answer, she returned to her chamber, and contemplating with tears her deliverer's bloody armour, resolutely rejected every solicitation.

CHAP. lxvii. The wise and foolish knight.

CHAP. lxviii. A woman understands the language of birds. The three cocks.

CHAP. lxix. A mother gives to a man who marries her daughter a shirt, which can never be torn, nor will ever need washing, while they continue faithful to each other.

CHAP. lxx. The king's daughter who requires three impossible things of her lovers.

CHAP. bxii. The king who resigns his crown to his son.

CHAP. lxxiv. The golden apple.

CHAP. lxxv. A king's three daughters marry three dukes, who all die the same year.

CHAP. lxxvi. The two physicians.

CHAP. lxxix. The fable of the familiar ass.

CHAP. lxxx. A devout hermit lived in a cave, near which a shepherd folded his flock. Many of the sheep being stolen, the shepherd was unjustly killed by his master as being concerned in the theft. The hermit seeing an innocent man put to death, began to suspect the existence of a Divine Providence; and resolved no longer to perplex himself with the useless severities of religion, but to mix in the world. In travelling from his retirement, he was met by an angel in the figure of a man; who said, "I am an angel, and am sent by God to be your companion on the road." They entered a city; and begged for lodging at the house of a knight, who entertained them at a splendid supper. In the night, the angel rose from his bed, and strangled the knight's only child who was asleep in the cradle. The hermit was astonished at this barbarous return for so much hospitality, but was afraid to make any remonstrance to his companion. Next morning they went to another city. Here they were liberally received in the house of an opulent citizen; but in the night the angel rose, and stole a golden cup of inestimable value. The hermit now concluded that his companion was a Bad Angel. In travelling forward the next morning, they passed over a bridge; about the middle of which they met a poor man, of whom the angel asked the way to the next city. Having received the desired information, the angel pushed the poor man into the water, where he was immedistely drowned. In the evening they arrived at the house of a rich man; and begging for a lodging, were ordered to sleep in a shed with the cattle. In the morning the angel gave the rich man the cup which he had stolen. The hermit, amazed that the cup which was stolen from their friend and benefator should be given to one who refused them a lodging, began to be now convinced that his companion was the Devil; arms begged to go on alone. But the angel said, "Hear me, arma depart. When you lived in your hermitage a shepherd war. killed by his master. He was innocent of the supposed offence: but had he not been then killed, he would have committed crimes in which he would have died impenitent. His master endeavours to atone for the murther, by dedicating the remainder of his days to alms and deeds of charity. I strangled the child of the knight. But know, that the father was so intent on heaping up riches for this child, as to neglect those acts of public munificence for which he was before so distinguished, and to which he has now returned. I stole the golden cup of the hospitable citizen. But know, that from a life of the strictest temperance, he became, in consequence of possessing this cup, a perpetual drunkard; and is now the most abstemious of men. I threw the poor man into the water. He was then honest and religious. But know, had he walked one half of a mile further, he would have murthered a man in a state of mortal sin. I gave the golden cup to the rich man who refused to take us within his roof. He has therefore received his reward in this world; and in the next, will suffer the pains of hell for his inhospitality." The hermit fell prostrate at the angel's feet; and requesting forgiveness, returned to his hermitage, fully convinced of the wisdom and justice of God's government.

This is the fable of Parnell's Hermit, which that elegant yet original writer has heightened with many masterly touches of poetical colouring, and a happier arrangement of circumstances. Among other proofs which might be mentioned of Parnell's genius and address in treating this subject, by reserving the discovery of the angel to a critical period at the close of the fable, he has found means to introduce a beautiful description, and an interesting surprise. In this poem, the last instance of the angel's seeming injustice, is that of pushing

the guide from the bridge into the river. At this, the hermit is mable to suppress his indignation.

Wild sparkling rage inflames the Father's eyes,
He bursts the bonds of fear, and madly cries,
"Detested wretch!"—But scarce his speech began,
When the strange partner seem'd no longer man:
His youthful face grew more serenely sweet,
His robe turn'd white, and flow'd upon his feet;
Fair rounds of radiant points invest his hair;
Celestial odours fill the purple air:
And wings, whose colours glitter'd on the day,
Wide at his back their gradual plumes display,
The form ethereal bursts upon his sight,
And moves in all the majesty of light.

The same apologue occurs, with some slight additions and variations for the worse, in Howell's Letters; who professes to have taken it from the speculative sir Philip Herbert's Con-CEPTIONS to his Son, a book which I have never seen^m. These Letters were published about the year 1650. It is also found in the DIVINE DIALOGUES of doctor Henry Moren, who has illustrated its important moral with the following fine reflections. "The affairs of this world are like a curious, but intricately contrived Comedy; and we cannot judge of the tendency of what is past, or acting at present, before the entrance of the last Act, which shall bring in Righteousness in triumph: who, though she hath abided many a brunt, and has been very cruelly and despightfully used hitherto in the world, yet at last, according to our desires, we shall see the knight overcome the giant. For what is the reason we are so much pleased with the reading romances and the fictions of the poets, but that here, as Aristotle says, things are set down as they

Vol. iv. Let. iv. p. 7. edit. 1655.8vo.

^{*} Part i. p. 321. Dial. ii. edit. Lond. 1668. 12mo. I must not forget that it occurs, as told in our Gesta, among a

collection of Latin Apologues, quoted above, MSS. HARL. 463. fol. 8. a. The rubric is, De Angelo qui durit Heremitamad diversa Hospitia.

should be; but in the true history hitherto of the world, things are recorded indeed as they are, but it is but a testimony, that they have not been as they should be? Wherefore, in the upshot of all, when we shall see that come to pass, that so mightily pleases us in the reading the most ingenious plays and heroic. poems, that long afflicted vertue at last comes to the crown, the mouth of all unbelievers must be for ever stopped. And for my own part, I doubt not but that it will so come to pass in the close of the world. But impatiently to call for vengeance upon every enormity before that time, is rudely to overturn the stage before the entrance into the fifth act, out of ignorance of the plot of the comedy; and to prevent the solemnity of the general judgement by more paltry and particular executions."

Parnell seems to have chiefly followed the story as it is told by this Platonic theologist, who had not less imagination than learning. Pope used to say, that it was originally written in Spanish. This I do not believe: but from the early connection between the Spaniards and Arabians, this assertion tends

to confirm the suspicion, that it was an oriental tale.

CHAP. IXXXI. A king violates his sister. The child is exposed in a chest in the sea; is christened Gregory by an abbot who takes him up, and after various adventures he is promoted to the popedom. In their old age his father and mother go a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to confess to this pope, not knowing he was their son, and he being equally ignorant that they are his parents: when in the course of the confession, a discovery is made on both sides.

CHAP. lxxxix. The three rings.

This story is in the Decameron, and in the Cento No-VELLE ANTICHE : and perhaps in Swift's Tale of a Tub.

CHAP, xev. The tyrant Maxentius. From the Gesta Ro-MANORUM, which are cited.

I think there is the romance of Maxence, Constantine's antagonist.

CHAP, xcvi. King Alexander places a burning candle in his

9 Ibid. p. 395.

" Nov. IxxL

hall; and makes proclamation, that he will absolve all those who owe him forfeitures of life and land, if they will appear before the candle is consumed.

CHAP. xcvii. Prodigies before the death of Julius Cesar, who is placed in the twenty-second year of the city. From the CHAONICA, as they are called.

CHAP. xcix. A knight saves a serpent who is fighting in a forest with a toad, but is afterwards bit by the toad. The knight languishes many days: and when he is at the point of death, the same serpent, which he remembers, enters his chamber, and sucks the poison from the wound.

CHAP. ci. Of Ganterus, who for his prowess in war being elected a king of a certain country, is on the night of his coronation conducted to a chamber, where at the head of the bed is a fierce lion, at the feet a dragon, and on either side a bear, tods, and serpents. He immediately quitted his new kingdom; and was quickly elected king of another country. Going to rest the first night, he was led into a chamber furnished with a bed richly embroidered, but stuck all over with sharp rezors. This kingdom he also relinquishes. At length he meets a hermit, who gives him a staff, with which he is directed to knock at the gate of a magnificent palace seated on a lofty mountain. Here he gains admittance, and finds every sort of happiness unembittered with the least degree of pain.

The king means every man advanced to riches and honour, and who thinks to enjoy these advantages without interruption and alloy. The hermit is religion, the staff penitence, and the palace heaven.

In a more confined sense, the first part of this apologue may be separately interpreted to signify, that a king when he enters on his important charge, ought not to suppose himself to sucteed to the privilege of an exemption from care, and to be put into immediate possession of the highest pleasures, conveni-

ing with and being killed by the spider, originate from Pliny, NAT. HIST. X. 84. XX. 13.

The stories, perhaps fabulous, of the serpent fighting with his inveterate enemy the weazel, who eats rue before the strack begins, and of the serpent fight-

encies, and felicities of life; but to be sensible, that from the moment he begins to encounter the greatest dangers and ficulties.

CHAP. cii. Of the lady of a knight who went to the hall land. She commits adultery with a clerk skilled in necromans. Another magician discovers her intrigues to the absent knight by means of a polished mirror, and his image in wax.

In Adam Davie's Gest or romance of ALEXANDER, Notabanus, a king and magician, discovers the machinations his enemies by embattelling them in figures of wax. This the most extensive necromantic operation of the kind that remember, and must have formed a puppet-show equal to most splendid pantomime.

Barounes weore whilom was and gode, That this ars wel undurstode: Ac on ther was Neptanamous Wist in this are and malicious: Whan kyng other eorl of cam on him to weorre Quyk he loked in the steorre*; Of wax made him popetts, And made heom fyzhte with battes: And so he learned, je vous dy, Ay to aquelle * hys enemye, With charms and with conjurisons: Thus he assied the regiouns, That him cam for to asaile, In puyr manyr of bataileb; By cler candel in the nyzt, He mad uchon with other to fyzt, Of alle manere nacyouns, That comen by schip or dromouns. At the laste, of mony londe Kynges therof haden gret onded,

^{*} art, necromancy.

* wise.

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Chaucer's Call

* or earl.

* puppets.

* conquer.

* very, real.

* had great jealousy or anger.

Well thritty y gadred beoth, And by spekith al his deth f. Kyng Philipp^s of grete thede Maister was of that fede h: He was a mon of myzty hond, With hem brouzte, of divers lond, Nyne and twenty ryche kynges, To make on hym bataylynges: Neptanamous hyt understod; Ychaunged was al his mod; He was aferde sore of harme: Anon he deede i caste his charme; His ymage he madde anon, And of his barounes everychon, And afterward of his fone k; He dude hem to gedere to gon! In a basyn al by charme: He sazh on him fel theo harme^m; He seyz flye n of his barounes Of al his lond distinctiouns, He lokid, and kneow in the sterre, Of al this kynges theo grete werre, &c.p

terwards he frames an image of the queen Olympias, or ympia, while sleeping, whom he violates in the shape of a agon.

Theo lady lyzt q on hire bedde, Yheoled' wel with silken webbe, In a chaysel' smok scheo lay, And yn a mantell of doway:

near thirty were gathered, or confeated.

all resolved to destroy him.

Philip of Macedon.

felde, field, army.

he did.

enemies.

he made them fight.

he saw the harm fall on, or against, melf.

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a waw fly.

the great war of all these kings.
MSS. (Bodl, Bibl.) LAUD. L.74.5.54.

a laid. covered.

In the romance of Aris et Possus-Lion. Cod. Reg. Par. 7191.

> Un chemis de chaisil De fil, et d'œvre moult souzil.

Of theo bryztnes of hire face Al about schone the place. Herbes he tok in an herber, And stamped them in a morter, And wrong * hit in a box: After he tok virgyn wox And made a popet after the quene, His ars-table, he can unwrene; The quenes name in the wax he wrot, Whil hit was sumdel hot: In a bed he did dyzt Al aboute with candel lyzt, And spreynd theron of the herbus: Thus charmed Neptanabus. The lady in hir bed lay Abouzt mydnyzt, ar the day a, Whiles he made conjuryng, Scheob sawe flec, in her metyngd, Hire thought, a dragoun lyzt, To hire chaumbre he made his flyzt, In he cam to her bour And crept undur hir covertour, Mony sithes he hire kust f And fast in his armes prust, And went away, so dragon wyld, And grete he left hire with child.

t Perhaps in SYR LAUNFAL, the same situation is more elegantly touched. MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2. fol. 35. a.

In the pavyloun he fond a bed of prys, I heled with purpur bys
That semyle was of syghte;
Ther inne lay that lady gente,
That after syr Launfal heddey sente,
That lefsome beamed bryght:
For hete her clothes down sche dede,
Almest to her gerdylstede;
Than lay sche uncovert:
Sche was as whyt as lylye yn Maye,
Or snow that sneweth yn wynterys day;

He seygh never non so pert,
The rede rose whan sche is newe
Ayens her rode nes naught of hewe,
I dar well say yn sert
Her here schon as gold wyre, &c.

y This is described above, f. 55.

Of gold he made a table
Al ful of steorron [stars].

An astrolabe is intended.

z sprinkled. before day.
b she. fly. d dream.
times. kissed her.

Fol. 57. The text is here given from

ritus, Virgil, and Horace, have left instances of inis conducted by figures in wax. In the beginning o. century, many witches were executed for attempting of persons, by fabricating representations of them in clay. King James the First, in his DAEMONOLOGIE, f this practice as very common; the efficacy of which aptorily ascribes to the power of the devil h. His maguments, intended to prove how the magician's image on the person represented, are drawn from the depths , theological, physical, and metaphysical knowledge. bian magic abounded with these infatuations, which tly founded on the doctrine of sympathy.

return to the Gesta Romanorum. In this story ne magicians is styled Magister peritus, and sometimes Lagister. That is, a cunning-man. The title Magister niversities has its origin from the use of this word in lle ages. With what propriety it is now continued I Mystery, antiently used for a particular art 1, or general, is a specious and easy corruption of Maistery ery, the English of the Latin Magisterium, or Artin French Maistrise, Mestier, Mestrie, and in Italian io, with the same sense k. In the French romance of DES, a physician is called simply Maitre.

spit. Lincoln. 150. See ONFESS. AMANT. lib. vi. fol. col. 1. seq.

ough the crafte of artemage, he forged an ymage, &c.

ragon, in approaching the nirteis and debonaire.

the chere that he maie. the bedde ther as she laie, ame to hir the beddes side laie still, and nothyng cride; lid all hys thynges faire, s curteis and debonaire.

!. I could not resist the tempanscribing this gallantry of a ower's whole description of ew, as will appear on comems to be taken from Beau-

L. ut supr. Compared with vais, " Nectabanus se transformat in illum draconis seductiorem tractum, tricliniumque penetrat reptabundus, specie spectabilis, tum majestate totius corporis, tum etiam sibilorum acumine adeo terribilis, ut parietes etiam ac fundamenta domus quati viderentur," Hist. Specul. fol. 41. b. ut supr. Aul. Gell. Nocr. Att. vii. 1.

^h Edit. 1603. 4to. B. ii. ch. iv. p. 44.

For instance, "the Art and Myster, of Printing."

k In a statute of Henry the Eighth, instead of the words in the last note, we have "The Science and Craft of Printing." Ann. Reg. 25. A.D. 1583. Fo. many reasons, Mystery answering to the Latin Mysterium, never could have been originally applied in these cases.

Lie sont de chou qu'il n'y a Peril et que bien garira: Car il li Maistre ainsi dit leur ont.

And the medical art is styled Mestrie. "Quant il (the sur geon) aperçut que c'estoit maladie non mie curable par nature et par Mestrie, et par medicine "," &c. Maistrise is usecom for art or workmanship, in the Chronicon of Saint Denis Entre les autres presens, li envoia une horologe de latonne ouvrez par marveilleuse Maistrise "." That the Latin Magi -STERIUM has precisely the same sense appears from an account of the contract for building the conventual church of Casino in Italy, in the year 1349. The architects agree to build the church in the form of the Lateran at Rome. "Et in casu sialiquis [defectus] in eorum Magisterio appareret, promiserum resarcire." Chaucer, in the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, was Maistrise for artifice and workmanship.

> Was made a toure of grete maistrise, A fairer saugh no man with sight, Large, and wide, and of grete might, &c.

And, in the same poem, in describing the shoes of MIRTH,

And shode he was, with grete maistrie, With shone decopid and with lace. q

MAYSTRYE occurs in the description of a lady's saddle, in STE Launfal's romance,

> Her sadell was semely sett, The sambus wer grene felvet,

m Mirac. S. Ludov. edit. reg. p. 438. ⁿ Tom. v. Collect. Histor. Franc. pag. 254. Thus expressed in the Latin very same signification, in the beautiful Annales Franciæ, ibid. p. 56. "Horologium ex aurichalco arte mechanica mirifice compositum."

· · · · Hist. Casin. tom. ii. p. 545. col. ii. Chart. ann. 1349.

P R. R. v. 4172. Ibid. v. 842.

I know not what ornament or implement of the antient horse-furniture is here intended, unless it is a saddle-cloth; nor can I find this word in any glossy. But Sambue occurs, evidently under the manuscript French romance of GARD, written in the twelfth century.

Li palefrois sur coi la dame-site. Estoit plus blanc que nule flor de lis; Le loreins vaut mils sols parisis, Et la Sausuz nul plus riche ne vist.

"The palfrey on which the lady sate, was whiter than any flower de lis: the I paynted with ymagerye;
The bordure was of belies.
Of ryche golde and nothyng elles
That any man myghte aspye:
In the arsouns before and behynde
Were twey stones of Ynde
Gay for the maystrye.
The paytrelle of her palfraye
Was worth an erldom, &c.

e saddle-bow were two jewels of India, very beautiful een, in consequence of the great art with which they rought *." Chaucer calls his Monke,

a richer Saubue never was seen."

nch word, however, is properly

numbue, and is not uncommon

ench wardrobe rolls, where it

o be a female saddle-cloth, or

So in Le Roman de la Rose,

e royne fust vestue, vauchast à grand Sambur.

n word, and in the same resense, is sometimes Sambua, commonly Sambuca. Orderiis, lib. viii. p. 694. edit. Par. Mannos et mulas cum Sambubribus prospexit." Vincent of says, that the Tartarian women, ride, have Cambucas of paint-; embroidered with gold, hangon either side of the horse. Hist. x. 85. But Vincent's s was originally written cam-Sambucas. To such an enorurticle of the trappings of female ship had arisen in the middle t Frederick king of Sicily reit by a sumptuary law; which that no woman, even of the ink, should presume to use a or saddle-cloth, in which were er, or pearls, &c. Constitut. Queen Olympias, in Davie's Alexander, has a Sambue of 54. [infr. vol. ii. p. 54.]

also whyte so mylke, el of golde, sambue of sylke, &c. "Of this fashion I have already given many instances. The latest I remember is in the year 1503, at the marriage of the princess Margaret. "In specyall the Erle of Northumberlannd ware on a goodly gowne of tynaill, fourned with hermynes. He was mounted upon a fayre courser, hys harnays of goldsmyth worke, and thorough that sam was sawen small belies, that maid a mellodyous noyse." Leland. Coll. at calc, tom. iii. p. 276.

In the Nonnes Preserve Protogue, Chaucer, from the circumstance of the Monke's bridle being decorated with bells, takes occasion to put an admirable stroke of humour and satise into the mouth of the Hosre, which at once ridicules that inconsistent piece of affectation, and censures the monk for the duliness of his tale. Ver. 14796.

Swiche talking is not worth a boterflie, For therin is ther no disport ne game: Therefore sire monke, dan Piers by your

I pray you hertely tell us somwhat elles, Forsikerly, n'ere clinking of your belles That on your bridel hange on every side, By heven king that for us alle dide, I shoulde or this have fallen down for slepe.

Although the slough had been never so depe.

' saddle-bow. See infr. vol. i. p. 177.

breast-plate.

* MS. fol. 40. a.

An outrider, that lovid venery.

Fayre for the Maistrie means, skilled in the Maistrie of the game, La Maistrise du Venerie, or the science of hunting, then so much a favorite, as simply and familiarly to be called the maistrie. From many other instances which I could produce, I will only add, that the search of the Philosopher's Stone is called in the Latin Geber, Investigatio Magisterii.

CHAP. ciii. The merchant who sells three wise maxims to the wife of Domitian.

CHAP. civ. A knight in hunting meets a lion, from whose foot he extracts a thorn. Afterwards he becomes an outlaw; and being seized by the king, is condemned to be thrown into a deep pit to be devoured by a hungry lion. The lion fawns on the knight, whom he perceives to be the same that drew the thorn from his paw. Then said the king, "I will learner in forbearance from the beasts. As the lion has spared your life, when it was in his power to take it, I therefore grant you a free pardon. Depart, and be admonished hence to live virtuously."

The learned reader must immediately recollect a similar story of one Androclus, who being exposed to fight with wike beasts in the Roman amphitheatre, is recognised and unattacked by a most savage lion, whom he had formerly healed exaction in the same manner. But I believe the whole is nothing more than an oriental apologue on gratitude, written much earlier; and that it here exists in its original state. Androclus's story is related by Aulus Gellius, on the authority of a Greek writer, one Appion, called Plistonices, who flourished under Tiberius. The character of Appion, with which Gellius prefaces this tale, in some measure invalidates his credit; notwithstanding he pretends to have been an eye witness of this extraordinary fact. "Ejus libri," says Gellius, "non incelebres feruntur; quibus, omnium ferme quæ mirifica in Ægypto visuntur audiunturque, historia comprehenditur. Sed in his quæ audivisse et legisse sese

dicit, fortasse a vitio studioque ostentationis fit loquacior; " &c. Had our compiler of the Gesta taken this story from Gellius, it is probable he would have told it with some of the same circumstances: especially as Gellius is a writer whom he frequently follows, and even quotes; and to whom, on this occasion, he might have been obliged for a few more strokes of the marvellous. But the two writers agree only in the general subject. Our compiler's narrative has much more simplicity than that of Gellius; and contains marks of eastern manners and life. Let me add, that the oriental fabulists are fond of illustrating and enforcing the duty of gratitude, by feigning instances of the gratitude of beasts towards men. And of this the present compilation, which is strongly tinctured with orientalism, affords several other proofs.

CHAP. cv. Theodosius the blind emperor ordained, that the cause of every injured person should be heard on ringing a bell placed in a public part of his palace. A serpent had a nest near the spot where the bell-rope fell. In the absence of the serpent, a toad took possession of her nest. The serpent twisting herself round the rope, rang the bell for justice; and by the emperor's special command the toad was killed. A few days afterwards, as the king was reposing on his couch, the serpent entered the chamber, bearing a precious stone in her mouth. The serpent creeping up to the emperor's face, laid the precious stone on his eyes, and glided out of the apartment. Immediately the emperor was restored to his sight.

This circumstance of the Bell of Justice occurs in the real history of some eastern monarch, whose name I have forgot.

In the Arabian philosophy, serpents, either from the brightness of their eyes, or because they inhabit the cavities of the earth, were considered as having a natural, or occult, connexion with precious stones. In Alphonsus's Clericalis Disciplina, a snake is mentioned, whose eyes were real jacinths. In Alexander's romantic history, he is said to have found serpents in the vale of Jordian, with collars of huge emeralds

² Noct. Attic. lib. v. cap. xiv. See was an eye witness, ibid. l. vii. cap. viii. another fabulous story, of which Appion It is of a boy beloved by a dolphin.

growing on their necks. The toad, under a vulgar indiscriminating idea, is ranked with the reptile race: and Shakespeare has a beautiful comparison on the traditionary notion that the toad has a rich gem inclosed within its head. Milton, gives his sement eyes of carbuncle^b.

CHAP. cvi. The three fellow-travellers, who have only one

loaf of bread.

This apologue is in Alphonsus.

CHAP. cvii. There was an image in the city of Rome, which stretched forth its right hand, on the middle finger of which was written STRIKE HERE. For a long time none could understand the meaning of this mysterious inscription. At length a certain subtle Clerk, who came to see this famous image, observed, as the sun shone against it, the shadow of the inscribed finger on the ground at some distance. He immediately took a spade, and began to dig exactly on that spot. He came at length to a flight of steps which descended far under ground. and led him to a stately palace. Here he entered a hall, where he saw a king and queen sitting at table, with their nobles and a multitude of people, all clothed in rich garments. But no person spake a word. He looked towards one corner, where he saw a polished carbuncle, which illuminated the whole room . In the opposite corner he perceived the figure of a man standing, having a bended bow with an arrow in his hand,

* Vincent Beauvais, Spacon. Hist. lib. iv. c. 58, fol. 42, a.

PARAD. L. 13. 500.

See infr. vol. iii. p. 63. So in the romance, of LAT, of STR LAUNTAL, MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 35. a.

And when they come in the forest an

A pavyloun yteld he sygh: The pavyloun was wrouth forsothe,

ywys, All of werk of Sarsynys!, The pomelies of crystall.-

On the top was a beast,

Of bournede golde, ryche and good,

Iflorysched with ryche amall ?; Hys eyn wer carbonkeles bryglu, As the mone they schon anyght, That spreteth out ovyr all: Alysaundre the conquerour, Ne kyng Artour yn hys most honour Ne hadde noon scwych suell He fond yn the pavyloun, The kynges doughter of Olyroun, Dame Triamour that hyghte. Her fadyr was kyng of Fayrye.

And in the alliterative romance, called the SECT OF JERUSALEM, MSS. COLL. Calig. A. 2. fol. 122 b.

Tytus tarriedde norto' for that, but to the tempul rode.

enamel. Incop. Saracen-work. balls, pinnaçles. " nought.

as prepared to shoot. On his forehead was written, "I am, who am. Nothing can escape my stroke, not even yonder carbuncle which shines so bright." The Clerk beheld all with anazement; and entering a chamber, saw the most beautiful ladies working at the loom in purpled. But all was silence. He then entered a stable full of the most excellent horses and asses: he touched some of them, and they were instantly turned into stone. He next surveyed all the apartments of the palace, which abounded with all that his wishes could desire. He again visited the hall, and now began to reflect how he should return; "but," says he, "my report of all these wonders will not be believed, unless I carry something back with me." He therefore took from the principal table a golden cup and a golden knife, and placed them in his bosom. When, the men who stood in the corner with the bow, immediately shot at the carbuncle, which he shattered into a thousand pieces. At that moment the hall became dark as night. In this dark-

That was rayled in the roofe with rubyes ryche,

With perles and with perytotes all the place sette,

That glystered as coles in the fyre, on the golde ryche;

The dores with dyamondes dryven were

thykke, And made also marveylously with mar-

gery perles,

That ever lemede the lyzt, and as a lampe shewed:

The clerkes bad none other lyzte.—

The original is, "mulieres pulcherrimas in purpura et pallo operantes inmuit." fol. L. a. col. 1. This may mean
either the sense in the text, or that the
ladies were cloathed in purpura et pallo,
a phrase which I never saw before in
burbarous latinity: but which tallies
with the old English expression purple
and pall. This is sometimes written
purple pall. As in Syr Launyal, ut
sepr. fol. 40. a.

The lady was clad yn purpure palle.

Antiently Pallium, as did Purpura, signified in general any rich cloth. Thus there were saddles, de pallio et ebore; a bed, de pallio; a cope, de pallio, &c. &c. See Dufresne, Lat. Gloss. V. Pallium. And Pellum, its corruption. In old French, to cover a hall with tapestry was called paller. So in Syr Launfal, ut supr. fol. 40. a.

Thyn halle agrayde, and hele [cover] the walles

With clodes [clothes], and wyth ryche palles,

A yens [against] my Lady Tryamour.

Which also illustrates the former meaning. In A. Davie's GEST of Alexander we have,

Her bed was made forsothe
With pallis and with riche clothe,
The chambre was hangid with clothe of
gold. fol. 57.

On the finger of Becket, when he was killed, was a jewel called Peretot. MONAST. ANGL. i. 6. 7 margarites.

ness not being able to find his way, he remained in the subterraneous palace, and soon died a miserable death.

.. In the Moralisation of this story, the steps by which the Clerk descends into the earth are supposed to be the Passions. The palace, so richly stored, is the world with all its vanities and temptations. The figure with the bow bent is Death, and the carbuncle is Human Life. He suffers for his avarice in coveting and seizing what was not his own; and no sooner has he taken the golden knife and cup, that is, enriched himself with the goods of this world, than he is delivered up to the gloom and horrors of the grave.

3

E

2

Spenser in the FAERIE QUEENE, seems to have distantly remembered this fable, where a fiend expecting sir Guyon will be tempted to snatch some of the treasures of the subterraneous House of Richesse, which are displayed in his view, is prepared to fasten upon him.

> Thereat the fiend his gnashing teeth did grate, And griev'd so long to lack his greedie pray; For well he weened that so glorious bayte Would tempt his guest to take thereof assay: Had he so doen, he had him snatcht away More light than culver in the faucon's fist. e

This story was originally invented of pope Gerbert, or Sylvester the Second, who died in the year 1003. He was eminently learned in the mathematical sciences, and on that account was styled a magician. William of Malmesbury is, I believe, the first writer now extant by whom it is recorded: and he produces it partly to shew, that Gerbert was not always successful in those attempts which he so frequently practised to discover treasures hid in the earth, by the application of the necromantic arts. I will translate Malmesbury's narration of this fable, as it varies in some of the circumstances, and has some heightenings of the fiction. "At Rome there

brazen statue, extending the forefinger of the right hand; and on its forehead was written Strike here. Being suspected to conceal a treasure, it had received many bruises from the credulous and ignorant, in their endeavours to open it. At length Gerbert unriddled the mystery. At noon-day observing the reflection of the forefinger on the ground, he marked the spot. At night he came to the place, with a page carrying a lamp. There by a magical operation he opened a wide passage in the earth; through which they both descended, and came to a vast palace. The walls, the beams, and the whole structure, were of gold: they saw golden images of knights playing at chess, with a king and queen of gold at a banquet, with numerous attendants in gold, and cups of immense size and value. In a recess was a carbuncle, whose lustre illuminated the whole pelace: opposite to which stood a figure with a bended bow. As they attempted to touch some of the rich furniture, all the golden images seemed to rush upon them. Gerbert was too wise to attempt this a second time: but the page was bold enough to snatch from the table a golden knife of exquisite workmanship. At that moment, all the golden images rose up with a dreadful noise; the figure with the bow shot at the carbuncle; and a total darkness ensued. The page then replaced the knife, otherwise, they both would have suffered a cruel death." Malmesbury afterwards mentions a brazen bridge, Framed by the enchantments of Gerbert, beyond which were golden horses of a gigantic size, with riders of gold richly illuminated by the most serene meridian sun. A large company sttempt to pass the bridge, with a design of stealing some pieces of the gold. Immediately the bridge rose from its foundations, and stood perpendicular on one end: a brazen man appeared from beneath it, who struck the water with a mace of brass, and the sky was overspread with the most horrible gloom. Gerbert, like some other learned necromancers of the Gothic ages, was supposed to have fabricated a brazen head under the influence of certain planets, which answered questions. I forbear to suggest any more hints for a future collection of

Arabian tales. I shall only add Malmesbury's account of the education of Gerbert, which is a curious illustration of what has been often inculcated in these volumes, concerning the introduction of romantic fiction into Europe 1. "Gerbert, a native of France, went into Spain for the purpose of learning astrology, and other sciences of that cast, of the Saracens; who, to this day, occupy the upper regions of Spain. They are seated in the metropolis of Seville; where, according to the customary practice of their country, they study the arts of divination and enchantment.- Here Gerbert soon exceeded Ptolemy in the astrolabe, Alchind in astronomy, and Julius Firmicus in fatality. Here he learned the meaning of the flight and language of birds, and was taught how to raise spectres from hell. Here he acquired whatever human curiosity has discovered for the destruction or convenience of mankind. I say nothing of his knowledge in arithmetic, music, and geometry; which he so fully understood as to think them beneath his genius, and which he yet with great industry introduced into France, where they had been long forgotten. He certainly was the first who brought the algorithm from the Saracens, and who illustrated it with such rules as the most studious in that science cannot explain. He lodged with a philosopher of that sect "," &c.

I conclude this chapter with a quotation from the old metrical romance of Syr Libeaux Diasconios, where the knight, in his attempt to disenchant the Lady of Sinadone, after entering the hall of the castle of the necromancers, is almost in similar circumstances with our subterraneous adventurers. The passage is rich in Gothic imageries; and the most striking part of the poem, which is mentioned by Chaucer as a popular romance.

See Diss. i. And vol. i. 235.

Lib. vi. fol. 88. edit. 1580. Vincent of Beauvais has transcribed all that William of Malmesbury has here said about Gerbert, Special Histon. Lab. axiv. c. 98. seq. f. 344. a. Compare Platma, Vit. Powier, fol. 122. cdn. 1985. See also L'Histoire Literaire de France, by the Benedictines, tom. vi. ad. calc.

De Greet. Rec. Ange. lib. ii. cap. 10. p. 36. s. b. 37. s. b. edit. Savil. Lond. 596. fol. Afterwards Malmesbury mentions his horologe, which was not of the nature of the modern clock. but which yet is recorded as a wonderful invention by his cotemporary Ditmar, Chaos.

Syr Lybeauus, knyght certeys, Rod ynto the palys,

And ate the halle alyghtei:

Trompes, shalmuses k,

He seygh, be for the heygh deys!,

Stonde in hys syghte.

A mydde the halle flore,

A fere, stark and store^m,

Was lyght, and brende bryght.

Nere the dor he yede,

And ladde pyn hys stede

. That wont was helpe hym in fyght.

Lybeauus inner q gan pace

To se ech a place^r,

The hales in the halle,

Of mayne mor ne lasse

Ne sawe he body ne face',

But menstrales yclodeth yn palle, &c. u

So much melodye

Was never wythinne walle.

Before ech menstrale stod

A torche fayre w and good,

Brennynge fayre and bryght.

Inner more he yode,

To wyte, wyth egre mode

Ho scholde wyth hym fyght:

He yede ynto the corneres,

And lokede on the pylers,

That selcouth wer of syght,

Of jasper and of fyn crystall, &c.

he saw at the high table.

* lighted, and burned bright.

p led. q farther in.

to see, to view, every place or thing.

* perhaps, holes, i. e. corners.

u clothed in rich attire.

a torch fair and good.

à courteous.

à instruments of music.

a fire, large and strong: store is

^{*} yede, went into the door of the hall, with his horse.

t he saw no man.

^{*} to know, in angry mood what knight would, &c.

The dores wer of bras;

The wyndowes wer of glas

Florysseth with imagerye':

The halle ypaynted was *,

No rychere never ther nas

That he hadde seye wyth eye2.

He sette hym an that deysb,

The menstrales wer yn pesc,

That were so gode and tryed.

The torches that brende bryghte

Quenchede anon ryght^f;

The menstrales wer aweyes:

Dores, and wyndowes alle,

Beten yn the halle

As hyt wer voys of thunder, &c.—

As he sat thus dysmayde,

And helde hymselfe betrayde,

Stedes herde he naye, &c. h

This castle is called, "A paleys queynt of gynne," and, "by negremancye ymaketh of fayrye'."

CHAP. cviii. The mutual fidelity of two thieves.

CHAP. cix. The chest and the three pasties.

A like story is in Boccace's Decameron^k, in the Cento Novelle Antiche¹, and in Gower's Confessio Amantis^m.

The story, however, as it stands in Gower, seems to be copied from one which is told by the hermit Barlaam to king Avenamore, in the spiritual romance, written originally in Greek about the year 800, by Joannes Damascenus a Greek monk, and translated into Latin before the thirteenth century,

y painted glass.

With finger that is trie.

² the walls were painted with histories.

² had seen.

b he sate down in the principal scat.

e were suddenly silent.

d tried, excellent. Chaucer, Rim. Sir. Thop. p. 146. Urr. v. 3361.

^{*} burned so bright.

f were instantly quenched, or extinguished.

g vanished away.

h MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 52. b. seq.

¹ Ibid. f. 52. b. k x. 1.

¹ Nov. lxv. ^m Lib. v. fol. 96. a.

ⁿ See Joan. Damasceni Opera nonnul.

Huron ed calc. pag. 12. Basil 1548.

HISTOR. ad calc. pag. 12. Basil. 1548. fol. The chests are here called Arcella.

, BARLAAM and JOSAPHAT°. But Gower's immediate if not Boccace, was perhaps Vincent of Beanvais, who bout the year 1290, and who has incorporated Damashistory of Barlaam and Josaphat^p, who were canonised, Speculum Historiale . As Barlaam's fable is prohe remote but original source of Shakespeare's Casn the Merchant of Venice, I will give the reader a ion of the passage in which it occurs, from the Greek , never yet printed. "The king commanded four o be made: two of which were covered with gold, and by golden locks, but filled with the rotten bones of carcasses. The other two were overlaid with pitch, and with rough cords; but replenished with pretious and the most exquisite gems, and with ointments of the odour. He called his nobles together; and placing nests before them, asked which they thought the most They pronounced those with the golden coverings ne most pretious, supposing they were made to contain wns and girdles of the king. The two chests covered tch they viewed with contempt. Then said the king, med what would be your determination: for ye look e eyes of sense. But to discern baseness or value, are hid within, we must look with the eyes of the mind. n ordered the golden chests to be opened, which exan intolerable stench, and filled the beholders with In the Metrical Lives of the Saints, written he year 1300, these chests are called four fates, that is, ts or vessels t.

ke no apology for giving the reader a translation from

nfr. vol. ii. p. 321. And ibid.
. 167.
extant in Surius, and other
s.
Rege Auemur, &c. Lib. xiv.
en. 1591. It contains sixtyters.
ctor Johnson's abridgement of
this from Boccace, which he

to have been Shakespeare's

original, the king says, that in one of the Caskets was "contained his crown, sceptre and jewels," &c. See Steevens's Shakespeare, vol. iii. p. 255. edit. 1779.

^{*} MSS. LAUD. C. 72. Bibl. Bodl. Compare Caxton's Golden Legende, fol. ccclxxxxiii. b. And Surius, VIT. SANCTOR. Novembr. 27. Ann. 383. pag. 560. Colon. Agrippin. 1618.

^t MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 292. b.

the same Greek original, which is now before me, of the story of the Boy told in the DECAMERON. "A king had an only son. As soon as he was born, the physicians declared, that if he was allowed to see the sun, or any fire, before he arrived at the age of twelve years, he would be blind. The king commanded an apartment to be hewed within a rock, into which no light could enter; and here he shut up the boy, totally in the dark, yet with proper attendants, for twelve years. At the end of which time, he brought him abroad from his gloomy chamber, and placed in his view, men, women, gold, pretions stones, rich garments, chariots of exquisite workmanship drawn by horses with golden bridles, heaps of purple tapestry, armediaknights on horseback, oxen and sheep. These were all distinctly pointed out to the youth: but being most pleased with the women, he desired to know by what name they were called. An esquire of the king jocosely told him, that they were devilwho catch men. Being brought to the king, he was asked which he liked best of all the fine things he had seen. He replied, the devils who catch men," &c. I need not enlarge Boccace's improvements ".

This romantic legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, which is history of considerable length, is undoubtedly the compositions of one who had an intercourse with the East: and from the strong traces which it contains of the oriental mode of moralising, appears plainly to have been written, if not by the monk whose name it bears, at least by some devout and learned ascetic of the Greek church, and probably before the tenth century.

Leland mentions Damascenus de Gestis Barlaam et Josaphat, as one of the manuscripts which he saw in Nettleyabbey near Southampton w.

CHAP. cx. The life of the knight Placidus, or Placidas*, afterwards called Eustacius.

This fable occurs in an old Collection of Apologues above cited, MSS. HARL. 463. fol. 2. a.

COLLECTAN. tom. iii. p. 149. edit. 1770.

² Sir *Placidas* is the name of a knight in the FARRIR QUEENE.

It occurs in Caxton's Golden Legende, Among the Cotton manuscripts there is a metrical legend or romance on this story 2.

CHAP. cxi. The classical story of Argus and Mercury, with some romantic additions. Mercury comes to Argus in the character of a minstrel, and lulls him to sleep by telling him tales and singing, incepit more histrionico fabulas dicere, et pleranque cantare.

CHAP. cxii. The son of king Gorgonius is beloved by his step-mother. He is therefore sent to seek his fortune in a foreign country, where he studies physic; and returning, heals his father of a dangerous disease, who recovers at the sight of him. The step-mother, hearing of his return, falls sick, and dies at seeing him.

CHAP. cxiii. The tournaments of the rich king Adonias. A party of knights arrive the first day, who lay their shields anide, in one place. The same number arrives the second day, each of whom chuses his antagonist by touching with his spear the shield of one of the first day's party, not knowing the owner.

The most curious anecdote of chivalry, now on record, occurs in the ecclesiastical history of Spain. Alphonsus the Ninth, about the year 1214, having expelled the Moors from Toledo, endeavoured to establish the Roman missal in the place of saint Isidore's. This alarming innovation was obstinately opposed by the people of Toledo; and the king found that his **Project** would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. The contest at length between the two missals grew so serious, that it was mutually resolved to decide the controversy, not by a theological disputation, but by single combat; in which the champion of the Toletan missal proved victorious.

Many entertaining passages relating to trials by single combat may be seen in the old Imperial and Lombard laws. In Cax-

p

Fol. cccxxiii, b. See vol. iii, p. 25. Reg. Paris. Cod. 3031. And METRIC. LIVES S. MSS. Bodl. 779.

¹ Calso. A. 2. fol. 135. b. This is a translation from the French. MSS.

See the Mozarabes, or Missal of Saint Isidore, printed at Toledo, by the command of Cardinal Ximenes, A.D. 1500. fol.

ton's Boke of the Fayttes of Armes and of Chivalry, printed at Westminster in the year 1489, and translated from the French of Christine of Pisa, many of the chapters towards the end are compiled from that singular monument of Gothic legislation.

CHAP. CXV. An intractable elephant is lulled asleep in a forest by the songs and blandishments of two naked virgins. One of them cuts off his head, the other carries a bowl of his blood to the king. Rex vero gavisus est valde, et statim fecit fieri PURPURAM, et multa alia, de eodem sanguine.

In this wild tale, there are circumstances enough of general analogy, if not of peculiar parallelism, to recall to my memory the following beautiful description, in the manuscript romance of Syr Launfal, of two damsels, whom the knight unexpectedly meets in a desolate forest.

As he sat in sorow and sore, He sawe come out of holtes hore Gentyll maydenes two; Har kerteles wer of Inde sandelb I lased c smalle, jolyf and wel; Thar myght^d noon gayer go. Har manteles were of grene felwete Ybordured with gold ryghte well ysette, I pelured f with gris and grog; Har heddysh wer dyght well withalle, Everych hadde on a jolyf coronall, With syxty gemmys and moi. Har faces war whyt as snowe on downe, Har rode k was red, har eyn were broune, I sawe never none swyche!. The oon bar of gold a basyn, That other a towayle whyt and fyn, Of selk that was good and ryche.

b Indian silk. Cendal. Fr. See Dufresne, Lat. Gl. V. CENDALUM. c laced. d there might.

e velvet. furred, pelura, pellis.

gris is fur, gris and gray is comin the metrical romances.

h their heads.
h ruddiness.
i more.
such.

Har kercheves were well schyre^m
Arayd with ryche gold wyre, &c.ⁿ

P. cxvi. The queen of Pepin king of France died in ed, leaving a son. He married a second wife, who bore vithin a year. These children were sent abroad to be. The surviving queen, anxious to see her child, desired oth the boys might be brought home. They were so ingly alike, that the one could not be distinguished from er, except by the king. The mother begged the king it out her own son. This he refused to do, till they oth grown up; lest she should spoil him by too fond a ity. Thus they were both properly treated with uniform in, and without excess of indulgence.

vorite old romance is founded on the indistinctible liketwo of Charlemagne's knights, Amys and Amelion; illy celebrated by Turpin, and placed by Vincent of ais under the reign of Pepin.

- P. cxvii. The law of the emperor Frederick, that who-scued a virgin from a rape might claim her for his wife. P. cxviii. A knight being in Egypt, recovers a thousand which he had entrusted to a faithless friend, by the of an old woman.
- s tale is in Alphonsus. And in the CENTO NOVELLE HEP.

ough a forest, fell into a deep pit, in which were a lion, and a serpent. A poor man who gathered sticks in est hearing his cries, drew him up: together with the ne ape, and the serpent. The Seneshall returned home, sing to reward the poor man with great riches. Soon ards the poor man went to the palace to claim the proreward; but was ordered to be cruelly beaten by the nall. In the mean time, the lion drove ten asses laden old to the poor man's cottage: the serpent brought him

[°] Spreul. Hist. xxiii. c. 162. f. 329. b.

S. Cotton. Calig. A. 9. fol. 35. a.

a pretious stone of three colours: and the ape, when he came to the forest on his daily business, laid him heaps of wood. The poor man, in consequence of the virtues of the serpent's pretious stone, which he sold, arrived to the dignity of knighthood, and acquired ample possessions. But afterwards he found the pretious stone in his chest, which he presented to the king. The king having heard the whole story, ordered the Seneshall to be put to death for his ingratitude, and preferred the poor man to his office.

This story occurs in Symeon Seth's translation of the celebrated Arabian fable-book called Calilah u Dumnah 4. It is recited by Matthew Paris, under the year 1195, as a para ble which king Richard the First, after his return from the east____ was often accustomed to repeat, by way of reproving those ungrateful princes who refused to engage in the crusader. It is versified by Gower, who omits the lion, as Matthew Paris documents the ape, in the fifth book of the Confessio Amantis. He thus describes the services of the ape and serpent to the poor man, who gained his livelihood by gathering sticks in a forest.

> He gan his ape anone behold, Which had gadred al aboute, Of stickes here and there a route, And leyde hem redy to his honde, Whereof he made his trusse and bond From daie to daie. — Upon a time and as he drough Towarde the woodde, he sigh beside The great gastly serpent glide, Till that she came in his presence, And in hir kynde a reverence She hath hym do, and forthwith all A stone more bright than a christall

P. 444. This work was translated with wooden cuts. 4to. into English under the title of "Donies MORALL PHILOSOPHIE, translated from the Indian tongue, 1570." Black letter

the Italian translator.

^{&#}x27; Hist. Maj. p. 179. Edit. Wats.

^{*} fol. 110. b.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

Out of hir mouth to fore his waye She lett down fall. — — —

In Gower also, as often as the poor man sells the pretious stone, on returning home, he finds it again among the money in his purse.

The acquisition of riches, and the multiplication of treasure, by invisible agency, is a frequent and favorite fiction of the Arabian romance. Thus, among the presents given to Sir Launbly the Lady Triamore, daughter of the king of Faerie,

I will the zeve t an Alner u,
I mad of sylver and gold cler,
With fayre ymages thre:
As ofte thou puttest thy honde therinne,
A mark of gold thou schalt wynne w,
In wat place that thou be. z

CHAP. cxx. King Darius's legacy to his three sons. To the idest he bequeathes all his paternal inheritance: to the second, it that he had acquired by conquest: and to the third, a ring and necklace, both of gold, and a rich cloth. All the three last gifts were endued with magical virtues. Whoever wore the ring on his finger, gained the love or favour of all whom he desired to please. Whoever hung the necklace over his breast, obtained all his heart could desire. Whoever sate down on the cloth, could be instantly transported to any part of the world which he chose.

From this beautiful tale, of which the opening only is here given, Occleve, commonly called Chaucer's disciple, framed a poem in the octave stanza, which was printed in the year 1614, by William Browne, in his set of Eclogues called the Shermeards Pipe. Occleve has literally followed the book before us, and has even translated into English prose the Moralisation annexed. He has given no sort of embellishment to

Perhaps Almer, or Almere, a cabinet or chest. [purse.] get, find.

The Laungal MSS. Cott. Calif.

A. 2. fol. 35. b.

y Viz. MSS. SELD. Sup. 53. Where is a prologue of many stanzas not printed by Browne. See also MSS. Digs. 185.

his original, and by no means deserves the praises which Browne in the following elegant pastoral lyrics has bestowed on his performance, and which more justly belong to the genuine Gothic, or rather Arabian, inventor.

Well I wot, the man that first Sung this lay, did quenche his thirst Deeply as did ever one In the Muses Helicon. Many times he hath oeen seene With the faeries on the greene, And to them his pipe did sound As they danced in a round; Mickle solace would they make him, And at midnight often wake him, And convey him from his roome To a fielde of yellow broome, Or into the medowes where Mints perfume the gentle aire, And where Flora spreads her treasure There they would beginn their measure. If it chanced night's sable shrowds Muffled Cynthia up in clowds, Safely home they then would see him, And from brakes and quagmires free him. There are few such swaines as he Now a dayes for harmonie.2

The history of Darius, who gave this legacy to his three sons, is incorporated with that of Alexander, which has been decorated with innumerable fictions by the Arabian writers. There is also a separate romance on Darius. And on Philip of Macedon².

MSS. LAUD. K. 78. [See infra, vol. ii. 348.]

[Mr. Warton has not been [strictly] accurate in this statement. Occleve's immediate model was our English Gesta;

nor is it improbable that he might even be the translator of it. The moralization also is entirely different.—Doucz.]

² Egl. i.

Bibl. Rec. Paris. MSS. Cod. 3031.

CHAP. CXXIV. Of the knights who intercede for their friend rith a king, by coming to his court, each half on horseback and half on foot.

This is the last novel in the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE.

CHAP. CXXVI. Macrobius is cited for the address and humour of an ingenuous boy named Papirius.

This is one of the most lively stories in Macrobius².

CHAP. cxxviii. The forged testament of the wicked knight, under the reign of Maximian.

CHAP. cxxix. A young prince is sent on his travels. His three friends.

CHAP. CXXXII. The four physicians.

CHAP. CXXXIII. The king and his two greyhounds.

CHAP. CXXXIV. A story from Seneca.

CHAP. CXXXV. The story of Lucretia, from saint Austin's CITY OF GOD.

A more classical authority for this story, had it been at hand, would have been slighted for saint Austin's CITY OF GOD, which was the favorite spiritual romance; and which, as the transition from religion to gallantry was antiently very easy, gave rise to the famous old French romance called the CITY OF LADIES.

CHAP. CXXXVII. The Roman emperor who is banished for his impartial distribution of justice. From the CRONICA of Eusebius.

CHAP. CXXXVIII. King Medro.

CHAP. CXXXIX. King Alexander, by means of a mirrour, kills a cockatrice, whose look had destroyed the greatest part of his army.

Aelian, in his Various History, mentions a serpent which appearing from the mouth of a cavern, stopped the march of Alexander's army through a spacious desert. The wild beasts, serpents, and birds, which Alexander encountered in marching through India, were most extravagantly imagined by the

² SATURNAL. Lib. i. c. 6. pag. 147. Londin. 1694.

oriental fabulists, and form the chief wonders of that monarch's romance^b.

CHAP. cxl. The emperor Eraclius reconciles two knights.

This story is told by Seneca of Cneius Piso^c. It occurs in Chaucer's Sompnour's Tale, as taken from Senec, or Seneca^d.

CHAP. cxli. A knight who had dissipated all his substance in frequenting tournaments, under the reign of Fulgentius, is reduced to extreme poverty. A serpent haunted a chamber of his house; who being constantly fed with milk by the knight in return made his benefactor rich. The knight's ingratitude and imprudence in killing the serpent, who was supposed guard a treasure concealed in his chamber.

Medea's dragon guarding the golden fleece is founded on the oriental idea of treasure being guarded by serpents. We are told in Vincent of Beauvais, that there are mountains of solid gold in India guarded by dragons and griffins.

CHAP. cxliii. A certain king ordained a law, that if my man was suddenly to be put to death, at sun-rising a trumper should be sounded before his gate. The king made a great feast for all his nobles, at which the most skilful musicious were present. But amidst the general festivity, the king was sad and silent. All the guests were surprised and perplexed at the king's melancholy; but at length his brother ventured

b In Vincent of Beauvais, there is a long fabulous History of Alexander, transcribed partly from Simeon Seth. Spec. Hist. lib. iv. c. i. f. 41. a. seq. edit. Ven. 1591. fol.

CDe Ira, lib. i. c. 8.

4 Ver. 7600. Tyrwh.

* Specul. Hist. lib. i. c. 64. fol. 9. b.

In the days of chivalry, a concert of a variety of instruments of music constantly made a part of the solemnity of a splendid feast. Of this many instances have been given. I will here add another, from the unprinted metrical romance of Emars. MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 2. fol. 71. a.

Syre Kadore lette make a festa,
That was fayr and honeste,
Wyth hys lorde the kynge;
Ther was myche menstralse,
Trompus, tabors, and sawtre,
Bothe harpe, and fydyllyng:
The lady was gentyll and small,
In kurtull alone served yn hall
Byfore that nobull kyng:
The cloth upon her schone so brygish,
When she was theryn ydyghth,
She semed non erdly thynge, &c.
And in Chaucer, Jan. and May, v.1834.

يخ

Ib

vì

궆

Att everie cours came the loud min-

to ask him the cause. The king replied, "Go home, and you shall hear my answer to-morrow." The king ordered his trumpeters to sound early the next morning before his brother's gate, and to bring him with them to judgment. The brother, hearing this unexpected dreadful summons, was seized with **Phorror**, and came before the king in a black robe. The king commanded a deep pit to be made, and a chair composed of The most frail materials, and supported by four slight legs, to be placed inclining over the edge of the pit. In this the brother, being stripped naked, was seated. Over his head a sharp aword was hung by a small thread of silk. Around him four men were stationed with swords exceedingly sharp, who were to wait for the king's word, and then to kill him. In the mean time, a table covered with the most costly dishes was spread before him, accompanied with all sorts of music. Then said the king, "My brother, why are you so sad? Can you be dejected, in the midst of this delicious music, and with all these choice dainties?" He answered, "How can I be glad, when I have this morning heard the trumpet of death at my doors, and while I am seated in this tottering chair? If I make the smallest motion, it will break, and I shall fall into the pit, from which I shall never arise again. If I lift my head, the suspended sword will penetrate my brain; while these four tormentors only wait your command to put me to death." The king replied, "Now I will answer your question, why I was sad yesterday. I am exactly in your situation. I am seated, like you, in a frail and perishable chair, ready to tumble to pieces every moment, and to throw me into the infernal pit. Divine judgment, like this sharp sword, hangs over my head: and I am surrounded, like you, with four executioners. That before me is Death, whose coming I cannot tell; that behind me, my Sins, which are prepared to accuse me before the tribunal of God; that on the right, the Devil, who is ever watching for his prey; and that on the left, the Worm, who is now hungering after my flesh. Go in peace, my dearest brother: and never ask me again why I am sad at a feast."

Gower, in the Confessio Amantis, may perhaps have copied the circumstance of the morning trumpet from this apologue. His king is a king of Hungary.

It so befell, that on a dawe There was ordeined by the lawe A trompe with a sterne breathe, Which was cleped the trompe of deathe: And in the court where the kyng was, A certaine man, this trompe of brasse Hath in kepyng, and therof serveth, That when a lorde his deathe deserveth. He shall this dredfull trompe blowe To fore his gate, to make it knowe, Howe that the jugement is yeve Of deathe, whiche shall not be foryeve. The kyng whan it was night anone, This man assent, and bad him gone, To trompen at his brothers gate; And he, whiche mote done algate, Goth foorth, and doth the kyng's heste. This lorde whiche herde of this tempest That he tofore his gate blewe, Tho wist he by the lawe, and knewe That he was schurly deade^g, &c.

But Gower has connected with this circumstance a different story, and of an inferior cast, both in point of moral and imagination. The truth is, Gower seems to have altogether followed this story as it appeared in the Speculum Historials of Vincent of Beauvaish, who took it from Damascenus's romance of Barlaam and Josaphat. Part of it is thus told in Caxton's translation of that legendk. "And the kynge hadde suche a custome, that whan one sholde be delyvered to

^{*} Lib. i. fol. xix. b. col. i.

h Ubi supr. p. ccxxiii.

i Orr. ut supr. pag. 12.

L See Caxton's Golden Legende,

fol. ccclxxxxiii. b. See also METRICAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS, MSS. BOOL. 779.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

th, the kynge sholde sende hys cryar wyth hys trompe that a ordeyned therto. And on the even he sente the cryar th the trompe tofore bys brother's gate, and made to sounce trompe. And whan the kynges brother herde this, he was despayr of sauynge of his lyf, and coude not slepe of alle nyght, and made his testament. And on the morne erly, cladde hym in blacke: and came with wepyng with hys f and chyldren to the kynges paleys. And the kynge made m to com tofore hym, and sayd to hym, A fooll that thou t, that thou hast herde the messager of thy brother, to whom ou knowest well thou hast not trespaced and doubtest so booke, howe oughte not I then ne doubte the messageres of ir lorde, agaynste whom I have soo ofte synned, which signeed unto me more clerely the deth then the trompe?"

CHAP. cxlv. The philosopher Socrates shows the cause of a insalubrity of a passage between two mountains in Armenia, y means of a polished mirrour of steel. Albertus is cited; an abot of Stade, and the author of a Chronicle from Adam to 256.

CHAP. cxlvi. Saint Austin's CITY OF GOD is quoted for an swer of Diomedes the pirate to king Alexander.

CHAP. cxlviii. Aulus Gellius is cited.

Aulus Gellius is here quoted, for the story of Arion¹, throwg himself into the sea, and carried on the back of a dolphin king Periander at Corinth^m. Gellius relates this story from lerodotus, in whom it is now extantⁿ.

CHAP. cliii. The history of Apollonius of Tyre.

This story, the longest in the book before us, and the groundork of a favorite old romance, is known to have existed beare the year 1190.

In the Prologue to the English romance on this subject, alled Kynge Apolyne of Thyre, and printed by Wynkyn e Worde in 1510, we are told. "My worshypfull mayster Vynkyn de Worde, havynge a lytell boke of an auncyent

¹ It is printed Amon.

^{*} Lib. viii.

^m Noct. Attic. lib. xvi. cap. xix.

hystory of a kynge somtyme reygnyne in the countree of The called Appolyn, concernynge his malfortunes and peryllo adventures right espouventables, bryefly compyled and py ous for to here; the which boke, I Robert Coplande has me applyed for to translate out of the Frensshe language in our maternal Englysshe tongue, at the exhortacyon of forsayd mayster, accordynge dyrectly to myn auctor: glad followinge the trace of my mayster Caxton, begynninge will small storyes and pamfletes and so to other." The English romance, or the French, which is the same thing, exactly con responds in many passages with the text of the Gesta. I will instance in the following one only, in which the complication of the fable commences. King Appolyn dines in disguise the hall of king Antiochus.—" Came in the kynges daught accompanyed with many ladyes and damoyselles, whose sple dente beaute were too long to endyte, for her rosacyate loure was medled with grete favour. She dranke unto hir fad and to all the lordes, and to all them that had ben at the plant of the Shelde p. And as she behelde here and there, she especially kynge Appolyn, and then she sayd unto her fader, Syr, whi is he that sytteth so hye as by you, it semeth by hym that he is angry or sorrowfull? The kynge sayd, I never sawe nimble and pleasaunt a player at the shelde, and therfore have I made hym to come and soupe with my knyghtes. And ye wyll knowe what he is, demaunde hym; for peradvents he wyll tell you sooner than me. Methynke that he is depose ed from some good place, and I thinke in my mynde that some thynge is befallen hym for which he is sorry. This sayd, noble dameysell wente unto Appolyn and said, "Fayre S graunt me a boone. And he graunted her with goode here

The printer of that name. He also translated from the French, at the desire of Edward duke of Buckingham, the remains of the Kangur of the Swanne.

The printer of that name. He also translated from the French of the Swanne.

The tournament. To tourney is the talled simply to play. As thus in

SVE LAUNTAL, MSS. Cott. CALIG. &

Hym thoughte he bronte bryghte.

But he myghte with Launfal pley.

In the felde between ham tweys.

To justy other to fyghte.

And in many other places.

And she sayd unto hym, Albeyt that your vysage be tryst and hevy, your behavour sheweth noblesse and facundyte, and therefore I pray you to tell me of your affayre and estate. Appolyn answered, Yf ye demaunde of my rychesses, I have lest them in the sea. The damoysell sayd, I pray you that you tell me of your adventures q." But in the Gesta, the princess at entering the royal hall kisses all the knights and lords present, except the stranger. Vossius says, that about the year 1520, one Alamanus Rinucinus, a Florentine, translated into Latin this fabulous history; and that the translation was corrected by Beroaldus. Vossius certainly cannot mean, that he translated it from the Greek original.

CHAP. cliv. A story from Gervase of Tilbury, an Englishmen, who wrote about the year 1200, concerning a miraculous statue of Christ in the city of Edessa.

CHAP. clv. The adventures of an English knight named Albert in a subterraneous passage, within the bishoprick of Ely.

This story is said to have been told in the winter after supper, in a castle, cum familia divitis ad focum, ut Potentibus moris est, RECENSENDIS ANTIQUIS GESTIS operam daret, when the family of a rich man, as is the custom with the Great, was sitting round the fire, and telling ANTIENT GESTS. traite of the private life of our ancestors, who wanted the diversions and engagements of modern times to relieve a tedious evening. Hence we learn, that when a company was assembled, if a jugler or a minstrel were not present, it was their custom to entertain themselves by relating or hearing a series of adventures. Thus the general plan of the CANTERBURY TALES, which at first sight seems to be merely an ingenious invention of the poet to serve a particular occasion, is in great measure founded on a fashion of antient life: and Chaucer, in supposing each of the pilgrims to tell a tale as they are travelling to Becket's shrine, only makes them adopt a mode of

^q CAP. xi.

Fol. lxxii. b. col. 2.

^{*} Hist. Lat. lib, iii. c. 8. pag. 552. edit. 1627. 4to.

amusement which was common to the conversations of his age. I do not deny, that Chaucer has shown his address in the use and application of this practice.

So habitual was this amusement in the dark ages, that the graver sort thought it unsafe for ecclesiastics, if the subjects admitted any degree of levity. The following curious injunction was deemed necessary, in a code of statutes assigned to a college at Oxford in the year 1292. I give it in English. "CH. xx.—The fellows shall all live honestly, as becomes Clerks.—They shall not rehearse, sing, nor willingly hear, BALLADS or TALES of LOVERS, which tend to lasciviousness and idleness t." Yet the libraries of our monasteries, as I have before observed, were filled with romances. In that of Croyland-abbey we find even archbishop Turpin's romance, placed on the same shelf with Robert Tumbeley on the Canticles, Roger Dymock against Wickliffe, and Thomas Waleys on the Psalter. But their apology must be, that they thought this a true history: at least that an archbishop could write nothing but truth. Not to mention that the general subject of those books were the triumphs of christianity over paganism".

CHAP. clvi. Ovid, in his Trojan War, is cited for the story of Achilles disguised in female apparel.

Gower has this history more at large in the Confession Amantis: but he refers to a *Cronike*, which seems to be the BOKE OF TROIE, mentioned at the end of the chapter.

CHAP. clvii. The porter of a gate at Rome, who taxes all deformed persons entering the city. This tale is in Alphonsus. And in the Cento Novelle Antiche*.

CHAP. clviii. The discovery of the gigantic body of Pallas, son of Evander, at Rome, which exceeded in height the walls of the city, was uncorrupted and accompanied with a burning lamp, two thousand two hundred and forty years after the de-

^t Cantilenas vel fabulas de Amasus, &c. MS. Registr. Univ. Oxon. D. b. f. 76. See p. 96.

^u Leland. Coll. iii. p. 90.

struction of Troy. His wound was fresh, which was four feet and a half in length.

It is curious to observe, the romantic exaggerations of the classical story.

CHAP. clix. Josephus, in his book de Causis rerum natura-Zian, is quoted, for Noah's discovery of wine.

I know not any book of Josephus on this subject. The first editor of the Latin Josephus was Ludovicus Cendrata of Verona, who was ignorant that he was publishing a modern trans-Lation. In the Dedication he complains, that the manuscript was brought to him from Bononia so ill-written, that it was often impossible even to guess at Josephus's words. And in another place he says, Josephus first wrote the Antiquitates an Hebrew, and that he afterwards translated them from Hebrew into Greek, and from Greek into Latin,

The substance of this chapter is founded on a Rabbinical tradition, related by Fabricius 2. When Noah planted the vine, Satan attended, and sacrificed a sheep, a lion, an ape, and a **20w.** These animals were to symbolise the gradations of ebriety. When a man begins to drink, he is meek and ignorant as the lamb, then becomes bold as the lion, his courage is soon transformed into the foolishness of the ape, and at last he wallows in the mire like the sow. Chaucer hence says in the Manci-PLES PROLOGUE, as the passage is justly corrected by Mr. Tyrwhitt,

> I trowe that ye have dronken wine of ape, And that is when men plaien at a strawe².

In the old Kalendrier des Bergers, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has remarked, Vin de singe, vin de mouton, vin de lyon, and vin de porceau, are mentioned, in their respective operations on the four temperaments of the human body.

CHAP. clxi. Of a hill in a forest of England, where if a

At Verona. 1480. By Peter Mauf- ² Cop. Pskudepige. Vet. Ti fer a Frenchman. It is a most beauti- vol. i. p. 275. ful and costly book, printed on vellum * Ver. 16993. Tyrwh.

hunter sate after the chace, he was refreshed by a miracula person of a mild aspect, bearing a capacious horn, adorn with gems and gold^b, and filled with the most delicious lique. This person instantly disappeared after administering throught; which was of so wonderful a nature, as to dispel through the most oppressive lassitude, and to make the body more vigore than before. At length, a hunter having drank of this hor ungratefully refused to return it to the friendly apparition and his master, the lord of the forest, lest he should appear countenance so atrocious a theft, gave it to king Henry the elder.

This story, which seems imperfect, I suppose, is from G vase of Tilbury.

CHAP, clxii. The same author is cited for an account of hill in Castile, on which was a palace of demons.

Whenever our compiler quotes Gervase of Tilbury, the seference is to his Otia Imperialia: which is addressed to the emperor Otho the Fourth, and contains his Commentarius regnis Imperatorum Romanorum, his Mundi Descriptio, and the Tractatus de Mirabilibus Mundi. All these four have be improperly supposed to be separate works.

CHAP. clxiii. King Alexander's son Celestinus. CHAP. clxvii. The archer and the nightingale.

This fable is told in the Greek legend of BARLAAM A JOSAPHAT, written by Johannes Damascenus^d. And in Caxton Golden Legende^c. It is also found in the Clerical Disciplina of Alphonsus.

Chap. claviii. Barlaam is cited for the story of a man, who flying from a unicorn, and falling into a deep and noisom phung on the boughs of a lofty tree which grew from the bottom. On looking downward, he saw a huge dragon twisted rounthe trunk, and gaping to devour him. He also observed to mice gnawing at the roots of the tree, which began to totte

The text says, "Such a one as is used at this day."

That is, Henry the First, king of England.

* Orr. ut supr. p. 22. See also Such ut supr. Novembr. 27. pag. 568.

* Fol. ceclxxxxii, b.

Four white vipers impregnated the air of the pit with their poisonous breath. Looking about him, he discovered a stream of honey distilling from one of the branches of the tree, which he began eagerly to devour, without regarding his dangerous mituation. The tree soon fell: he found himself struggling in losthsome quagmire, and was instantly swallowed by the dragon.

This is another of Barlaam's apologues in Damascenus's womance of Barlaam and Josaphat: and which has been adopted into the Lives of the Saints by Surius and others.

A Moralisation is subjoined, exactly agreeing with that in the Gesta.

CHAP. clxix. Trogus Pompeius is cited, for the wise legislation of Ligurius, a noble knight.

Our compiler here means Justin's abridgement of Trogus; which, to the irreparable injury of literature, soon destroyed its original. An early epitome of Livy would have been attended with the same unhappy consequences.

CHAP. clxx. The dice player and saint Bernard.

This is from saint Bernard's legend h.

CHAP. clxxi. The two knights of Egypt and Baldach.

This is the story of Boccace's popular novel of Tito and Gisippo, and of Lydgate's Tale of two Marchants of Egypt and of Baldad, a manuscript poem in the British Museum, and lately in the library of doctor Askew. Peter Alphonsus quoted for this story; and it makes the second Fable of his CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA.

I take the liberty of introducing a small digression here, which refers to two pieces of the poet last-mentioned, never commerated among his works. In the year 1483, Caxton printed at Westminster, "The Pylaremage of the Sowle translated oute of Frensshe into Englisshe. Full of devout maters touching the sowle, and many questyons assoyled to cause a man

¹ See Caxton's GOLDEN LEGEND. fol. corclexxxiii. a.

See Damascenus, ut supr. pag. 31. And Metrical Lives of Saints, MSS.

Bodt. 779. f. 293. b.

h See Caxton's Gold. Led. f. cxxix. b.
R. Edwards has a play on this story,
1582.

to lyne the better, &c. Emprinted at Westminster by William Courton the first yere of kynge Edward V. 1483." The French book, which is a vision, and has some degree of imagination, is probably the Pelerin De L'Ame, of Guillaume prior de Chaulis. This translation was made from the French, additions, in the year 1413. For in the colophon are these words. "Here endeth the dreme of the Pylgremage of THE Sowle translated out of Frensche into Englisshe, with somehate of Addicions, the yere of our lorde M.cccc. and thyrteen, and endethe in the vigyle of Seint Bartholomew." The trunclater of this book, at least the author of the Addicions, which altogether consist of poetry in seven-lined stanzas, I believe to be Lydgate. Not to insist on the correspondence of time and style____ I observe, that the thirty-fourth chapter of Lydgate's metrica. LIFE OF THE VIRGIN MARY is literally repeated in the thirtyfourth chapter of this Translation. This chapter is a digression of five or six stanzas in praise of Chaucer; in which the writer feelingly laments the recent death of his maister Chancer poete of Britaine, who used to amende and correcte the wrong traces of my rude penne. No writer besides, in Lydgate's own life-time, can be supposed, with any sort of grace or propriety. to have mentioned those personal assistances of Chaucer, in Lydgate's own words. And if we suppose that the Transletion, or its Addicions, were written by Lydgate before he wrote his Life of the Virgin, the proof will be the same .

Another piece probably written by Lydgate, yet never supposed or acknowledged to be of his composition, is a poem in the octave stanza, containing thirty-seven leaves in folio, and entitled Laberous and Marveylous Worke of Sapience. After a long debate between Mercy and Truth, and Justice and Peace, all the products of nature and of human knowledge are described, as they stand arranged in the palace and dominions of Wisdom. It is generally allowed to have been printed by Caxton: it has not the name of the printer, nor any

¹ See vol. ii. p. 426.

Stowe mentions Lydgate's "PIL-GRIMAGE OF THE WORLD by the com-

maundement of the earle of Salisburie, 1426." But this must be a different work. Ad calc. Opp. Chauc. fol. 376. col. 1.

date. Had it been written by Caxton, as I once hastily suspected, or by any of his cotemporaries, the name of Lydgate would have appeared in conjunction with those of Gower and Chancer, who are highly celebrated in the Prologue as erthely godi expert in poesie: for these three writers were constantly joined in panegyric, at least for a century, by their successors, the distinguished triumvirate of English poetry. In the same Prologue, the author says he was commanded to write this poem by the king. No poet cotemporary with Caxton was of consequence enough to receive such a command: and we: know that Lydgate compiled many of his works by the direction, or under the patronage, of king Henry the Fifth. Lydgate was born in Suffolk: and our author from the circonstance of having lived in a part of England not of a very polished dialect, apologises for the rudeness of his language, so that he cannot delycately endyte. It is much in the style and manner of Lydgate: and I believe it to have been one of his early performances 1.

CHAP. clxxii. A king of England has two knights, named Guido and Tirius. Guido having achieved many splendid exploits for the love of a beautiful lady, at length married her. Three days after his marriage he saw a vision, which summoned him to engage in the holy war. At parting she gave him a ring; saying, "as often as you look on this ring, remember Soon after his departure she had a son. After various adventures, in which his friend Tirius has a share, at the end of seven years he returned to England in the habit of a pilgrim. Coming to his castle, he saw at the gate his lady sitting, and distributing alms to a croud of poor people; ordering them all to pray for the return of her lord Guido from the holy land. She was on that day accompanied by her son a little boy, very beautiful, and richly apparelled; and who hearing his mother, as she was distributing her alms, perpetually recommending

not if this is the poem recited by Stowe, and called "The Courte of Sapience

¹ See vol. iii. p. 30. Note ". I know in heaven for redemption of mankind." Ubi supr. col. i.

Guido to their prayers, asked, if that was his father? Among others, she gave alms to her husband Guido, not knowing him in the pilgrim's disguise. Guido, seeing the little boy, took him in his arms, and kissed him: saying, "O my sweet son, may God give you grace to please him!" For this boldness he was reproved by the attendants. But the lady, finding him destitute and a stranger, assigned him a cottage in a neighbouring forest. Soon afterwards falling sick, he said to his servant, "Carry this ring to your lady, and tell her, if she desires ever to see me again, to come hither without delay." The servent conveyed the ring; but before she arrived, he was dead. She threw herself on his body, and exclaimed with tears, "Whereare now my alms which I daily gave for my lord? I saw your receive those alms, but I knew you not.—You beheld, embraced, and kissed your own son, but did not discover yourself to him nor to me. What have I done, that I shall see you need more?" She then interred him magnificently.

The reader perceives this is the story of Guido, or Guyearl of Warwick; and probably this is the early outline of the life and death of that renowned champion.

Many romances were at first little more than legends of devotion, containing the pilgrimage of an old warrior. At length, as chivalry came more into vogue, and the stores of invention were increased, the youthful and active part of the pilgrim's life was also written, and a long series of imaginary martial adventures was added, in which his religious was eclipsed by his heroic character, and the penitent was lost in the knighterrant. That which was the principal subject of the short and simple legend, became only the remote catastrophe of the voluminous romance. And hence by degrees it was almost an established rule of every romance, for the knight to end his days in a hermitage. Cervantes has ridiculed this circumstance with great pleasantry, where Don Quixote holds a grave debate with Sancho, whether he shall turn saint or archbishop.

So reciprocal, or rather so convertible, was the pious and the military character, that even some of the apostles had their

romance. In the ninth century, the chivalrous and fabling spirit of the Spaniards transformed saint James into a knight. They pretended that he appeared and fought with irresistible fury, completely armed, and mounted on a stately white horse, in most of their engagements with the Moors; and because, by his superior prowess in these bloody conflicts, he was supposed to have freed the Spaniards from paying the annual tribute of a hundred christian virgins to their infidel enemies, they represented him as a professed and powerful champion of distressed damsels. This apotheosis of chivalry in the person of their own apostle, must have ever afterwards contributed to exaggerate the characteristical romantic heroism of the Spaniards, by which it was occasioned; and to propagate through succeeding ages, a stronger veneration for that species of military enthusiasm, to which they were naturally devoted. It is certain, that in consequence of these illustrious achievements in the Moorish wars, saint James was constituted patron of Spain; and became the founder of one of the most magnificent shrines, and of the most opulent order of knighthood, now existing in christendom. The Legend of this invincible apostle is inserted in the Mosarabic liturgy.

CHAP. clxxiii. A king goes to a fair, carrying in his train, a master with one of his scholars, who expose six bundles, containing a system of ethics, to sale.

Among the revenues accruing to the crown of England from the Fair of saint Botolph at Boston in Lincolnshire, within the Honour of Richmond, mention is made of the royal pavilion; or booth, which stood in the fair, about the year 1280. This fair was regularly frequented by merchants from the most capital trading towns of Normandy, Germany, Flanders, and other countries. "Ibidem [in feria] sunt quædam domus quædiemtur Bothe regie, quæ valent per annum xxviii, l. xiii, s. iiii, d. Ibidem sunt quædam domus quas Mercatores de Yfre tenent, quæ valent per annum, xx, l. Et quædam

^{*} Compare Matth. Paris. edit. Watts. p. 927. 40.—And p. 751. 10.

domus quas Mercatores de Cadomo' et Ostoganio e tenena, i, l. Et quædam domus quas Mercatores de Anaco' se nent, xiii, l. vi, s. viii, d. Et quædam domus quas Mercatores de Colonia tenent, xxv, l. x, s." The high rent these lodges, is a proof that they were considerable edifices point of size and accommodation.

CHAP, clxxiv. The fable of a serpent cherished in a man

About the year 1470, a collection of Latin fables, in books, distinguished by the name of Esop, was published Germany. The three first books consist of the sixty anony mous elegiac fables, printed in Nevelet's collection, under the title of Anonymi Fabulæ Æsopicæ, and translated in 1503, by Wynkyn de Worde, with a few variations: under each is fable in prose on the same subject from Romelus, or the old prose LATIN Esop, which was probably fabricated in the twelft century. The fourth book has the remaining fables of Rome lus in prose only. The fifth, containing one or two fables on which were never called Esop's, is taken from Alphonsus, the GESTA ROMANORUM, the CALILA U DAMNAH, and other of scure sources. The sixth and last book has seventeen fable ex translatione Rinucii, that is Rinucius, who translated Pla nudes's life of Esop, and sixty-nine of his fables, from Gree into Latin, in the fifteenth century. This collection soon terwards was circulated in a French version, which Caxto translated into English.

In an antient general Chronicle, printed at Lubec in 147 and entitled Rudimentum Novitionum, a short life of Est is introduced, together with twenty-nine of his fables.

Ceen in Normandy.

[&]quot; Perhaps, Ostend.

Perhaps Le Paus d'Aunis, between the Provinces of Poictou and Santone, where is Rochelle, a famous port and mart.

Registr. Honoris on Richmond. Lond. 1722. fol. Num. viii. Arren. p. 39.

This fable is in Alphonsus's Carre

In this work the following questiis discussed, originally, I believe, star,
by saint Austin, and perhaps determine
by Thomas Aquinas, An Angele porcoire cum Muheribus, et generare egantes?

writer says, "Esopus adelphus claruit tempore Cyri regis Persarum.—Vir ingeniosus et prudens, qui confinxit fabulas elegantes. Quas Romulus postmodum de greco transtulit in latinum, et filio suo Tibertino direxit," &c. The whole of this passage about Esop is transcribed from Vincent of Beauvais.

CHAP. clxxvii. The feast of king Ahasuerus and Esther.

I have mentioned a metrical romance on this subject. And I have before observed, that Thomas of Elmham, a chronicler, calls the coronation-feast of king Henry the sixth, a second feast of Ahasuerus. Hence also Chaucer's allusion at the marriage of January and May, while they are at the solemnity of the wedding-dinner, which is very splendid.

Quene Esther loked ner with soch an eye 'On Assuere, so meke a loke hath shed.

Froissart, an historian, who shares the merit with Philip de Comines of describing every thing, gives this idea of the solemnity of a dinner on Christmas-day, at which he was present, in the hall of the castle of Gaston earl of Foiz at Ortez in Bevern, under the year 1388. At the upper or first table, he says, sate four bishops, then the earl, three viscounts, and an English knight belonging to the duke of Lancaster. At another table, five abbots, and two knights of Arragon. At another, many barons and knights of Gascony and Bigorre. At another, a great number of knights of Bevern. Four knights were the chief stewards of the hall, and the two bastard brothers of the earl served at the high table. "The erles two sonnes, sir Yvan of Leschell was sewer, and sir Gracyen bare his cuppe." And

Loke, sone, so curteys thou be, That no mon fynde chalange to the In no manere thynge.

^a Fol. 237. a.

^{*} Specul. Hist. l. iii. c. ii.

Vol. iii. p. 14. Vol. ii. p. 345.

⁴ March. Tale, v. 1260. Urr.

In the old romance, or LAY, of EMARE, a beautiful use is made of the Lady Emare's son serving as cup-bearer to the king of Galicia: by which means, the king discovers the boy to be his son, and in consequence finds out his queen

Emare, whom he had long lost. The passage also points out the duties of this office. MSS. Cott. Caus. A. 2. f. 69. Emare says to the young prince, her son,

To-morowe thou shall serve yn halle.

In a kurtyll of ryche palle,

Byfore thys nobull kyng;

Loke, sone, so curters thou be

¹ a tunic of rich cloth.

son.

^{*} may accuse thee of want of courtesy.

there were many mynstrelles, as well of his owne as of straungers, and eche of them dyde their devoyre in their faculties. The same day the erle of Foiz gave to harauldes and mynstrelles, the somme of fyve hundred frankes: and gave to the duke of Tournynes mynstrelles, gownes of clothe of golde furred with ermyns, valued at two hundred frankes. This dinner endured four houres "." Froissart, who was entertained in this castle for twelve weeks, thus describes the earl's ordinary mode of supping. "In this estate the erle of Foiz lyved. And at mydnyght whan he came out of his chambre into the halle to supper, he had ever before hym twelve torches breunyng."

When the kynge is served of spycerye, Knele thou downe hastylye,

And take hys hond yn thyn; And when thou hast so done, Take the kuppe of golde sone, And serve hym of the wyne.

And serve hym of the wyne. And what that he speketh to the Cum anon and tell me,

On goddes blessyng and tnyne. The chylde wente ynto the hall Amonge the lordes grete and small

That lufsume wer unther lyne*: Then the lordes, that wer grate, Wyah*, and wente to her meta;

Menstrelles brought yn the kours'. The chylde hem served so curteysly, All hym loved that hym sy',

And spake hym grete honowres, Then sayde all that loked hym upon, So curteys a chyld sawe they never non.

So curteys a chyld sawe they never no In halle, my yn bowres. The kynge sayde to hym yn game,

Swete sone, what ye thy name?

Lord, he sayd, y hyghth * Segramowres.

Then that nobull kying

Toka up a grete syknom?

Toke up a grete sykynge!,
For hys sone! hyght so:
Certys, withouten lesynge,
The teres out of hys yen! gan wryng,
In herte he was full woo.

Neverthelese, he lette be, And loked on the chylde so fre ", And mykell " be loved hem thoo ".— Then the lordes that wer grete Wheshen ayeyn ", aftyr mete, And then com spycerye".

The chyld, that was of chere swets, On hys kne downe he sete 15, And served hym curteyslye.

The kynge called the burgeys hym tyl.

And sayde, Syr, yf hyt be thy wyll,

Yyf me this lytyll body*;

I shall hym make lorde of town and towr,

Of hye halles, and of bowre, I love hym specyally, &c.

* CROK. vol. ii. fol. XXXVI. a. Tantal. Bevn. 1523.

It appears that candles were borned by domestics, and not placed on the table, at a very early period in France. Gregory of Tours mentions a piece of savage metriment practised by a fendel lord at supper, on one of his valets de chandelle, in consequence of this custom. Greg. Turon. Hist. Lib. v. c. ui. fol. 34. b. edit. 1522. It is probable that out proverbial scoff, You are not fit to hold a condle to him, took its rise from this fashion. See Ray's Paov. C. p. 4. edit. 1670. And Shakesp. Rouso and Jonature, i. 4.

I'll be a Condle-holder, and look on.

the boy. * richly apparelled. * washed. * course. * new.

* I am called. * sighing. * his son. * eyen, eyes. * the boy extenutiful. * greatly. * then. ** washed again. * spicery, spicer wine. * bowed his knee. * give me this boy.

supper: they gave a grete light, and the hall ever full of knightes and squyers; and many other tables dressed to suppe who wolde. Ther was none shulde speke to hym at his table, but if he were called. His meate was lightly wylde foule.—He had great plesure in armony of instrumentes, he could do it right well hymselfe: he wolde have songes songe before hym. He wolde gladlye se conseytes [conceits] and fantasies at his table. And when he had sene it, then he wolde send it to the other tables.—There was sene in his hall, chambre, and court, knyghtes and squyers of honour goyng up and downe, and talkyng of armes and of amours p," &c. After supper, Froisart was admitted to an audience with this magnificent earl; and used to read to him a book of sonnets, rondeaus, and virelays, written by a gentyll duke of Luxemburgh q.

In this age of curiosity, distinguished for its love of historical anecdotes and the investigation of antient manners, it is extraordinary that a new translation should not be made of Froissart from a collated and corrected original of the French. Froissart is commonly ranked with romances: but it ought to be remembered, that he is the historian of a romantic age, when those manners which form the fantastic books of chivalry were actually practised. As he received his multifarious inteligence from such a variety of vouchers, and of different nations, and almost always collected his knowledge of events from report, rather than from written or recorded evidence, his notices of persons and places are frequently confused and Many of these petty incorrectnesses are not, however, to be imputed to Froissart: and it may seem surprising, hat there are not more inaccuracies of this kind in a volumiious chronicle, treating of the affairs of England, and aboundng in English appellations, composed by a Frenchman, and rinted in France. Whoever will take the pains to compare his author with the coeval records in Rymer, will find numeous instances of his truth and integrity, in relating the more

P Ibid. fol. xxx. a. col. 2.

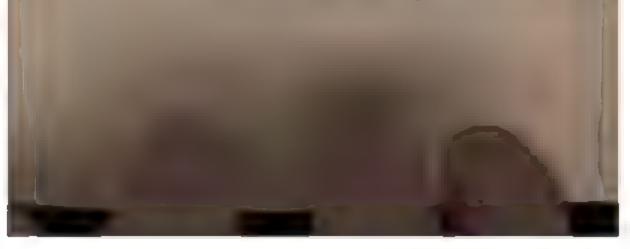
^q Ibid. col. 1.

public and important transactions of his own times. should not have been honoured with a modern edi-Louvre, it is easy to conceive: the French have prejudice against a writer, who has been so much 🚛 plaisant to England, than to their own country. 🕕 whole, if Froissart should be neglected by the historia for his want of precision and authenticity, he will 👛 valued by the philosopher for his striking pictures of li without reserve or affectation from real nature with and free pencil, and by one who had the best opposit observation, who was welcome alike to the feudal can royal palace, and who mingled in the bustle and be the world, at that very curious period of society, ners are very far refined, and yet retain a considerable of barbarism. But I cannot better express my senting this subject, than in the words of Montaigne. Historiens ou fort simples ou excellens. Les simples point de quoy y mesler quelque chose du leur, et 🦚 portent que le soin et la diligence de ramasser tout co a leur notice, et d'enregistrer a la bonne foy toutes de chois et sans triage, nous laissent le jugement enticonoissance de la verité. Tel est entre autres pour 💨 bon Froissard, qui a marchè en son enterprise d'une naïfueté, qu'ayant fait une faute il ne craint aucuneme reconnoistre et corriger en l'endroit, ou il en a esté et qui nous represente la diversité mesme des bruits roient, et les différens rapports qu'on luy faisot. tiere de l'Histoire nui et informe; chacun en peut proffit autant qu'il a d'entendement'."

CHAP. clxxviii. A king is desirous to know how to self and his kingdom. One of his wise men presents rical picture on the wall; from which, after much storage quires the desired instruction.

In the original eastern apologue, perhaps this was tapestry. From the cultivation of the textorial arts

' Essais. Libr. ii. ch. 1. p. 409. edit. 1598. 8vo.



entals, came Darius's wonderful cloth above mentioned; I the idea of the robe richly embroidered and embossed with ries of romance and other imageries, in the unprinted ronce of Emare, which forms one of the finest descriptions of kind that I have seen in Gothic poetry, and which I shall refore not scruple to give at large.

Sone aftur yn a whyle,
The ryche kynge of Cesyle f
To the Emperour gan wende s;
A ryche present wyth hym he browght,

A clothe that was wordylye h wroght,

He welecomed hym as the hende.

Syr Tergaunte, that nobyll knyght hyghte,

He presented the emperour ryght, And sette hym on hys kne k,

Wyth that cloth rychyly dyght; Full of stones thar hyt was pyght,

As thykke as hyt myght be:

Off topaze and rubyes,

And other stones of myche prys,

That semely wer to se;

Of crapowtes and nakette,

As thykke ar they sette,

For sothe as y say the!.

The cloth was dysplayed sone:

The emperour lokede therupone

And myght hyt^m not se; For glysteryng of the ryche ston, Redy syght had he non,

And sayde, how may this be? The emperour sayde on hygh, Sertes, thys is a fayry,

CEAP. XX.

Sicily.

went to.

worthily.

courteously, but, I believe there is slight corruption.

he presented it kneeling.

I tell thee. and could not see it.

[°] an illusion, a piece of enchantment.

Or ellys a vanyte.

The kyng of Cysyle answered than,
So ryche a jwell^p ys ther non
In all Crystyante.

The amerayles dowghter of hethennes^q
Made this cloth, withouten lees^r,

And wrowghte hit all with pride; And purtreyed hyt with gret honour, Wyth ryche golde and asour,

And stones on ylke a syde.

And as the story telles yn honde,

The stones that yn this cloth stonde

Sowght they wer full wyde: Seven wynter hyt was yn makynge, Or hyt was browght to endynge,

In hert ys not to hyde. In that on korner made was IDOYNE and AMADAS w.

Wyth love that was so trewe;
For they loveden hem wyt honour,
Portreyed they wer wyth trewe-love flour
Of stones bryght of hewe.

Wyth carbunkull, and safere, Kassydonys, and onyx so clere, Sette in golde newe;

Deamondes and rubyes, And other stones of mychyll pryse,

P JEWEL was antiently any pretious

The daughter of the Amerayle of the Saracens. Ameral in the eastern languages was the governor, or prince, of a province, from the Arabic Emer, Lord. In this sense, Ameral is used by Robert of Gloucester. Hence, by corruption the word Admiral, and in a restricted sense, for the commander of a fleet: which Milton, who knew the original, in that sense writes Ammiral. Parad. L. i. 294. Dufresne thinks,

that our naval Amiral, i. e. Admiral, came from the crusades, where the Christians heard it used by the Saracia (in consequence of its general signification) for the title of the leader of the fleets: and that from the Mediterranean states it was propagated over Europe.

'lying. 'azure. 'every. 'sought.' On one corner, or side, was embroidered the history of Idonia and Amadas. For their Romance, see vol. ii. p. 327.

y sapphire,

I loved each other.

ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

And menstrellys wyth her gle *.
In that other korner was dyght
TRYSTRAM and Isowde so bryght *,

That semely wer to se; And for they loved hem ryght, As full of stones ar they dyght,

As thykke as they may be.—
In the thrydde^b korner wyth grete honour
Was Florys and dam Blauncheflour^c

As love was hem betwene,
For they loved wyth honour,
Purtrayed they wer with trewe-love-flour,

With stones bryght and shene.— In the fourthe korner was oon Of Babylone the sowdan sonne,

The amerayles dowghtyr hym by: For hys sake the cloth was wrowght, She loved hym in hert and thowght,

As testymoyneth thys storye. The fayr mayden her byforn, Was portrayed an unikorn,

With hys horn so hye; Flowres and bryddes on ylke a syde, Wyth stones that wer sowght wyde,

Stuffed wyth ymagerye. When the cloth to ende was wrowght,

To the Sowdan soned hyt was brought,
That semely was of syghte;

as of minstrels, with their musical instruments.
ristram and Bel Isolde, famous

ETHUR'S Romance.

what I have said of their rorol. ii. p. 186. A manuy of it in French metre was in the fire which happened in B Library. Boccace has the adventures of Florio and Biancoplore, in his Philocopo. Floris and Blancaplor are mentioned as illustrious lovers by Matfres Eymegau de Bexers, a bard of Languedoc, in his Barviari b'Amor, dated in the year 1288. MSS. Reg. 19 C. i. fol. 199. See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 169.

d Soldan's son. [It was soon brought to the Soldan,—Ritson.]

My fadyr was a nobyll man,
Of the Sowdan he hyt wan
Wyth maystrye and wyth myghte.

Chaucer says in the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, that RICEES wore a robe of purple, which

—— Ful wele
With orfraies laid was everie dele,
And purtraied in the ribaninges
Of Dukis stories and of Kinges.

And, in the original,

Portraictes y furent d'orfroys Hystoryes d'empereurs et roys.

CHAP. clxxix. Cesarius, saint Basil, the Gospel, Boethins, and Ovid, are quoted to shew the detestable guilt of gluttony and ebriety.

Cesarius, I suppose, is a Cistercian monk of the thirteenth century; who, beside voluminous Lives, Chronicles, and Homilies, wrote twelve Books on the Miracles, Visions, and Examples, of his own age. But there is another and an older monkish writer of the same name. In the British Museum, there is a narrative taken from Cesarius, in old northern English, of a lady deceived by the fiends, or the devil, through the pride of rich clothing h.

CHAP. clxxx. Paul, the historian of the Longobards, is cited, for the fidelity of the knight Onulphus.

CHAP. clxxxi. The sagacity of a lion.

g Ver. 1068.

This is the last chapter in the edition of 1488.

Manuscript copies of the Gesta Romanorum are very numerous. A proof of the popularity of the work. There are two in the British Museum; which, I think, contain, each one hundred and two chapters. But although the printed

f Ver. 1076.

^{*} MSS. Cott. (ut supr.) Calig. A. 2. fol. 69. ver. 80. seq.

h MSS. HARL. 1022. 4.
1 See vol. ii. p. 322.

^{*} MSS. HARL 2270. And 5259.

have one hundred and eighty-one atories or chapters, re many in the manuscripts which do not appear in the The story of the CASKETTS, one of the principal ts in Shakespeare's MERCHANT OF VENICE, is in one manuscripts of the Museum 1. This story, however, is ld English translation printed by Wynkyn de Worde, : date; from which, or more probably from another printed in 1577, and entitled A RECORD OF ANCIENT RYES in Latin GESTA ROMANORUM, corrected and 4 Shakespeare borrowed it. The story of the Bond in ne play, which Shakespeare perhaps took from a transof the Peconone of Ser Florentino Giovannim, makes ty-eighth chapter of the last-mentioned manuscript n. mi flourished about the year 1378°. The tale of Gower's NTP, which resembles Chaucer's WIFE OF BATH, in some of the manuscripts of this work. The same said of a tale by Occleve, never printed; concerning iste consort of the emperor Gerelaus, who is abused by vard, in his absence. This is the first stanza. A larger en shall appear in its place.

In Roman Actis writen is thus,
Somtime an emperour in the citee
Of Rome regned, clept Gerelaus,
Wich his noble astate and his dignite

CHAP. XCIX. fol. 78. b. MSS. 270. In the CLERICALIS DISof Alphonsus, there is a narraking who kept a fabulator, or er, to lull him to sleep every he king on some occasion being ith an unusual disquietude of dered his fabulator to tell him pries, for that otherwise he could aleep. The fabulator begins story, but in the midst falls imself, &c. I think I have tale in some manuscript of the lomanorum.

an. iv. Nov. 5. In Vincent of there is a story of a bond be-Christian and a Jew; in which or uses a deception which occasions the conversion of the latter. Hist. Specul. fol. 181. a. edit. ut supr. Jews, yet under heavy restrictions, were originally tolerated in the Christian kingdoms of the dark ages, for the purpose of borrowing money, with which they supplied the exigencies of the state, and of merchants, or others, on the most lucrative usurious contracts.

ⁿ Fol. 43. a. In this story Magister Vingilius, or Virgil the cunning man, is consulted.

° See Johnson's and Steevens's SHAKE-SPEARE, iii. p. 247. edit. ult. And Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, iv. p. 332. 334.

P CONFESS. AMANT. Li . i. f. xv. b. See vol. ii. p. 333.

Governed wisely, and weddid had he The douztir of the kyng of Vngrye, A faire lady to every mannes ye.

At the end is the Moralisation in prose. q

I could point out other stories, beside those I have mentioned, for which Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, and the author of the Decameron, and of the Cento Novelle Antiche, have been indebted to this admired repository. Chancer, as I have before remarked, has taken one of his Canterbury takes from this collection; and it has been supposed that he alludes to it in the following couplet,

And Romain gestis makin remembrance Of many a versy trewe wife also.

The plot also of the knight against Constance, who havings killed Hermegild, puts the bloody knife into the hand of Constance while asleep, and her adventure with the steward, in the Man of Lawes Tale, are also taken from that manuscrips chapter of this work, which I have just mentioned to have been versified by Occleve. The former of these incidents is thus treated by Occleve.

She with this zonge childe in the chambre lay Every nizt where lay the earle and the countesse', Bitween whose beddis brente a lampe alway.

MSS. SELD. Sup. 53. Bibl. Bodl. De quadam bona et nobili Imperatrice. It is introluced with "A Tale the which I in the Roman dedis," &c. Viz. MSS. Laud. ibid. K. 78. See also MSS. Digs. 185. Where, in the first line of the poem, we have, "In the Roman jestys written is this." It is in other manuscripts of Occleve. This story is in the Gesta Romanorum, MSS. Harl. 2270. chap. 101. fol. 80. a. Where Gerelaus is Menelaus.

Bonifacio Vannozzi, in Delle Let-TERE MISCELLANEE alle Academia Veneta, says, that Boccace borrowed [Nov. i. D. iii.] the Novel of Maseto da Lamporecchio, with many other parts of the

DECAMERON, from an older Collection of Novels. "In uno libro de Novels, et di Parlare Gentile, Anteriore al Boccacio," &c. In Venetia, 1606. 4th pag. 580. seq. I believe, however, that many of the tales are of Boccace's evintention. He tells us himself, in the Generalogia Deorum, that when I was a little boy, he was fond of making pictiunculae. Lib. xv. cap. x. p. 5' edit. Basil. 1532. fol.

MARCHANT'S TALE, ver. 101 edit. Tyrw. This may still be doubt as from what has been said above. ROMAN GESTS were the Roman bin general.

Here we see the antient pri

And he espied, by the lampes lizt, The bedde where that lay this emprice With erlis douztur, and as blyve rizt, This feendly man his purpose and malice Thouzte for to fulfille and accomplice; And so he dide, a longe knife out he drouze , And ther with alle the maiden childe he slouze x. Hir throte with the knyfe on two he kutte And as this emprice lay sleeping; Into her honde this bloody knyfe he putte, Ffor men shoulde have noon othir deemyng, But she had gilty ben of this murdring: And whanne that he had wrouzte this cursidnesse, Anoone oute of the chambre he gan hem dresse z. The countess after hir slepe awakid And to the emperesse bedde gan caste hir look And sy * the bloody knyfe in hir hande nakid, And, for the feare she tremblid and quook.—

he awakens the earl, who awakens the empress.

And hir awook, and thus to hir he cried,
"Woman, what is that, that in thin hand I see?
What hast thou doon, woman, for him that diede,
What wickid spirit hath travaylid the?"
And as sone as that adawed was she,
The knyfe fel oute of hir hand in the bedde,
And she bihilde the cloothis al forbledde,

And the childe dead, "Allas, she cried, allas, How may this be, god woot alle I note howe, I am not privy to hir hevy caas,
The gilte is not myne, I the childe not slowe"."

in great families, of one and the bed-chamber serving for many mons. Much of the humour in super's Trompington Miller arises in this circumstance. See the Ro-

mance of Syr Tryamore. And Gower, Conr. Am. ii. f. 39. a.

tearl's daughter.
thought.
drew.
slew.
he hastened, &c.
saw.
slew.

To which spake the countesse, "What saist thou? Excuse the not, thou maist not saie nay,
The knyle all bloody in thin hand I say."

This story, but with some variation of circumstances, is told in the Historical Minnot's of Vincent of Beauvais.

But I hasten to point out the writer of the Gesta Romanoaum, who has hitherto remained unknown to the most diligent inquirers in Gothic literature. He is Petrus Berchorius, or Pierre Bercheur, a native of Poitou, and who died Prior of the Benedictine convent of Saint Eloi at Paris, in the year 1362.

For the knowledge of this very curious circumstance, I am obliged to Salomon Glassius, a celebrated theologist of Saxe-Gotha, in his Philologia Sacraf, written about the year 1623*. In his chapter de Allegories fabularum, he censures those writers who affect to interpret allegorically, not only texts of scripture, but also poetical fables and profane histories, which they arbitrarily apply to the explication of confirmation of the mysteries of christianity. He adds, "Hos in studio excelluit quidam Petrus Berchorius, Pictaviensis, ordenis divi Benedicti: qui, peculiari libro, Gesta Romanorum necnon Legendas Patrum, aliasque aniles fabulas, allegorice as mystice exposuith." That is, "In this art excelled one Peter Berchorius, a Benedictine; who, in a certain peculiar book has expounded, mystically and allegorically, the Roman Gests, legends of saints, and other idle tales." He then quotes for

saw.

Ut supr. viz. MS. Selb. see. 45.

^{*} Specut. Histor. lib. vii. c. 90. fol. 86. a.

Philotogia Sacras, que totus tacrosanctæ veteris et novi testamenti scripturæ tura stylus et literatura, tum sensus et genumæ interpretationis ratio expenditur, Libri quinque, &c. edit. tert. Francof. et Hamb- 1653.

[[]This opinion has been controverted by Mr. Douce in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. it. The most forcible argument there adduced is founded upon a very just inference, that the original

author was a German. See below, p. celta.

Note the Entr.]

From the date of the Dedicators
For his other works, which are very merous, see the Diantum Brognaphics
of H Witte, sub ann. 1665. Gedsch
1688. 4to.

h Lin, ii. Part. i. Tractat. ii. Sect. ii. Artic. viii. pag. 312.

^{*} Salmeron, a profound school-diving who flourished about 1560, censured unwarrantable liberty of the Gesta Remarked in and fables to Christ and the church Conta in Evanget. Hist. i. pag. 31 Prof. xiv. Car. exi.—Colou. Agripp 1602. fol.

ESTA ROMANORUM, containing the story of Saint Bernard to Dice-player, together with its moralisation.

chorius was one of the most learned divines of his cound a voluminous writer. His three grand printed works REDUCTORIUM MORALE super totam Bibliam, in twentypoks. II. REPERTORIUM [or Reductorium] MORALE, teen books k. III. Dictionarium Morale. Whoever rave the patience or the curiosity to turn over a few of this immense treasure of multifarious erudition, will ze this assertion of Glassius abundantly verified; and convinced beyond a doubt, from a general coincidence , manner, method, and execution, that the author of olumes, and of the Gesta Romanorum, must be one The Reductorium super Bibliam contains e same. stories and incidents in the Bible, reduced into alle-1. The Repertorium Morale is a dictionary of things, s, and places; all which are supposed to be mystical, sich are therefore explained in their moral or practical

The Dictionarium Morale is in two parts, and principally designed to be a moral repertory for students logy.

moralisation, or moral explanation, which is added to rticle, is commonly prefaced, as in the Gesta, with the cotory address of Carissimi. In the colophon, the is called *Ex gestis Romanorum* Recollectorium: a nuch of a piece with his other titles of Repertorium

e a folio edition of all these rha, in three volumes, printed a in 1583. These pieces were advery early.

was first printed, Argentorat.

There was a very curious and Oxford's library, I am not ther the same, entitled Morali-

BIBLUR, Ulmæ 1474. fol. is colophon in the last page. ici clementia. Finitus est liber tionum Bibliarum in ejusdem t gloriam compilatus. Ac per

industrium Joannem Zeiner de Reutlingen Artis impressoriæ magistrum non penna sed scagneis characteribus in oppido Ulmensi artificialiter effigiatus. Anno Incarnationis Domini millesimo quadringentessimo septuagessimo quarto Aprilis nono. This book is not mentioned by Maittaire.

m To this work Alanus de Lynne, a Carmelite of Lynne in Norfolk, wrote an *Index* or *Tabula*, about the year 1240. It is in MSS. Rzg. 3 D. 3. 1. in Brit.

and Reductorium. Four of the stories occurring in the GESTA, The Discovery of the gigantic body of Pallas, The subterraneous golden palaceo, The adventures of the English knight in the bishoprick of Elyp, and The miraculous horn, are related in the fourteenth book of the REPERTORIUM MORALE For the two last of these he quotes Gervase of Tilbury, as in his Gestar. As a further proof of his allegorising genius I must add, that he moralised all the stories in Ovid's Metamorphosis, in a work entitled, Commentarius MORALIS, sive Alli-GORIE in Libros quindecim Ovidii Metamorphoseons, and now remaining in manuscript in the library of the monastery of Saint Germains'. He seems to have been strongly impressed with whatever related to the Roman affairs, and to have thought their history more interesting than that of any other people. This appears from the following passage, which I translate from the article Roma, in his Dictionarium Morale, and which will also contribute to throw some other lights on this subject. "How many remarkable facts might be here collected concerning the virtues and vices of the Romans, did my design permit me to drop Moralities, and to enter upon an historical detail! For that most excellent historian Livy, unequalled for the dignity, brevity, and difficulty of his style, (whose eloquence is so highly extolled by Saint Jerome, and whom I, however unworthy, have translated from Latin into French with great labour, at the request of John the most

* CAP. xlix. f. 643. He quotes Chronica, and says, that this happened in the reign of the emperor Henry the Second. [See Gest. Ross. c. clviii.]

CAP. Ixxii. f. 689. col. 1. 2. He quotes for this story [GEST. ROM. c. cvii.] William of Malmesbury, but tells it in

the words of Beauvais, ut supr.

TA MORALISATION is joined to these

stories, with the introduction of CANS

See what he says of the Fabula Patarum, Repertor. Moral. lib. iv. cap. i. f. 601. coi. 2. ad calc.

Oudin. Comment. Scarror. Eccurs. iii. p. 1064. Lips. 1723. fel. I doubt whether this work was not translated into French by Guillaume Nangiat the beginning of the fourteenth century. See Mem. Let. xx. 751. 40.

VI have mentioned this work below, vol. ii. p. 420. It is remarkable, that copy of this manuscript in the British Museum is entitled, "Trrus Livirs Da Fais des Romains translate per Pierra Bertheure." MSS. Rag. 15 D. vi.

P Fol. 610. col. 2. [GEST. ROM. c. clv.] Here also his author is Gervase of Tilbury: from whom, I think in the same chapter, he quotes part of king Arthur's Romance. See OTIA IMPERIAL. Dec. ii. c. 12.

Pol. 610. ut supr. [Gest. Ross. c. lxi.]

famous king of France,) records so many wonderful things of the prudence, fortitude, fidelity, and friendship, of the Roman people; as also of their quarrels, envy, pride, avarice, and other vices, which are indeed allied to virtues, and are such, to say the truth, as I never remember to have heard of in any nation besides. But because I do not mean to treat of historical affairs in the present work, the matter of which is entirely moral, I refer the historical reader to Livy himself, to Trogus Pompeius, Justin, Florus, and Orosius, who have all written histories of Rome; as also to Innocent, who in his book on the Miseries of human nature", speaks largely of the vices of the Romans w." In the mean time we must remember, that at this particular period the Roman history had become the grand object of the public taste in France. The king himself, as we have just seen, recommended a translation of Livy. French translations also of Sallust, Cesar, and Lucan, were now circulated. A Latin historical compilation called Romuleon was now just published by a gentleman of France, which was soon afterwards translated into French. A collection of the Gesta Romanorum was therefore a popular subject, at least it produced a popular title, and was dictated by the fashion of the times.

I have here mentioned all Berchorius's works, except his Comment on a Prosody called Doctrinale metricum, which was used as a school-book in France, till Despauterius's manual on that subject appeared. Some biographers mention his Tropologia, his Cosmographia, and his Breviarium. But the Tropologia, is nothing more than his Reductorium on the Bible; and probably the Breviarium is the same. The Cosmographia seems to be the fourteenth book of his Re-

edition with the title, "Tropologiarum mysticarumque enarrationum," &c., Without date.

Pope Innocent the Third, about the year 1200, wrote three Books De Contemptu Mundi, sive De Miseria humanæ Conditionis, printed Colon. 1496.

Decrion. Moral. P. iii. vol. ii. 2. 274. col. 2. edit. 1583.—See infra, vol. ii. p. 420.

² Oudin, ubi supr.

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But see Bibl. Sangerm. Cod. MS. 687. And G. Serpilii VIT. SCRIFTOR. BIBLIC. tom. vii. part. 2. pag. 44. Also Possevin. APPARAT. SACR. ii. p. 241. Colon. 1608.

PERTORIUM MORALE; which treats of the wonders of various countries, and is chiefly taken from Solinus and Gervase of Tilburya. He is said by the biographers to have written other smaller pieces, which they have not named or described. Among these perhaps is comprehended the GESTA: which we may conceive to have been thus undistinguished, either having been neglected or proscribed by graver writers, or rather as having been probably disclaimed by its author, who saw it at length in the light of a juvenile performance, abounding in fantastic and unedifying narrations, which he judged unsuitable to his character, studies, and station^b. Basilius Johannes Heroldus, however, mentions Berchorius as the author of CHRONICON, a word which may imply, though not with exact propriety, his Gesta Romanorum. It is in the Epistle dedicatory of his edition of the Chronicles of Marianus Scotus, and Martinus Polonus, addressed to our queen Elisabeth; in which he promises to publish many Latin CHRONICA, that is, those of Godfrey of Viterbo, Hugo Floriacensis, Conrade Engelhamen, Hermannus Edituus, Lanfranc, Ivo, Robert of Saint Victor, Peter Berchorius, and of many others, qui de Temponist scripserunt, who have written of times c. Paulus Langius, where wrote about the year 1400, in his enumeration of Berchorius writings, says nothing of this compilation^d.

Had other authentic evidences been wanting, we are sure of the age in which Berchorius flourished, from the circumstance of his being employed to translate Livy by John king of France, who acceded to the throne in the year 1350, and died in the year 1364. That Berchorius died, and probably an old man, in the year 1362, we learn from his epitaph in the monastery of saint Eloy at Paris, which is recited by Sweertius, and on other accounts deserves a place here.

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This is in some measure hinted by Oudin, ubi supr. "Egressus autem a Proparis et grammaticis Berchorius, animum Solidiorius applicuit," &c.

b Gesner adds, reciting his works, that he wrote "alia multa." Errrow. Birt. f. 147. b. Tig. 1555. fol. And Trithemius, "parvos sed multos tracta-

This is in some measure hinted by tus." De ILLUSTS. BENES. Lib. ii. udin. ubi supr. "Egressus autem a c. 131.

^c Dat. 1559. Edit. Besil. Operin. No Date, fol.

d Chrow. Ciriz. f. 841. Apad Pistorii Illustra. Vit. Scritton. &c. Francof. 1583. fol. Compare the Curos. of Philippus Bergom. ad ann. 1355.

HIC JACET VENERABILIS MAGNÆ PRO-FUNDÆQUE SCIENTIÆ, Admirabilis et subtilis eloquentiæ, F. Petrus Bercothe, PRIOR HUJUS PRIORATUS. Qui fuit oriundus de villa S. Petri DE ITINERE In Episcopatu Maillizancensis in PICTAVIA.

Qui tempore suo fecit opera sua Solemnia, scilicet DICTIONARIUM, REDUCTORIUM, BREVIATORIUM, DESCRIPTIONEM Mundib, Translationem cujusdam LIBRI VETUSTISSIMI DE LATINO IN GALLICUM, AD PRÆCEPTUM EXCEL-LENTISS.

> JOANNIS REGIS FRANCORUM. Qui obiit anno m.ccc.lxii. k

Berchorius was constituted grammatical preceptor to the novices of the Benedictine Congregation, or monastery, at Clugni, in the year 13401. At which time he drew up his Notes on the Prosody, and his Commentary on Ovid, for the use of his

. Read Bracheur.

- * The Cosmographia abovementioned. Of Livy.

' & Sweettii Epitaphia Joco-seria. edit. Colon. 1645. p. 158. It must not be dissembled, that in the Moralisation of the hundred and forty-fifth chapter, a proverb is explained, vulgariter, in the German language. Fol. 69. a. col. 2. And in the hundred and forty-third chapter, a hunter has eight dogs who bave German names. Fol. 67. a. col. l. eq. I suspect, nor is it improbable, that those German words were introduced by a German editor or printer.

Mr. Tyrwhitt supposes, that we may That is, of the village of saint Pierre reasonably conjecture one of our countrymen to have been the compiler, because three couplets of English verses and some English names appear in many of the manuscripts. But these are not to be found in any of the editions: and there is no answering for the licentious innovations of transcribers. CANT. T. vol. iv. 331.

> [Mr. Tyrwhitt referred to a copy of the English Gesta, a distinct work from that which has been the subject of this dissertation. Of this production Mr. Douce has given an elaborate account in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 895.—Edit.

¹ Oudin, ubi supr. p. 1063.

du Chemin. Three leagues from Poic-Of Maillezais. tlers.

scholars. About the same time, and with a view of rendering their exercises in Latinity more agreeable and easy by an entertaining Latin story-book, yet resoluble into lemms of religion, he probably compiled the Gerra: perpetually addressing the application of every tale to his young andience, by the puternal and affectionate appellation of Carrierra. There we therefore time enough for the Gerra to become a finhimable book of tales, before Boccace published his Decamenos. The action of the Decamenos being supposed in 1348, the year of the great pestilence, we may safely conjecture, that Boccace did not begin his work till after that period. An exact and ingenious critic has proved, that it was not finished till the year 1358.

I have just observed, that Berchorius probably compiled this work for the use of his grammatical pupils. Were then not many good reasons for that supposition, I should be induced to think, that it might have been intended as a book of stories for the purpose of preachers. I have already given instances, that it was antiently fashionable for preachers to caforce the several moral duties by applying fables, or exemplary narratives: and, in the present case, the perpetual recurrence of the address of Carissimi might be brought in favour of this hypothesis. But I will here suggest an additional reason. Soon after the age of Berchorius, a similar collection of stories, of the same cast, was compiled, though not exactly in the same form, professedly designed for sermon-writers, and by one who was himself an eminent preacher: for, rather before the year 1480, a Latin volume was printed in Germany, written by John Herolt a Dominican friar of Basil, better known by the adopted and humble appellation of Discipulus, and who flourished about the year 1418. It consists of three parts. The first is entitled "Incipiunt Sermones pernotabiles Discipuli de Sanctis per anni circulum." That is, A set of sermons on the saints of the whole year. The second part, and with which

This, by habit, and otherwise with See Tyrwhitt's CHAUCER, iv. 115. no impropriety, he seems to have retain-seq.

I am now chiefly concerned, is a Promptuary, or ample re-Pository, of examples for composing sermons; and in the Prologue to this part the author says, that saint Dominic always zbundabat exemplis in his discourses, and that he constantly practised this popular mode of edification. This part contains wariety of little histories. Among others, are the following. Chaucer's Friar's tale. Aristotle falling in love with a queen, who compels him to permit her to ride upon his back. The > oy who was kept in a dark cave till he was twelve years of uge; and who being carried abroad, and presented with many striking objects, preferred a woman to all he had seen p. A boy sducated in a desert is brought into a city, where he sees a woman whom he is taught to call a fine bird, under the name ≠a goose: and on his return into the desert, desires his spiritual father to kill him a goose for his dinner^q. These two stories Boccace has worked into one. The old woman and ber little dog'. This, as we have seen, is in the Gesta Ro-MANORUM:. The son who will not shoot at his father's dead body'. I give these as specimens of the collection. The third Part contains stories for sermon-writers, consisting only of select miracles of the Virgin Mary. The first of these is the tale of the chaste Roman empress, occurring in the Harleian manuscripts of the Gesta, and versified by Occleve; yet with *ome variation . This third part is closed with these words, which also end the volume. "Explicit tabula Exemplorum intractatulo de Exemplis gloriose Virginis Marie contentorum." I quote from the first edition, which is a clumsy folio in a rude Gothic letter, in two volumes; and without pagings, signatures, The place and year are also wanting; but it was certainly printed before 1480 u, and probably at Nuremburgh,

Exampl. xxiv. sub Litera L.

Exempl. xii. sub lit. V.

EXEMPL. Ixvii. sub litera M. "De regina que equitavit Aristotelem." He citas Jacobus de Vitriaco. [See supr. p. exciv.]

Thid. Exempl. xxiii. [See supr. p. ccxxiv.]

[·] Cu. xxviii.

This is also in the GESTA, CH. XIV.

EXEMPL. viii. Lit. B.

Y See supr. p. cclv.

For the second edition is at Nuremburgh, 1482. fol. Others followed, before 1500.

The same author also wrote a set of sermons called Sermon de tempore *. In these I find * Alphonsus's story, which ... the GESTA ROMANORUM is the tale of the two knights of Egy and Baldach ; and, in Boccace's DECAMERON, the history Tiro and Gesippo: Parnell's Hermit: and the apologue the king's brother who had heard the trumpet of Death*: bell which last are also in the GESTAD. Such are the revolution of taste, and so capricious the modes of composition, that Latin homily-book of a German monk in the fifteenth century should exhibit outlines of the tales of Boccace, Chaucer, and Parnell!

It may not be thought impertinent to close this discourse with a remark on the MORALISATIONS subjoined to the storic of the GESTA ROMANORUM. This was an age of vision and mystery: and every work was believed to contain a double, secondary, meaning. Nothing escaped this eccentric spirit refinement and abstraction: and, together with the bible, we have seen, not only the general history of antient times we explained allegorically, but even the poetical fictions of classics were made to signify the great truths of religion, a degree of boldness, and a want of a discrimination, which another age would have acquired the character of the more profane levity, if not of absolute impiety, and can only be di fended from the simplicity of the state of knowledge which the prevailed.

Thus, God creating man of clay, animated with the principle of respiration, was the story of Prometheus, will formed a man of similar materials, to which he communicate

The only edition I have seen, with the addition of the Sermones DE SANC-TIS, and the PROMPTLABIUM EXEMPLO-M. Flaccus, Argentin. 1499, fol. But there is an earlier edition. At the close of the last Sermon, he tells us why he chose to be styled Distinting. Because, "non subtilia per modum Masterat, sed simplicia per modum Disci-ruti, conscripsi et collegi." I have seen

also early impressions of his Sunmer QUADRAGESTVALES, and of other pictof the same sort. All his works published together in three volume. Mogunt. 1612. 4to. The Example appeared separately, Daventr. 16 Colon, 1485. Argentorat. 1489. 14 Hagen. 1512. 1519. fol.

Seam. exxi. col. ii. Signat. C. J.

Ch. clxi.

Seam. civ. col. ii.

E Cu. lxxx. cali " SERM. CIT.

life by fire stolen from heaven. Christ twice born, of his father God and of his mother Mary, was prefigured by Bacchus, who was first born of Semele, and afterwards of Jupiter. And Minerva sprung from the brain of Jupiter, so Christ procoded from God without a mother. Christ born of the Virgin Mary was expressed in the fable of Danae shut within a tower, through the covering of which Jupiter descended in a shower of gold, and begot Perseus. Acteon, killed by his own hounds, was a type of the persecution and death of our Savicur. The poet Lycophron relates, that Hercules in returning from the adventure of the Golden Fleece was shipwrecked; and that being devoured by a monstrous fish, he was disgorged alive on the shore after three days. Here was an obvious symbol of Christ's resurrection. John Waleys, an English Franciscan of the thirteenth century, in his moral exposition of Ovid's Metamorphoses^c, affords many other instances equally ridiculous; and who forgot that he was describing a more heterogeneous chaos, than that which makes so conspicuous a figure in his author's exordium, and which combines, amid the monstrous and indigested aggregate of its unnatural associations.

- Sine pondere habentia pondus4.

At length, compositions professedly allegorical, with which that age abounded, were resolved into allegories for which they were never intended. In the famous ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, written about the year 1310, the poet couches the difficulties of an ardent lover in attaining the object of his passion, under the allegory of a Rose, which is gathered in a delicious but almost inaccessible garden. The theologists proved this rose to be the white rose of Jericho, the new Jerusalem, a state of grace, divine wisdom, the holy Virgin, or eternal beatitude, at none of which obstinate heretics can ever arrive. The chemists

[&]quot;I have before mentioned Bercho- METAM. L. i. 20." gius's Ovid Monalisti.

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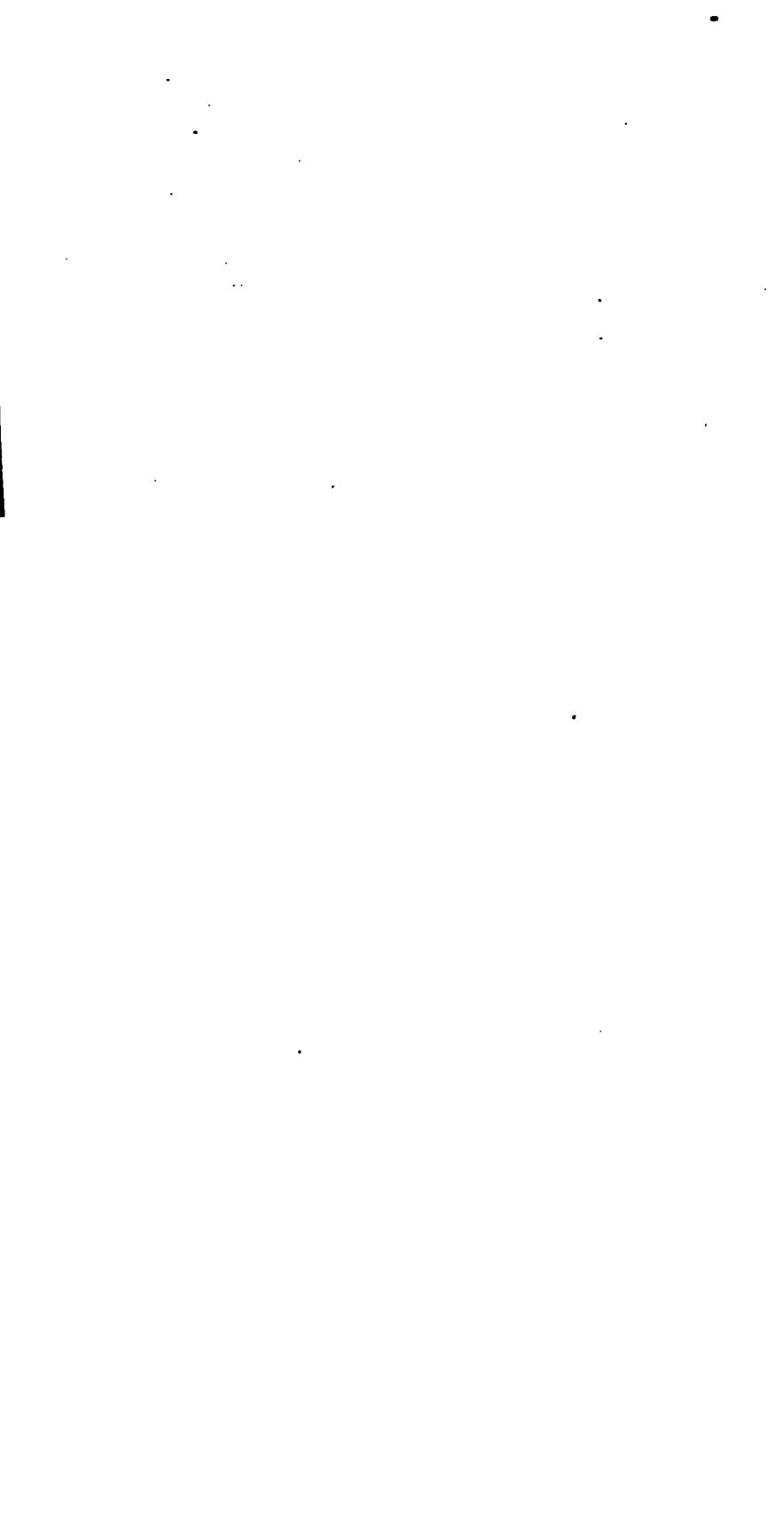
pretended, that it was the philosopher's stone; the civilians, that it was the most consummate point of equitable decision; and the physicians, that it was an infallible panacea. Im a word, other professions, in the most elaborate commentaries, explained away the lover's rose into the mysteries of their own respective science. In conformity to this practice, Tasso allegorised his own poem: and a flimsy structure of morality was raised on the chimerical conceptions of Ariosto's Orlando. In the year 1577, a translation of a part of Amadis de Gaule appeared in France; with a learned preface, developing the valuable stores of profound instruction, concealed under the naked letter of the old romances, which were discernible only to the intelligent, and totally unperceived by common readers; who, instead of plucking the fruit, were obliged to rest comtented with le simple Fleur de la Lecture litterale. Even Spenser, at a later period, could not indulge his native inpulse to descriptions of chivalry, without framing such a story, as conveyed, under the dark conceit of ideal champions, a seet of historic transactions, and an exemplification of the nature of the twelve moral virtues. He presents his fantastic queen with a rich romantic mirrour, which showed the wondro achievements of her magnificent ancestry.

And thou, O fairest princess under sky, In this fayre mirrour maist behold thy face, And thine own realmes in Lond of Faery, And in this antique image thy great ancestry.

It was not, however, solely from an unmeaning and a wanton spirit of refinement, that the fashion of resolving every thing into allegory so universally prevailed. The same apology may be offered for the cabalistical interpreters, both of the classics and of the old romances. The former not willing that those books should be quite exploded which contained the antient mythology, laboured to reconcile the apparent ab-

e B. ii. Introd. St. vi.

monstrating a figurative resemblance. The latter, as true learning began to dawn, with a view of supporting for a while the expiring credit of giants and magicians, were compelled to palliate those monstrous incredibilities, by a bold attempt to unravel the mystic web which had been wove by fairy hands, and by showing that truth was hid under the gorgeous veil of Gothic invention.



THE HISTORY

OF

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THE HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH POETRY.

SECTION I.

HE Saxon language spoken in England, is distinguished by three several epochs, and may therefore be divided into hree dialects. The first of these is that which the Saxons sed, from their entrance into this island till the irruption of he Danes, for the space of three hundred and thirty years. This has been called the British Saxon: and no monument of tremains, except a small metrical fragment of the genuine Cædmon, inserted in Alfred's version of the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History. The second is the Danish Saxon, which

The Saxons came into England A.D. 450.

Lib. iv. cap. 24. Some have improperly referred to this dialect the Harmony of the four Gospels, in the Cotton library; the style of which approaches in purity and antiquity to that of the Coder Argenteus. It is Frankish. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Calig. A 7. membran. octavo. This book is supposed to have belonged to king Canute. Eight richly illuminated historical pictures are bound up with it, evidently taken from another manuscript, but probably of the age of king Stephen.

[The recent discovery of another copy of this "Harmony," at Bamberg, has gained for it the attention of several German antiquaries; and of these, Mr.

Reinwald, an able and intelligent philologer, has very clearly shown, that its language is not Francic, but a Low German dialect. Mr. Reinwald conceives the author to have been a native of the district afterwards called Westphalia (Münster, Paderborn, Berg), and that he lived in the early part of the ninth century.

[The Bamberg Codex is now preserved in the Royal Library at Munich, and a transcript from it, collated with the Cotton MS., has for several years occupied the leisure of Mr. Scherer, with a view to publication. Independently of the value of this production as a rich repository of philological lore, from the extreme antiquity and purity of its language; it possesses a strong and pecu-

prevailed from the Danish to the Norman invasion; and of which many considerable specimens, both in versed and prose. are still preserved; particularly two literal versions of the four gospelse, and the spurious Cædmon's beautiful poetical paraphrase of the Book of Genesis f, and the Prophet Daniel. The third may be properly styled the Norman Saxon; which began about the time of the Norman accession, and continued beyond the reign of Henry the Second⁸.

The last of these three dialects, with which these Annals of English Poetry commence, formed a language extremely barbarous, irregular, and intractable; and consequently promises no very striking specimens in any species of composition. Its substance was the Danish Saxon, adulterated with French. The Saxon indeed, a language subsisting on uniform principles, and polished by poets and theologists, however corrupted by the Danes, had much perspicuity, strength, and harmony: but the French imported by the Conqueror and his people, was a confused jargon of Teutonic, Gaulish, and vitiated Latin.

liar interest for the student in English archæology, from the light it throws upon the laws and structure of Anglo-Saxon metre.—The arbitrary classification of the Anglo-Saxon language anterior to the Conquest, given in the text, has been adopted from Hickes, an examination of whose opinions on the subject will be found in the Preface to this edition.—Enir.]

^c A.D. 1066.

⁴ See Hickes. Thes. Ling. Vett. Sept. P. i. cap. xxi. pag. 177. and Præfat. fol. xiv. The curious reader is also referred to a Danish Saxon poem, celebrating the wars which Beowulf, a noble Dane descended from the royal stem of Scyldinge, waged against the kings of MSS. Cotton. ut supr. Swedeland. VITELL A 15. Cod. membran. ix. fol. 130. Compare, written in the style of Cædmon, a fragment of an ode in praise of the exploits of Brithnoth, Offa's ealdorman, or general, in a battle fought against the Danes. Ibid. Orn. A 12. Cod. membran. 4to. iii. Brithnoth the hero of this piece, a Northumbrian, died in the year 991.

The poem of Beowulf has since been published by the Chevalier Thortelin, under the title of " De Danorum rebus gestis secul. iii. et iv. Poema Dancum dialecto Anglo-Saxonica: edidit versione Lat. et indicibus auxit Grien Johnson Thorkelin Eques Ord. Danebrogici suratus &c. Havniæ 1815." An analysis of its contents will be found in the volume of Mr. Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," with occasional extract from the work itself; and an English translation of the specimens. The free ment of Brithnoth has been published by Hearne, but without a translation. Edit.]

 MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Cod. membran. in Pyxid. 4to grand. quadrat. and MSS. Cotton. ut supr. OTHO. Nor. D4. Both these manuscripts were written and ornamented in the Saxon times, and are of the highest curiosity and antiquity.

Printed by Junius, Amst. 1655. The greatest part of the Bodleian manuscript of this book is believed to have been written about A.D. 1000.—Cod. Jun. xi. membran. fol.

He died 1189.

fluctuating state of our national speech, the French inated *. Even before the Conquest the Saxon language o fall into contempt, and the French, or Frankish, to tituted in its stead: a circumstance which at once faciand foretold the Norman accession. In the year 652, it common practice of the Anglo-Saxons to send their o the monasteries of France for education h: and not : language but the manners of the French were esteemed st polite accomplishments. In the reign of Edward nfessor, the resort of Normans to the English court frequent, that the affectation of imitating the Frankish became almost universal; and the nobility were ambicatching the Frankish idiom. It was no difficult task Norman lords to banish that language, of which the began to be absurdly ashamed. The new invaders ided the laws to be administered in French^k. of monasteries were forged in Latin by the Saxon for the present security of their possessions, in conseof that aversion which the Normans professed to the ongue¹. Even children at school were forbidden to

has been controverted by Mr. his Tracts, Bath 1810, where t is ably discussed. The de-I the French language given he text conveys but an imperf its composition; the Teu-Gaulish bearing a very small to the hody of the language, scidedly of Romance or Latin he Francic, or Frankish as alls it, and which he ought confounded with the French, France as a perfectly distinct imong the descendants of the om their first settlement in he eleventh century, and was utonic: see Gley, "Langue re des anciens Francs," Paris, the Preface to this edition.—

. Mon. i. 89. sh. Hist. p. 62. sub ann. 1043. here is a precept in Saxon iam the First, to the sheriff setshire. Hickes. Thes. i. Par. i. pag. 106. See also Præfat. ibid. p. xv.

¹ The Normans, who practised every specious expedient to plunder the monks, demanded a sight of the written evidences of their lands. The monks well knew that it would have been useless or impolitic to have produced these evidences, or charters, in the original Saxon; as the Normans not only did not understand, but would have received with contempt, instruments written in that Therefore the monks were language. compelled to the pious fraud of forging them in Latin: and great numbers of these forged Latin charters, till lately supposed original, are still extant. See Spelman, in Not. ad Concil. Anglic. p. 125. Stillingfl. Orig. Eccles. Britann. p. 14. Marsham, Præfat. ad Dugd. Monast. and Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. Præfat. p. ii. iii. iv. See also Ingulph. p. 512. Launoy and Mabillon have treated this subject with great learning and penetration.

read in their native language, and instructed in a knowledge of the Norman only^m. In the mean time we should have some regard to the general and political state of the nation. The natives were so universally reduced to the lowest condition of neglect and indigence, that the English name became a term of reproach: and several generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any distinguished honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baronage. Among other instances of that absolute and voluntary submission with which our Saxon ancestors received a foreign yoke, it appears that they suffered their hand-writing to fall into discredit and disuseo; which by degrees became so difficult and obsolete, that few beside the oldest men could understand the characters p. In the year 1095, Wolstan bishop of Worcester was deposed by the arbitrary Normans: it was objected against him, that he was "a superannuated English idiot, who could not speak French q." It is true, that in some of the monasteries, particularly at Croyland and Tavistocke, founded by Saxon princes, there were regular preceptors in the Saxon language: but this institution was suffered to remain after the Conquest as a matter only of interest and necessity. The religious could not otherwise have understood their original charters. William's successor, Henry the First, gave an instrument of confirmation to William archbishop of Canterbury, which was written in the Saxon language and letters'. Yet this is almost * single example. That monarch's motive was perhaps political: and he seems to have practised this expedient with a view of obliging his queen, who was of Saxon lineage; or with a de-

³⁸ Ingulph. p. 71. sub ann. 1066.

Ingulph. p. 85.

⁴ Matt. Paris. sub ann.

p. 52. The French antiquaries are fast of this notion. There are Saxon characters in Herbert Losinga's charter for founding the church of Norwich, temp. Will. Ruf. A. D. 1110. See Lambarde's Diction. v. Norwich. See also Hickes. Thesaur. i. Par. i. p. 149. See also Præfat. p. xvi. An intermixture of the Saxon character is common in English and Latin manuscripts, before the reign of Edward the Third: but of a few types only.

^{*} See Brompt. Chron. p. 1026. Abb. Rieval. p. 339.

P Ibid. p. 98. sub ann. 1091.

H. Wharton, Auctar. Histor. Dogmat. p. 388. The learned Mabillon is mistaken in asserting, that the Saxon way of writing was entirely abolished in England at the time of the Norman conquest. See Mabillon, De Re Diplomat.

sign of flattering his English subjects, and of securing his title already strengthened by a Saxon match, in consequence of so specious and popular an artifice. It was a common and indeed a very natural practice, for the transcribers of Saxon books to change the Saxon orthography for the Norman, and to substitute in the place of the original Saxon, Norman words and phrases. A remarkable instance of this liberty, which sometimes perplexes and misleads the critics in Anglo-Saxon literature, appears in a voluminous collection of Saxon homilies, preserved in the Bodleian library, and written about the time of Henry the Second. It was with the Saxon characters, as with the signature of the cross in public deeds; which were changed into the Norman mode of seals and subscriptions. The Saxon was probably spoken in the country, yet not without various adulterations from the French: the courtly language was French, yet perhaps with some vestiges of the vernacular Saxon. But the Pobles in the reign of Henry the Second constantly sent their children into France, lest they should contract habits of barbarism in their speech, which could not have been avoided in English education u. Robert Holcot, a learned Dominican Fiar, confesses, that in the beginning of the reign of Edward The Third there was no institution of children in the old En-Blish: he complains that they first learned the French, and From the French the Latin language. This he observes to have been a practice introduced by the Conqueror, and to have remained ever since w. There is a curious passage relating to this subject in Trevisa's translation of Hygden's Polychronicon x. "Children in scole, agenst the usage and manir of all other nations, beeth compelled for to leve hire owne langage, and for to construe hir lessons and hire thynges in Frenche; and so they haveth sethe Normans came first into Engelond.

^{*} MSS. Bodl. NE. F 4. 12. Cod. membran. fol.

^t Yet some Norman charters have the

[&]quot;Gervas. Tilbur. de Otiis Imperial. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lib. iii. See DuChesne, iii. p. 363.

Lect. in Libr. Sepient. Lect. ii. Paris. 1518. 4to.

Lib. i. cap. 59. MSS. Coll. 8. Johan. Cantabr. But I think it is printed by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. Robert of Gloucester, who wrote about 1280, says much the same, edit. Hearne, p. 364.

Also gentilmen children beeth taught to speke Frensche from the tyme that they bith rokked in here cradell, and kunneth speke and play with a childes broche: and uplondissche, men will likne himself to gentylmen, and fondeth with greet besynesse for to speke Frensche to be told of. This maner was moche used to for [the] first deth², and is sith some dele changed. For John Cornewaile a maister of grammer changed the lore in grammer scole, and construction of Frensche into Englische: and Richard Pencriche lernede the manere techynge of him as other men of Pencriche. So that now, the yere of oure Lorde a thousand thre hundred and four score and four and of the seconde Kyng Richard after the conquest nyne, and [in] alle the grammere scoles of Engelond children levels Frensche and constructh, and lerneth an Englische, &c." About the same time, or rather before, the students of our universities were ordered to converse in French or Latin. The latter was much affected by the Normans. All the Norman accompts were in Latin. The plan of the great royal revenuerolls, now called the pipe-rolls, was of their construction, and in that language. [Among the Records of the Tower, a great revenue-roll, on many sheets of vellum, or Magnus Rotulus, of the Duchy of Normandy, for the year 1083, is still preserved; indorsed, in a coæval hand, Anno ab Incarnatione Dni mo LXXX° III° APUD CADOMUM [Caen] WILLIELMO FILIO RADULFI Senescallo Normannie. This most exactly and minutely

college, Oxford, given about 1330; where they are ordered to use "Romano aut Gallico saltem sermone." Hearne's MSS. Collect. num. 132. pag. 73. Bibl. Bodl. But in Merton College statutes, mention is made of the Latin only. In cap. x. They were given 1271. This was also common in the greater monasteries. In the register of Wykeham bishop of Winchester, the domicellus of the prior of S. Swythin's at Winchester is ordered to address the bishop, on a certain occasion, in French. A.D. 1398. Registr. Par. iii. fol. 177.

y country.

delights, tries.

as cited by Mr. Tyrwhitt) reads, "to fore the first moreyn," before the first plague; and upon this authority the article added in the text has been inserted. The passage as it thus stands is free from obscurity.—EDIT.]

Oxford, it is ordered, that the scholars, or fellows, "siqua inter se proferant, colloquio Latino, vel saltem Gallico, perfruantur." See Hearne's Trokelowe, pag. 298. These statutes were given 23 Maii, A.D. 1328. I find much the

resembles the pipe-rolls of our exchequer belonging to the same age, in form, method, and character *.]—But from the declension of the barons, and prevalence of the commons, most of whom were of English ancestry, the native language of England gradually gained ground: till at length the interest of the commons so far succeeded with Edward the Third, that an act of parliament was passed, appointing all pleas and proceedings of law to be carried on in English c: although the same statute decrees, in the true Norman spirit, that all such pleas and proceedings should be enrolled in Latin d. Yet this change did not restore either the Saxon alphabet or language. It abolished a token of subjection and disgrace; and in some degree contributed to prevent further French innovations in the language then used, which yet remained in a compound state, and retained a considerable mixture of foreign phraseology. In the mean time, it must be remembered that this corruption of the Saxon was not only owing to the admission of new words, occasioned by the new alliance, but to changes of its own forms and terminations, arising from reasons which we cannot investigate or explain c.

Among the manuscripts of Digby in the Bodleian library at Oxford, we find a religious or moral Ode, consisting of one hundred and ninety-one stanzas, which the learned Hickes places just after the Conquest : but as it ontains few Norman

• [Ayloffe's Calendar of Ant. Chart. Pref. p. xxiv. edit. Lond. 1774. 4to.

But the French formularies and terms of law, and particularly the French feudal phraseology, had taken too deep root to be thus hastily abolished. Hence, long after the reign of Edward the Third, many of our lawyers composed their tracts in French. And reports and some statutes were made in that language. See Fortescut. de Laud. Leg. Angl. c. xlviii.

⁴ Pulton's Statut. 36 Edw. III. This was A. D. 1363. The first English instrument in Rymer is dated 1368. Feed. vii. p. 526.

This subject will be further illus- riod.—EDIT.]

Ling. Vett. Thes. Part. i. p. 222. There is another copy, not mentioned by Hickes, in Jesus College library at Oxford, MSS. 85. infr. citat. This is entitled Tractatus quidam in Anglico. The Digby manuscript has no title.

[It may be proper to observe here, that the dates assigned to the several compositions quoted in this Section are extremely arbitrary and uncertain. Judging from internal evidence—a far more satisfactory criterion than Warton's computed age of his MSS.—there is not one which may not safely be referred to the thirteenth century, and by far the greater number to the close of that period.—Edit.]

terms, I am inclined to think it of rather higher antiquity. deference, however, to so great an authority, I am obliged mention it here; and especially as it exhibits a regular lyn strophe of four lines, the second and fourth of which rhyme together: although these four lines may be perhaps resolved into two Alexandrines; a measure concerning which more will be said hereafter, and of which it will be sufficient to remark at present, that it appears to have been used very early. For I cannot recollect any strophes of this sort in the elder Runic or Saxon poetry; nor in any of the old Frankish poems, particularly of Otfrid, a monk of Weissenburgh, who turned the evangelical history into Frankish verse about the ninth century, and has left several hymns in that language f; of Stricker, who celebrated the achievements of Charlemagnes; and of the anonymous author of the metrical life of Anno archbishop of Cologn. The following stanza is a specimen b.

See Petr. Lambec. Commentar. de Bibl. Cæsar. Vindebon. pag. 418. 457.

See Petr. Lambec. ubi supr. lib. ii. cap. 5. There is a circumstance belonging to the antient Frankish versification, which, as it greatly illustrates the subject of alliteration, deserves notice here. Otfrid's dedication of his evangelical history to Lewis the First, king of the oriental France, consists of four-lined stanzas in rhyming couplets: but the first and last line of every stanza begin and end with the same letter: and the letters of the title of the dedication respectively, and the word of the last line of every tetrastic. Flacius Illyricus published this work of Otfrid at Basil, 1571. But I think it has been since more correctly printed by Johannes Schilten rus. It was written about the year 880. Otfrid was the disciple of Rhabanus Maurus.

[Schilter's book was published under this title: "Schiltzri Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum, exhibens monumenta veterum Francorum, Alamannorum vernacula et Latina, cum additamentis et notis Joan. Georg. Schertzii.

Ulmse 1727-8. 3 vol. in fol." The Thesaurus of Schilter is a real mine of Francic literature. The text is founded on a careful collation of all the MSS. to which he could obtain access; and these, with one exception perhaps—the life of Saint Anno—are highly valuable for their antiquity and correctness. In the subsequent editions of this happiest effort of the Francic Muse, by Hegewisch, Goldman, and Besseldt, Schilter's oversight has been abundantly remedied. Stricker's poem, or rather the Strickers (a name which some have interpreted the writer), is written in the Swabian dialect; and was composed towards the close of the thirteenth century. It is a feeble amplification of an earlier romance, which Warton probably intended to cite, when he used the Strickers' name. Both poems will be found in Schilter; but the latter, though usually styled a Francic production, exhibits a language rapidly merging into the Swabian, if it be not in fact an early specimen of that dialect in a rude uncultivated state.—EDIT.] ^b St. xiv.

Sende god biforen him man The while he may to hevene, For betere is on elmesse bifore Thanne ben after seuene k.

That is, "Let a man send his good works before him to heaven while he can: for one alms-giving before death is of more value than seven afterwards." The verses perhaps might have been thus written, as two Alexandrines.

Send god biforen him man the while he may to hevene, For betere is on almesse biforen, than ben after sevene!

Yet alternate rhyming, applied without regularity, and as rhymes accidentally presented themselves, was not uncommon in our early poetry, as will appear from other examples.

Hickes has printed a satire on the monastic profession; which clearly exemplifies the Saxon adulterated by the Norman, and was evidently written soon after the Conquest, at east before the reign of Henry the Second. The poet begins with describing the land of indolence or luxury.

Fur in see, bi west Spaynge,
Is a lond ihote Cokaygne:
Ther nis lond under hevenriche.
Of wel of godnis hit iliche.
Thoy paradis bi mirib and brigt
Cokaygn is of fairir sigt.
What is ther in paradis
Bot grass, and flure, and grene ris?
Thoy ther be joyc, and gret duted,
Ther nis met, bot frute.

Rende god bironen him man,
Je hyde he mai to heuene;
Ron betene if on elmerre bironen
Danne ben arten jeuene.
This is perhaps the true reading, from
the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge,
written about the reign of Henry the
second, or Richard the First. Cod.
membran. 8vo. Tractat. I. See Abr.
Wheloe. Eccles. Hist. Bed. p. 25. 114.

* MSS. Digb. A 4. membran.

heaven. Sax.

As I recollect, the whole poem is thus exhibited in the Trinity manuscript.

b merry, cheerful. "Although Paradise is chearful and bright, Cokayne is a much more beautiful place."

c 101, Orig.

d pleasure.

Ther nis halle, bure, no bench; But watir manis thurst to quench, &c.

In the following lines there is a vein of satirical imagination and some talent at description. The luxury of the monks is represented under the idea of a monastery constructed of various kinds of delicious and costly viands.

Ther is a wel fair abbei, Of white monkes and of grei, Ther beth boures and halles: All of pasteus beth the walles, Of fleis of fisse, and a rich met, The likefullist that man mai et. Fluren cakes beth the schingles alle, Of church, cloister, bours, and halle. The pinnes^g beth fat podinges Rich met to princes and to kinges.— Ther is a cloyster fair and ligt, Brod and lang of sembli sigt. The pilers of that cloister alle Beth iturned of cristale, With harlas and capital Of grene jaspe and red coral. In the praer is a tree Swithe likeful for to se, The rote is gingeur and galingale, The siouns beth al sed wale. Trie maces beth the flure, The rind canel of swete odure: The frute gilofre of gode smakke, Of cucubes ther nis no lakke.— There beth iiii willish in the abbei Of tracle and halwei,

buttery, [a chamber.]
Shingles. "The tiles, or covering of the house, are of rich cakes."

the pinnacles.

a fountains.

Of baume and eke piement, Ever ernend to rigt rent!; Of thai stremis al the molde, Stonis pretiuse^m and golde, Ther is saphir, and uniune, Carbuncle and astiune, Smaragde, lugre, and prassiune, Beril, onyx, toposiune, Amethiste and crisolite, Calcedun and epetiteⁿ. Ther beth birddes mani and fale Throstill, thruisse, and nigtingale, Chalandre, and wodwale, And other briddes without tale, That stinteth never bi her migt Miri to sing dai and nigt.

[Nonnulla desunt.]

Yite I do yow mo to witte,
The gees irostid on the spitte,
Fleey to that abbai, God hit wot,
And gredith, gees al hote al hote, &c.

ur author then makes a pertinent transition to a convent uns; which he supposes to be very commodiously situated p great distance, and in the same fortunate region of indoe, ease, and affluence.

An other abbai is ther bi
For soth a gret nunnerie;
Up a river of swet milk
Whar is plente grete of silk.
When the summeris dai is hote,
The yung nunnes takith a bote

This word will be explained at large after.

* running. Sax.

* The Arabian phi
* imported into Europe was full

* doctrine of precious stones.

" Our old poets are never so happy as when they can get into a catalogue of things or names. See Observat. on the Fairy Queen, i. p. 140.

" crieth. Gallo-Franc. [Anglo-Sax.]

And doth ham forth in that river
Both with oris and with stere:
Whan hi beth fur from the abbei
Hi makith him nakid for to plei,
And leith dune in to the brimme
And doth him sleilich for to swimme:
The yung monkes that hi seeth
Hi doth ham up and forth hi fleeth,
And comith to the nunnes anon,
And euch monk him takith on,
And snellich berith forth har prei
To the mochill grei abbei q,
And techith the nonnes an oreisun
With jambleus up and dun s.

quick, quickly. Gallo-Franc. [Anglo-Saxon.]

Monks." to the great abbey of Grey

r lascivious motions, gambols. Fr. gambiller.

Hickes. Thes. i. Par. i. p. 231 seq. [A French fabliau, bearing a near resemblance to this poem, and possibly the production upon which the English minstrel founded his song, has been published in the new edition of Barbazan's Fablaux et Contes, Paris 1808, vol. iv. p. 175.—Edit.]

[The secular indulgences, particularly the luxury, of a female convent, are intended to be represented in the following passage of an antient poem, called A Disputation bytwene a Crystene mon and a Jew, written before the year 1300. MS.

Vernon, fol. 301.

Till a Nonneri thei came,
But I knowe not the name;
Ther was mony a derworthe a dame
In dyapre dereb:

Squizeres in vche syde, In the wones so wyde: Hur schul we longe abyde,

Auntres to heare.
Thene swithe spekethe he,
Til a ladi so fre,
And biddeth that he welcum be,

"Sire Water my feere"."

Ther was bords i clothed cless

With schire k clothes and schees,

Seppe a wasschen k, i wene,

And wente to the sete: Riche metes was forth brouht, To all men that gode thouht: The cristen mon wolde nouht

Drynke nor etc.

Ther was wyn ful clere
In mony a feir masere ",
And other drynkes that weore dere,

In coupes of ful gret: Siththe was schewed him bi Murththe and munstralsy, And preyed hem do gladly,

With ryal rechet .
Bi the bordes up thei stode, &c. Appr.]

dear-worthy.

b diaper fine.

squires, attendants.

room,
apartments.

shall we long.

adventures.

swiftly, immediately.

my companion, my love. He is called afterwards "Sire [Sir] Walter of Berwick."

tables.

sheer, clean.

Or sithe, i. e. often. [afterwards: but perhaps we should read seththe thei, "afterwards they."—Enr.]

mazer, great cup.

cups.

afterwards there was sport and minstrelsy.

attendants.

swiftly, immediately.

afterwards "Sire [Sir] Walter of Berwick."

weshel.

afterwards there was sport and minstrelsy.

attendants.

swiftly, immediately.

[&]quot;Him, woulde I comfort and rechete." And Ta. Cassa iii. 350.

This poem was designed to be sung at public festivals': a practice, of which many instances occur in this work; and concerning which it may be sufficient to remark at present, that a Joculator or Bard, was an officer belonging to the court of William the Conqueror".

Another Norman Saxon poem cited by the same industrious antiquary, is entitled The Life of Saint Margaret. The structure of its versification considerably differs from that in the last-mentioned piece, and is like the French Alexandrines. But I am of opinion that a pause, or division, was intended in the middle of every verse: and in this respect its versification resembles also that of Albion's England, or Drayton's Polyolbion, which was a species very common about the reign of queen Elisabeth. The rhymes are also continued to every fourth line. It appears to have been written about the time of the Crusades. It begins thus:

Olde ant vonge I priet, ou, oure folies for to lete, Thenket on god that yef ou wit, oure sunnes to bete.

Here I mai tellen ou, wit wordes feire ant swete,

The vie z of one meiden was hoten 2 Maregrete.

Hire fader was a patriac, as ic ou tellen may,

In Auntioge wif eches b i the false lay,

Deve godes c ant doumbe, he served nitt ant day,

So deden mony othere that singet weilaway.

Theodosius was is nome, on Crist ne levede he noutt,

He levede on the false godes, that weren with honden wroutt.

Lordinges gode and hende, &c.

Lordinges gode and hende, &c.

Lis in MSS. More, Cantabrig. 784. f. l.

His lands are cited in Doomsday

Book. "GLOUCESTERSCIEE. Berdic, Jo
Calator Regis, habet iii. villas et ibi v.

See Anstis, Ord. Gart.

1. 204.

It is worthy of remark, that we find in the collection of ancient Northern momments, published by M. Biorner, a posm of some length, said by that author to have been composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. This poem is professedly in rhyme, and the measure like

that of the heroic Alexandrine of the French poetry. See Mallet's Introd. Dannem. &c. ch. xiii.

* and. Fr.

y I direct, Fr. "I advise you, your, &c." [The writer of this Life in the Bodleian MS., who is quite as likely to have understood the author's meaning, reads "I preye you": words bearing no doubt the same signification then as they do at present.—EDT.]

b chose a wife. Sax. "He was

married in Antioch."
c "deaf gods, &c."

Tho that child sculde cristine ben it com well in thout, Ebed^d wen it were ibore, to deth it were ibroutt, &c.

In the sequel, Olibrius, lord of Antioch, who is called a Saracen, falls in love with Margaret: but she being a Christian, and a candidate for canonization, rejects his solicitations and is thrown into prison.

Meidan Maregrete one nitt in prisun lai
Ho com biforn Olibrius on that other dai.
Meidan Maregrete, lef up on my lay,
Ant Ihu that thou levest on, thou do him al awey.
Lef on me ant be my wife, ful wel the mai spede.
Auntioge and Asie scaltou han to mede:
Ciclatoun ant purpel pal scaltou have to wede:
Wid all the metes of my lond ful wel I scal the fede.

This piece was printed by Hickes from a manuscript in Trinity College library at Cambridge. It seems to belong to the manuscript metrical Lives of the Saints, which form a very considerable volume, and were probably translated or paraphrased from Latin or French prose into English rhyme before the year 1200 h. We are sure that they were written.

d in bed.

* Checklaton. See Obs. Fair. Q. i. 194.

Hickes, i. 225. The legend of Scinte Juliane in the Bodleian library is rather older, but of much the same versification. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. 3. xi. membran. 8vo. iii. fol. 36. This manuscript I believe to be of the age of Henry the Third or king John: the composition much earlier. It was translated from the Latin. These are the five last lines.

bren bribtin o tomer bei pintjed hir hreate,

And repped her durti cher to hellene heate,

be more been a conn i zorer zultene enene,

De tuphe dif of Latin to Englische lebenne

And he been her least onprat ypa ay he cufe. AMEN.

That is, "When the judge at douse day winnows his wheat, and drives the dusty chaff into the heat of hell; may there be a corner in God's golden Eden for him [Rather: "may he be a corn in God's golden Eden".—EDIZ.] who turned this book into [from] Latin," &c.

Hearne, from a manuscript of Ralph Sheldon. See Hearne's Petr. Lang. p. 542. 607. 608. 609. 611. 628. 670. Saint Winifred's Life is printed from the same collection by bishop Fleetwood, in his Life and Miracles of S. Winifred, p. 125. ed. 1713.

festivals of the whole year. The life of the respective Saint is described under every Saint's day, and the institutions of some sundays, and feasts not taking their rise from saints, are explained, on the plan of the Legenda Aurea, written by Jacobus de Voragine, archhishop of Ge-

ster the year 1169, as they contain the Life of Saint Thomas lecket. In the Bodleian library are three manuscript coies of these Lives of the Saints, in which the Life of laint Margaret constantly occurs; but it is not always exactly he same with this printed by Hickes. And on the whole,

100, about the year 1290, from which Laxton, through the medium of a French rersion entitled Legend Dorée, translated in Golden Legend. The Festival or Fatiall, printed by Wynkin de Worde, sa book of the same sort, yet with homiles intermixed. See MSS. Harl. 247. fol. and 2371. 4to. and 2391. 4to. md 2402 4to. and 2800 seq. Manucript lives of Saints, detached, and not Monging to this collection, are frequent a libraries. The Vite Patrum were riginally drawn from S. Jerome and obannes Cassianus. In Gresham Col**tgs** library are metrical lives of ten wats chiefly from the Golden Legend, y Osberne Bokenham, an Augustine mon in the abbey of Stoke-clare in wholk, transcribed by Thomas Burgh t Cambridge 1477. The Life of S. Atharine appears to have been comored in 1445. MSS. Coll. Gresh. 315. he French translation of the Legenda lwas was made by Jehan de Vignay, a 1900. 1900.

Ashmole cites this Life, Instit. Ord. Let. p. 21. And he cites S. Brandon's Let. p. 507. Ashmole's manuscript in the hands of Silas Taylor. It is in his Museum at Oxford. MSS.

50. [7001.]

* M88. Bodl. 779.—Laud, L 70. **nd** they make a considerable part of prodigious folio volume, beautifully ritten on vellum, and elegantly illuinsted, where they have the following he, which also comprehends other anent English religious poems: "Here Exprenen the tytles of the book that is in Latyn tonge Salus Anime, and Englysh tonge SowleHele." It was iven to the Bodleian library by Edward wron, esq. soon after the civil war. shall cite it under the title of MS. Ver-Although pieces not absolutely ligious are sometimes introduced, the seme of the compiler or transcriber

seems to have been, to form a complete body of legendary and scriptural history in verse, or rather to collect into one view all the religious poetry he could find. Accordingly the Lives of the Saints, a distinct and large work of itself, properly constituted a part of his plan. There is another copy of the Lives of the Saints in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. 2277; and in Ashmole's Museum, MSS. Ashm. ut supr. I think this manuscript is also in Bennet College library. The Lives seem to be placed according to their respective festivals in the course of the year. The Bodleian copy (marked 779.) is a thick folio, containing 310 leaves. The variations in these manuscripts seem chiefly owing to the transcribers. The Life of Saint Margaret in MSS. Bodl. 779. begins much like that of Trinity library at Cambridge,

Old ant yonge I preye you your folyis for to lete, &c.

I must add here, that in the Harleian library, a few Lives, from the same collection of Lives of the Saints, occur, MSS. 2250. 23. f. 72. b. seq. chart. fol. See also ib. 19. f. 48. These Lives are in French rhymes, ib. 2253. f. 1.

The LIVES OF THE SAINTS IN VERSE, in Bennet library, contain the martyrdom and translation of Becket, Num. clxv. This manuscript is supposed to be of the fourteenth century. Archbishop Parker, in a remark prefixed, has assigned the composition to the reign of Henry the Second. But in that case, Becket's translation, which did not happen till the reign of king John, must have been added. See a specimen in Mr. Nasmith's accurate and learned CATALOGUE of the Bennet Manuscripts, pag. 217. Cantab. 1777. 4to. There is a manuscript of these Lives in Trinity College library at Oxford, but it has not the Bodleian Lives seem inferior in point of antiquity. I will here give some extracts never yet printed.

he Life of Becket. MSS. Num. lvii. In scribe a few lines from the Luz of Sum pergamen. fol. The writing is about CUTHERER, f. 2. b. the fourteenth century. I will tran-

Scint Cuthberd was ybore here in Engelonde, God dude for him meraccle, as ze scholleth vnderstonde. And wel zong child he was, in his eigtethe zere, Wit children he pleyde atte halle, that his felawes were: That com go a lite childe, it thost thre zer old, A swete creature and a fayr, yt was myld and hold: To the zong Cuthberd he zede, sene brother he sede, Ne bench not such ydell game for it ne ozte nozt be thy dede: Seint Cuthberd ne tok no zeme to the childis rede And pleyde forth with his felawes, al so they him bede. The this zonge child y sez that he his red forsok, A down he fel to grounde, and gret del to him to tok, It by gan to wepe sore, and his honden wrynge, This children hadde alle del of him, and bysened hare pleyings. As that they couthe hy gladede him, sore he gan to siche, At even this zonge child made del y siche, A welaway, qd seint Cuthbert, why wepes thou so sore Zif we the haveth ozt mysdo we ne scholleth na more. Thanne spake this zonge child, sore hy wothe beye, Cuthberd it falleth nozt to the with zonge children to pleye, For no suche idell games it ne cometh the to worche, Whanne god hath y proveyd the an heved of holy cherche. With this word, me nyste whidder, this zong child wente, An angel it was of heven that our lord thuder sent.

Saxon letters are used in this manu- lines as they appear in that mode of script. I will exhibit the next twelve writing: together with the punctuation.

ro by gan seint Cuthberd. for to wepe sore He made his fader and frendis. sette him to lore So hat he servede bobe nyzt and day, to plese god he more And in his zoughede nyzt and day. of servede godis ore po he in grettere elde was, as he bok us hab y sed It by fel hat seint Aydan, he bisschop was ded Cuthberd was a felde with schep, angeles of heven he sez pe bisschopis soule seint Aydan, to heven bere on hez Allas sede seint Cuthberd, fole ech am to longe I nell his schep no longer kepe. a fonge hem who so a fonge* He wente to be abbeye of Germans. a grey monk he ber by com Gret joye made alle be covent. be that about nom, &c.

return of the hemistichal point, which I have been careful to preserve, and to represent with exactness; as I suspect that it shows how these poems were sung to the harp by the minstrels. Every line was perhaps uniformly recited to the same monotonous modulation, with a pause in a midst: just as we chant the

The reader will observe the constant psalms in our choral service. In the psalms of our liturgy, this pause is espressed by a colon: and often, in these of the Roman missal, by an asterist The same mark occurs in every line of this manuscript; which is a folio volume of considerable size, with upwards of fifty verses in every page.

• ["take them who will."—!"DIT.]

From the Life of Saint Swithin.

Seint Swythan the confessour was her of Engelonde, Bisyde Wynchestre he was ibore, as ich undirstonde: Bi the kynges dei Egbert this goode was ibore, That the was kyng of Engelonde, and somedele eke bifore; The eintethe he was that com aftur Kinewolfe the kynge, That seynt Berin dude to Cristendome in Engelonde furst brynge:

Seynt Austen hedde bifore to Cristendom i brouht Athelbryt the goode kynge as al the londe nouht. Al setthe m hyt was that seynt Berin her bi west wende, And tornede the kynge Kinewolfe as vr lord grace sende? So that Egbert was kyng the that Swythan was bore The eighth was Kinewolfe that so long was bifore, &c. Seynt Swythan his bushopricke to al goodnesse drough The towne also of Wynchestre he amended inough, For he lette the stronge bruge withoute the toune arere and fond therto lym and ston and the workmen that ther were.

From the Life of Saint Wolstan.

eynt Wolston bysscop of Wirceter was then in Ingelonde, withe holyman was all his lyf as ich onderstonde: he while he was a yonge childe good lyf hi ladde ynow, Theme other children orne play toward cherche hi drow. int Edward was the vr kyng, that now in hevene is, nd the bisscoppe of Wircester Brytthege is hette I wis, &c.

and Swippin to confessour was here **Engelonde**

was ibore as ic **Vaderstonde**

[The Harleian MS. is imperfect at

Thus in MSS. Harl. fol. 78. the beginning; but such of the Live it contained in common with the Vernon MS. have been colleted with Warton's text, and the few material variations will be found printed within brackets in the notes below.—EDTT.] ^a f. 93. MS. Vernon. ^m since.

¹ [gode man.] ² [as our lorde him grace sende.] Seint Egbert that was kyng the Seint Swithin was ibore, The eizeteothe he was after Kenewolfe that so long was bifore.] 4 [the este gate.]

'OL. 1.

C

Bisscop hym made the holi man seynt Edward vre kynge.

And undirfonge his dignite, and tok hym cros and ringe.

His bushopreke he wust wel, and eke his priorie,

And forcede him to serve wel God and Seinte Marie.

Ffour zer he hedde bisscop ibeo and not folliche fyve

Tho seynt Edward the holi kyng went out of this lyve.

To gret reuge to al Engelonde, so welaway the stounde,

Ffor strong men that come sithen and broughte Engelonde to grounde.

Harald was sithen kynge with tresun, allas!

The crowne he bare of England which while hit was.

As William Bastard that was the duyk of Normaundye

Thouhte to winne Englande thorusg strength and felonye:

He lette hym greith foulke inouh and gret power with him nom,

With gret strengthe in the see he him dude and to Engelande com:

He lette ordayne his ost wel and his baner up arerede,
And destruyed all that he fond and that londe sore aferde.
Harald hereof tell kynge of Engelonde
He let garke fast his oste agen hym for to stonde:
His baronage of Engelonde redi was ful sone
The kyng to helpe and eke himself as riht was to done.
The warre was then in Engelonde dolefull and stronge inouh
And heore either of othures men al to grounde slouh:
The Normans and this Englisch men deiy of batayle nom
There as the abbeye is of the batayle a day togedre com,
To grounde thei smiit and slowe also, as God yaf the cas,
William Bastard was above and Harald bi neothe was,

Output

Description:

From the Life of Saint Christopher.

P Seynt Cristofre was a Sarazin in the londe of Canaan, In no stud bi him daye mi fond non so strong a man:

In no stede bi his daye ne fond me strong a man

Four and tuenti fet he was long and piche and brod y-nouz, &c.

MS. Vernon. fol. 76. b.
 MSS. Harl. ut supr. fol. 101. b.
 Seint Cristofre was Sarazin in 5e lond of Canaan

Four and twenti feete he was longe, and thick and brod inouh, Such a mon but he weore stronge methinketh hit weore wouh: A la cuntre where he was for him wolde fleo,

Therfore hym ythoughte that no man ageynst him sculde beo. He seide he wolde with no man beo but with on that were Hext lord of all men and undir hym non othir were.

Afterwards he is taken into the service of a king.

The kynge loved melodye much of fithele and of songe;
So that his jogeler on a dai biforen him gon to pleye faste,
And in a tyme he nemped in his song the devil atte laste:
Anon so the kynge that I herde he blesed him anon, &c.

From the Live of Saint Patrick.

Soyn Pateryk com thoru Godes grace to preche in Irelonde To teche men ther ryt believe Jehu Cryste to understonde: So ful of wormes that londe he founde that no man ni myghte gon,

In som stede for worms that he nas wenemyd anon;
Seynt Pateryk bade our lorde Cryst that the londe delyvered were,

Of thilke foul wormis that none ne com there.

From the Life of Saint Thomas Becket.

Ther was Gilbert Thomas fadir name the trewe man and gode He loved God and holi cherche setthe he witte ondirstode. The cros to the holi cherche in his zouthe he nom, myd on Rychard that was his mon to Jerlem com,

**Bod. MSS. 779. fol. 41. b. he wit understod.

**Bod. MSS. 779. fol. 41. b. he wit understod.

**This Harleian manuscript is imperfect in many parts.

[[]of harps.]
[... on a dai to fore him pleide faste
Ant anemmede in his ryme the devil atte laste
Tho the kyng hurde that he blesed him anon.]
[holi lond.]
[And mid.]

Ther hy decle here pylgrimage in holi stedes faste So that among Sarazyns hy wer nom at laste, &c."

This legend of Saint Thomas Becket is exactly in the style of all the others; and as Becket was martyred in the latter part of the reign of Henry the Second from historical evidence, and as, from various internal marks, the language of these legends cannot be older than the twelfth century, I think we may fairly pronounce the Lives of the Saints to have been written about the reign of Richard the First.

These metrical narratives of Christian faith and perseverance seem to have been chiefly composed for the pious amusement, and perhaps edification, of the monks in their cloisters. The sumptuous volume of religious poems which I have mentioned above, was undoubtedly chained in the cloister, or church, of some capital monastery. It is not improbable that the novices were exercised in reciting portions from these pieces. In the British Museum there is a set of legendary tales in rhyme, which appear to have been solemnly pronounced by the priest to the people on sundays and holidays. This sort of poetry?

^e MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 41. b.

* Who died 1199. In the Cotton library I find the lives of Saint Josaphas and the Seven Sleepers: where the Norman seems to predominate, although Saxon letters are used. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. Calig. Aix. Cod. membran. 4to. ii. fol. 192.

Ici commence la vie de pent Iogaphaz. Ki vout a nul bien æntendre Per essample poet mlt aprendre.

iii. fol. 213. b. Ici commence la vie de Ser Dormanz.

La Vertu heu ke tut iur hure E tut iurz est cereine e pure.

Many legends and religious pieces in Norman rhyme were written about this time. See MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 1. membr. fol. supr. citat. p. 15.

y viz. MS. Vernon.

MSS. Harl. 2391. 70. The dialect is perfectly Northern.

That legends of Saints were sung to the harp at feasts, appears from The Life of Saint Marine, MSS. Harl. 2253. Sh. memb. f. 64. b.

Herketh hideward and beoth still, Y praise ou zif hit be or wille, And ze shule here of one virgin That was yeleped saint Maryne.

And from various other instances.

Some of these religious poems costs
the usual address of the minstrel to the
company. As in a poem of our sviour's descent into hell, and his course there with Sathanas the poets,
Adam, Eve, Abraham, &c. MSS. hid.
f. 57.

Alle herkeneth to me now, A strif wolle y tellen ou: Of Jhesu and of Sathan, Tho Jhesu wes to hell y-gan.

Other proofs will occur occasionally.

the romantic subjects usual at public entertainments^b.

In that part of Vernon's manuscript entitled Soulehele, thave a translation of the Old and New Testament into me; which I believe to have been made before the year 100. The reader will observe the fondness of our ancestors the Alexandrine: at least, I find the lines arranged in that casure.

we ladi and hire sustur stoden under the roode,

the seint John and Marie Magdaleyn with wel sori moode:

r ladi bi heold hire swete son i brouht in gret pyne,

for monnes gultes nouthen her and nothing for myne.

larie weop wel sore and bitter teres leet,

the teres fullen uppon the ston down at hire feet.

As I collect from the following its, MS. Vernon, fol. 229.

Wisions of Seynt Poul won he was rapt into Paradys.

that wolen of the Sonday here; that wolen of the Sonday here; the Sonday a day hit is that angels and archangels joyn i wis, fore in that ilke day the any odur, &c.

Example was enjoined by the ritual of the church, that the Lives of the ints should be read during mass, on * days consecrated to their memory. • the introduction of the Roman liwhich forbade the admixture of ly extrapeous matter with the service the mass, this practice appears to en suspended, and the Lives of saints were read only at evening But even in this, the inveteof custom seems speedily to have emblished its rights; and there is non to believe, that the Lives of such are mentioned in the New Testa-**21, were regularly** delivered from the meel. Of this, a curious example, " Planch de Sant Esteve," has so published by M. Raynouard in Choix des Poesies originales des subadours [Paris 1817];" where the sages from the Acts of the Apostles gring to Saint Stephen, are intro-

duced between the metrical translations of them. From France, it is probable, this rite found its way into England; and the following extract from the piece alluded to above will show the uniformity of style adopted in the exordiums to such productions on both sides of the Channel.

Sezets, senhors, e aiats pas; So que direm ben escoutas; Car la lisson es de vertat, Non hy a mot de falsetat.

"Be seated, lordings, and hold your peace (et nyez paix); listen attentively to what we shall say; for it is a lesson of truth without a word of falsehood."— It has been recently maintained, that the term "lording," of such frequent occurrence in the preludes to our old romances and legends, is a manifest proof of their being "composed for the gratification of knights and nobles." There are many valid objections to such a conclusion; but one perhaps more cogent than the rest. The term is a diminutive, and could never have been applied to the nobility as an order, however general its use as an expression of courtesy. way of illustration, let it also be remembered, that the "Disours" of the present day, who ply upon the Mole at Naples, address every ragged auditor by the title of " Eccellenza."—Entr.]

"Alas, my son, for serve wel off seide heo Nabbe iche bote the one that hongust on the treo; So ful icham of serwe, as any wommon may beo, That is chal my deore child in all this pyne iseo: How schal I sone deore, how hast i yougt liven withouten the Nusti nevere of serve nougt sone, what seyst you me?" Then spake Jhesus wordus gode to his modur dere, Ther he heng uppon the roode "here I the take a fere, That trewliche schal serve ye, thin own cosin Jon, The while that you alyve bee among all thi fon: Ich the hote Jon, he seide, you wite hire both day and nihe That the Gywes hire fon ne don hire non un riht." Seint John in the stude vr ladi in to the temple nom God to serven he hire dude sone so he thider come, Hole and seeke heo duden good that hes founden thore ' Heo hire serveden to hond and foot, the lass and eke the more The pore folke feire heo fedde there, heo sege that hit was need, And the seke heo brougte to bedde and met and drinke gon heom beode.

Wy at heore mihte yong and olde hire loveden bothe syke and fer

As hit was riht for alle and summe to hire servise hedden mester.

Jon hire was a trew feer, and nolde nougt from hire go, He lokid hire as his ladi deore and what heo wolde hit was ide Now blowith this newe fruyt that lat bi gon to springe, That to his kuynd heritage monkunne schal bringe, This new fruyt of whom I speke is vre Cristendome, That late was on erthe isow and latir furth hit com, So hard and luthur was the lond of whom hit scholde spri That wel unnethe eny rote men mougte theron bring, God hi was the gardener, c &c.

In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, among other man Saxon homilies in prose, there is a homily or exhc

c MS. Vernon, fol. 8.

the Lord's prayer in verse: which, as it was evidently scribed rather before the reign of Richard the First, we place with some degree of certainty before the year 1185.

Vre feder that in hevene is That is al sothfull I wis. Weo moten to theos weordes iseon That to live and to saule gode beon. That weo been swa his sunes iborene That he beo feder and we him icorene That we don alle his ibeden And his wille for to reden, &c. Lauerde God we biddeth thus Mid edmode heorte gif hit us. That wre soule beo to the icore Noht for the flesce for lore. Dole us to biwepen vre sunne That we ne sternen noht therunne And gif us, lauerd, that ilke gifte Thet we hes ibeten thurh holie scrifte. AMEN.d

the valuable library of Corpus Christi College in Camge, is a sort of poetical biblical history, extracted from the s of Genesis and Exodus. It was probably composed at the reign of Henry the Second or Richard the First. I am chiefly induced to cite this piece, as it proves the ssive attachment of our earliest poets to rhyme: they were of multiplying the same final sound to the most tedious sotony; and without producing any effect of elegance, agth, or harmony. It begins thus:

Man og to luuen that rimes ren.
The wissed wel the logede men.
Hu man may him wel loken
Thog he ne be lered on no boken.

⁴ Quart. minor. 185. Cod. membran. vi. f. 21. b.

Luuen God and serven him ay For he it hem wel gelden may. And to al Cristenei men Boren pais and luue by twem. Than sal him almighti luuven, Here by nethen and thund abuuven, And given him blisse and soules reste. That him sal eavermor lesten. Ut of Latin this song is a dragen On Engleis speche on soche sagen, Cristene men ogen ben so fagen, So fueles arn quan he it sen dagen. Than man hem telled soche tale Wid londes speche and wordes smale Of blisses dune, of sorwes dale, Quhu Lucifer that devel dwale And held him sperred in helles male, Til God him frid in manliched Dede mankinde bote and red. And unswered al the fendes sped And halp thor he sag mikel ned Biddi hie singen non other led, Thog mad hic folgen idel hed. Fader gode of al thinge, Almightin louerd, hegest kinge, Thu give me seli timinge To thau men this werdes bigininge. The lauerd God to wurthinge Quether so hic rede or singe.

We find this accumulation of identical rhymes in the Runodes; particularly in the ode of Egill cited above, entitle EGILL'S RANSOM. In the Cotton library a poem is preserved the same age, on the subjects of death, judgment, and hell tor ments, where the rhymes are singular, and deserve our attention

^{*} MSS. R 11. Cod. membran. octavo. It seems to be in the Northern dialect.

Non mai longe lives wene

Ac ofte him lieth the wrench.

Feir weither turneth ofte into reine
An wunderliche hit maketh his blench,

Tharfore mon thu the bithench
Al schal falewi thi grene.

Weilawei! nis kin ne quene

That ne schal drinche of deathes drench,

Mon er thu falle of thi bench

Thine sunne thu aquench.

To the same period of our poetry I refer a version of Saint Jerom's French psalter, which occurs in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. The hundredth psalm is thus translated.

Mirthes to God al erthe that es
Serves to louerd in faines.
In go yhe ai in his siht,
In gladnes that is so briht.
Whites that louerd God is he thus
He us made and our self noht us,
His folk and shep of his fode:
In gos his yhates that are gode:
In schrift his worches belive,
In ympnes to him yhe schrive.
Heryhes his name for louerde is hende,
In all his merci do in strende and strande.

In the Bodleian library there is a translation of the Psalms, which much resembles in style and measure this just mentioned. If not the same, it is of equal antiquity. The hand-writing is of the age of Edward the Second: certainly not later than his successor. It also contains the Nicene creed h, and some church hymns, versified: but it is mutilated and imperfect. The nineteenth psalm runs thus.

Bibl. Cotton. MSS. CALIG. A ix.—
wi. 1. 248. © O. 6. Cod. membr. 4to.

h Hickes has printed a metrical version of the creed of St. Athanasius; to

whom, to avoid prolix and obsolete specimens already printed, I refer the reader. Thesaur. Par. i. p. 233. I believe it to be of the age of Henry the Second.

Hevens telles Goddis blisse, The walken schewes handes werkes hisse,": Dai to dai worde riftes right, And wisedome schewes night to night, Noght ere speches ne saghes even Of whilk noght es herd thair steven. In al land outyhode thair rorde And in endes of werld of tham the worde. In sun he set his telde to stand And he als bridegrome of his bouer comand. He gladed as yhoten to renne his wai Fra heghest heuene his outcome ai, And his ogaine raas til hegh sete, Nes whilk that hides him fra his hete. Lagh of laverd unwemmed esse, Tornand saules into blisse; Witnes of laverd es ai trewe. Wisedome lenand to littel newe: Rightwisenesses of laverd right hertes fainand, Gode of laverd light eghen lightand, Drede of laverd hali es it In werld of werld and ful of wit Domes of laverd soth er ai And rightwished in thar self er thai, Yornandlike over the golde And stane derworthi mikel holde: And wele swetter to mannes wambe Over honi and ye kambe.

This is the beginning of the eighteenth psalm.

I sal love the laverd in stalworth hede Laverd mi festnesse ai in nede And mi toflight that es swa And mi leser out of wa.

The Cotton MS. of this version of been adopted. See Vesp. D. vii. 11. text than Warton's, and consequently has

I will add another religious fragment on the crucifixion, in the shorter measure, evidently coeval, and intended to be sung to the harp.

Vyen i o the rode set.

Jesu nayled to the tre,

Jesu mi lefinan,

Ibunder bloe and blodi,

An hys moder stant him bi,

Wepand, and Johan:

Hys bac wid scwrge iswungen,

Hys side depe istungen,

Ffor sinne and louve of man,

Weil anti sinne lete

An nek wit teres wete

This i of love can!

In the library of Jesus College at Oxford, I have seen a Norman Saxon poem of another cast, yet without much invention or poetry^m. It is a contest between an owl and a nightingale about superiority in voice and singing; the decision of which is left to the judgment of one John de Guldevordⁿ. It is not

¹ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. B 3. 18. Th. f. 101. b. (Langb. vi. 209.)

It is also in Bibl. Cotton. MSS. CALIG. ix. A 5. fol. 230.

But by mistake. Our John de Guldevorde is indeed the author of the poem which immediately precedes in the manuscript, as appears by the following entry at the end of it, in the hand-writing of the very learned Edward Lwyhd. On part of a broken leaf of this MS. I find these verses written, whearby the author may be guest at.

"Mayster Johan eu greteth of Guldworde tho,

And sendeth eu to seggen that synge he nul he wo.

On thisse wise he will endy his songe, God louerde of hevene, beo us alle amonge."

The piece is entitled and begins thus;

Ici commence la Passynen Ihu Christ en engleys.

I hereth eu one lutele tale that ich eu wille telle

As we vyndeth hit iwrite in the godspelle,

Nis hit nouht of Karlemeyne ne of the Duzpere

As of Cristes thruwynge, &c.

It seems to be of equal antiquity with that mentioned in the text. The whole manuscript, consisting of many detached pieces both in verse and proce, was perhaps written in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

[In the Cotton MS. "one Nichole of Guldeforde is twice named; not indeed as the poet, but as a sage person, an accomplished singer, and a fit judge of their controversy. He is mentioned to reside at Porteshom in Dorsetshire. Probably Nicholas was brother of John de Guldevord." Ritson.]

later than Richard the First. The rhymes are multiplied remarkably interchanged.

Ich was in one sunnie dale
In one suwe dizele hale,
I-herde ich hold grete tale,
An hule and one niztingale.
That plait was stif & starc and strong,
Sum wile softe and lud among.
[Either] agen other sval
And let that wole mod ut al.
And either seide of otheres custe,
That alere worste that hi wuste
And hure and hure of othere songe
Hi holde plaiding suthe stronge.

The earliest love-song which I can discover in our lang is among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Mu I would place it before or about the year 1200. It is falliteration, and has a burthen or chorus.

Blow northerne wynd,

Sent thou me my suetynge;

Blow northerne wynd,

Blou, blou, blou.

Ich-ot a burde in boure bryht

That fully semly is on syht,

Menskful maiden of myht,

Feir ant fre to fonde,

In al this wurhliche won,

A burde of blod and of bon,

Never zete y nuster non

Lussomore in Londe. Blow, &c.

With lokkes lefliche and longe,

With front ant face feir to fonde;

With murthes monie mote heo monge

owl.
MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. 86. membr.

yet [zere, Ritson].
knew not. lively [la

That brid so breme in boure; With lossum eie grete and gode, Weth browen blysfol underhode, He that rest him on the rode That leflych lyf honoure. Blou, ' &c. Hire lure lumes liht, Ase a launterne a nyht, Hyre bleo blynkyeth so bryht. So feyr heo is ant fyn, A suetly suyre heo hath to holde, With armes, shuldre ase mon wolde, Ant fyngres feyre forte folde: God wolde hue were myn. Middel heo hath menskful smal, Hire loveliche chere as cristal; Theyes, legges, fet, and al, Ywraught wes of the beste; A lussum ledy lasteles, That sweting is and ever wes; A betere burde never nes Yheryed with the heste, Heo ys dere-worthe in day, Graciouse, stout, and gaye, Gentil, jolyf, so the jay, Worhliche when she waketh, Maiden murgest w of mouth Bi est, bi west, bi north, bi south, Ther nis ficle ne crouth, That such murthes maketh. Heo is corall of godnesse, Heo is rubie of ryht fulnesse, Heo is cristal of clairnesse, Ant baner of bealte, Heo is lilie of largesse, Heo is paruenke of prouesse, ¹ Sic.

" merriest

u blee, complexion.

Heo is solsecle of suetnesse,
Ant ledy of lealte,
To lou that leflich ys in londe
Ytolde as hi as ych understonde, &c.*

From the same collection I have extracted a part of another amatorial ditty, of equal antiquity; which exhibits a stanzal of no inelegant or unpleasing structure, and approaching to the octave rhyme. It is, like the last, formed on alliteration.

In a fryhte as y con fare framede
Y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere,
Heo glystenede ase gold when hit glemede,
Nes ner gome so gladly on gere,
Y wolde wyte in world who hire kenede
This burde bryht, zef hire wil were,
Heo me bed go my gates, lest hire gremede,
Ne kept heo non henyng here.

In the following lines a lover compliments his mistress name.

Alysoun.

Bytuene Mersh and Averil
When spray beginneth to springe,
The lutel foul hath hire wyl
On hyre lud to synge,
Ich libbe in louelonginge
For semlokest of alle thynge.
He may me blysse bringe
Icham in hire bandoun,
An hendy hap ichabbe yhent
Ichot from hevene it is me sent.
From all wymmen mi love is lent
And lyht on Alisoun,

* MSS. Harl. 2253, fol. membran. f. 72. b.

[As this manuscript contains an elegy upon the death of Edward the First, Mr. Ritson very properly infers, that it could not have been written in the "life-time" of that monarch. He assigns it to "the reign of his son and successor."—Exer.]

y MSS. ibid. f. 66. The pieces which I have cited from this manuscript appear to be of the hand-writing of the reign of Edward the First.

On heu hire her is fayre ynoh,

Hire browe broune, hire eye blake,

With lossum chere he on me loh

With middel smal and wel ymake,

Bote he me wolle to hire take, &c. *

The following song, containing a description of the spring, listplays glimmerings of imagination, and exhibits some faint deas of poetical expression. It is, like the three preceding, of the Norman Saxon school, and extracted from the same in
laustible repository. I have transcribed the whole.

Lenten ys come with love to toune, With blosmen ant with briddes roune,

That al this blisse bryngeth;
Dayes ezes in this dales,
Notes suete of nyhtegales,
Uch foul song singeth.

The threstlecoc him threteth oo, Away is huere wynter wo,

When woderoue springeth;
This foules singeth ferly fele,
Ant wlyteth on huere wynter wele,
That al the wode ryngeth.

The rose rayleth hir rode,
The leves on the lyhte wode
Waxen all with wille:
The mone mandeth hire bleo
The kilie is lossum to seo;
The fenyl and the fille.

MSS. ibid. f. 63. b.

[The following stanza formed the opening of this song as printed by Warton. It appears to have been inadversently copied from a poem in the parallel column of the manuscript:

In May hit murgeth when hit dawes^b,
In dounes with this dueres plawes^c,
Ant lef is lyht on lynde;
Blosmes brideth on the bowes,

Al this wylde wyhtes wowes, So wel ich under-fynde.

The proper stanza, given above, was also cited, and introduced by the following passage: "The following hexastic on a similar subject is the product of the same rude period, although the context is rather more intelligible: but it otherwise deserves a recital, as it presents an early sketch of a favourite and fashionable stanza." vol. i. p. 30.—Eptr.]

a throstle, thrush.

b "it is mery at dawn."

e plays.

Wowes this wilde drakes, Miles murgeth huere makes.

As streme that striketh stille
Mody meneth so doh mo.
Ichott ycham on of tho
For love that likes ille.

The mone mandeth hire lyht,

[So doth the semly sonne bryht,]

When briddes syngeth breme,

Deawes donketh the dounes

Deores with huere derne rounes,

Domes forte deme.

Wormes woweth under cloude,
Wymmen waxith wondir proude,
So wel hyt wol hem seme:
Yef me shall wonte wille of on
This wunne weole y wole forgon
Ant whyt in wode be fleme.

This specimen will not be improperly succeeded by the sollowing elegant lines, which a cotemporary poet appears to have made in a morning walk from Peterborough, on the blessed Virgin; but whose genius seems better adapted to descriptive than religious subjects.

⁴ MSS. ibid. ut supr. f. 71. b. [In the same style, as it is manifestly of the same antiquity, the following little descriptive song, on the Approach of Summer, deserves notice. MSS. HARL. 978. f. 5.

Sumer is i-cumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu:
Groweth sed, and bloweth med,
And springeth the wde nu.
Sing cuccu, cuccu.

Awe bleteth after lomb,
Lhouth after calve cu;
Bulluc sterteth, bucke verteth:
Murie sing, cuccu,
Cuccu, cuccu:
Wel singes thu cuccu;

Ne swik thou naver nu-Sing cuccu nu,

That is, "Summer is coming: Loud sing, Cuckow! Groweth seed, and bloweth mead, and springeth the wood now. Ewe bleateth after lamb, loweth cow after calf; bullock starteth, buck verteth!: merry sing, Cuckow! Well singest thou, Cuckow, Nor cease to sing now." This is the most antient Eaglish song that appears in our manuscripts, with the musical notes annexed. The music is of that species of composition which is called Canon in the Union, and is supposed to be of the fifteenth century.—Appricars.]

¹ goes to harbour among the fern.

Now skruketh rose and lylic flour,
That whilen ber that suete savour
In somer, that suete tyde;
Ne is no quene so stark ne stour,
Ne no luedy so bryht in bour
That ded ne shal by glyde:

Whoso wol fleysh-lust for-gon and hevene-blisse abyde On Jhesu be is thoht anon, that therled was ys side f.

To which we may add a song, probably written by the same author, on the five joys of the blessed Virgin.

Ase y me rod this ender day,
By grene wode, to seche play;
Mid herte y thohte al on a May.
Suetest of alle thinge:
Lythe, and ich ou tell may
Al of that suete thinge.

In the same pastoral vein, a lover, perhaps of the reign of king John, thus addresses his mistress, whom he supposes to be the most beautiful girl, "bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeseye, Northampton and Lounde"."

When the nyhtegale singes the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, and gras, and blosme, springes in Avril y wene.
Ant love is to myn herte gon with one spere so kene
Nyht and day my blod hit drynkes myn herte deth me tene!

Ich have loved al this yer that y may love na more,
Ich have siked moni syk, lemon, for thin ore,
Me nis love never the ner, and that me reweth sore;
Sete lemon, thench on me, ich have loved the zore,

Suete lemon, y preye the, of love one speche,

Thile y lyve in worlde so wyde other nulle y seche.

With thy love, my suete leof, mi blis thou mihtes eche

suete cos of thy mouth mihte be my leche.]

SS. ibid. f. 80.
London.
SS. ibid. f. 80. b. [The same con-

fusion adverted to above, prevailed in the disposition of this song. The present copy follows the manuscript.—EDIT.]

on- k Ibid. f. 80. b.

D

Nor are these verses unpleasing, in somewhat the same n sure.

My deth y love, my lyf ich hate for a levedy shene, Heo is brith so daies liht, that is on me wel sene. Al y falewe so doth the lef in somer when hit is grene, Zef mi thoht helpeth me noht to whom schal I me mene

Another, in the following little poem, enigmatically compares his mistress, whose name seems to be Joan, to varigems and flowers. The writer is happy in his alliteration, his verses are tolerably harmonious.

Ichot a burde in a bour, ase beryl so bryht, Ase saphyr in selver semly on syht, Ase jaspe 1 the gentil that lemeth m with lyht, Ase gernet n in golde and ruby wel ryht, Ase onycle he ys on yholden on hyht; Ase diamaund the dere in day when he is dyht: He is coral yend with Cayser and knyght, Ase emeraude a morewen this may haveth myht. The myht of the margarite haveth this mai mere, For charbocle iche hire chase bi chyn and bi chere, Hire rode ys as rose that red ys on rys^p, With lilye white leves lossum he ys, The primrose he passeth, the parevenke of prys, With alisaundre thareto ache and anys: Coynte^q as columbine such hire cande^r ys, Glad under gore in gro and in grys He is blosme upon bleo brihtest under bis With celydone ant sange as thou thi self sys, &c. From Weye he is wisist into Wyrhale, Hire nome is in a note of the nyhtegale; In an note is hire nome nempneth hit non Who so ryht redeth ronne to Johon.

¹ jasper. ^m streams, shines. ^q quaint. ^r white complexies ^a garnet. ^o onyx. ^p branch. ^q MSS. ibid. f. 63.

The curious Harleian volume, to which we are so largely indebted, has preserved a moral tale, a Comparison between age and youth, where the stanza is remarkably constructed. The various sorts of versification which we have already seen, evidently prove that much poetry had been written, and that the art had been greatly cultivated, before this period.

Herkne to my ron,
As ich ou tell con,

Of elde al hou yt ges.

Of a mody mon,
Hihte Maximion,

Clerc he was ful god,
So moni mon undirstod.

Nou herkne hou it wes.

For the same reason, a sort of elegy on our Saviour's crucifixion should not be omitted. It begins thus:

I syke when y singe for sorewe that y se

When y with wypinge bihold upon the tre,

Ant se Jhesu the suete
Is hert blod for-lete,

For the love of me;

Ys woundes waxen wete,

Thei wepen, still and mete,

Marie reweth the. "

Nor an alliterative ode on heaven, death, judgement, &c.

Middel-erd for mon was mad,
Un-mihti aren is meste mede,
This hedy hath on honde yhad,
That hevene hem is hest to hede.
Icherde a blisse budel us bade,
The dreri domesdai to drede,
Of sinful sauhting sone be sad,
That derne doth this derne dede,
This wrakefall werkes under wede,
In soule soteleth sone.

Thah he ben derne done.

MSS. ibid. f. 82.

" Ibid. f. 80.,

" Ibid. £ 62. b.

Many of these measures were adopted from the French chansons *. I will add one or two more specimens.

On our Saviour's passion and death.

Jesu for thi muchele miht

Thou zef us of thi grace,

That we mowe day and nyht

Thenken o thi face.

In myn herte hit doth me god,

When y thenke on Jhesu blod,

That ran doun bi ys syde;

From is herte doune to ys fot,

For ous he spradde is herte blod

His wondes were so wyde.

On the same subject.

Lutel wot hit any mon

Hou love hym haveth y bounde,

That for us o the rode ron,

Ant bohte us with is wounde;

The love of him us haveth ymaked sounde,

And y cast the grimly gost to ground:

Ever and oo, nyht and day, he haveth us in is thohte,

He nul nout leose that he so deore bohte. 2

The following are on love and gallantry. The poet, named chard, professes himself to have been a great writer of love-some

Weping haveth myn wonges* wet,

For wilked worke ant wone of wyt,

Unblithe y be til y ha bet,

Bruches broken ase bok byt:

Of levedis love that y ha let,

That lemeth al with luefly lyt,

Ofte in songe y have hem set,

That is unsemly ther hit syt.

^{*} See MSS. Harl. ut supr. f. 49. 76.

' Ibid. f. 79. Probably this song has been somewhat modernised by transcribers.

This f. 128. These lines afterwards occur, burlesqued and parodied, by writer of the same age.

[checks, A.S. janz, Ital. guancie.]

Hit syt and semeth noht,

Ther hit ys seid in song

That y have of them wroht,

Y wis hit is all wrong.²

It was customary with the early scribes, when stanzas consisted of short lines, to throw them together like prose. As thus:

"A wayle whyt as whalles bon | a grein in golde that godly shon | a tortle that min herte is on | in tounes trewe | Hire gladship nes never gon | whil y may glewe." b

Sometimes they wrote three or four verses together as one line.

With longyng y am lad | on molde y waxe mad | a maide marreth me,

Y grede y grone un glad | for selden y am sad | that semly for te se.

evedi thou rewe me | to routhe thou havest me rad | be bote of that y bad | my lyf is long on the.

Again,

ant welde wuch ich wolde:

Founde were the feirest on | that ever was mad of blod ant bon | in boure best with bolde.d

This mode of writing is not uncommon in antient manuscripts of French poetry. And some critics may be inclined to suspect, that the verses which we call Alexandrine, accidentally assumed their form merely from the practice of absurd transcribers, who frugally chose to fill their pages to the extremity, and violated the metrical structure for the sake of twing their vellum. It is certain, that the common stanza of four short lines may be reduced into two Alexandrines, and on

M88. ibid. f. 66. b Ibid. f. 67. c Ibid. 63. b. d Ibid. f. 66.

the contrary. I have before observed, that the Saxon poeter cited by Hickes, consisting of one hundred and ninety-oute stanzas, is written in stanzas in the Bodleian, and in Alexandrines in the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge. How it carried originally from the poet I will not pretend to determine.

Our early poetry often appears in satirical pieces on the established and eminent professions. And the writers, as we have already seen, succeeded not amiss when they cloathed their satire in allegory. But nothing can be conceived more scurrilous and illiberal than their satires when they descend to mere invective. In the British Museum, among other examples which I could mention, we have a satirical ballad on the lawyers e, and another on the clergy, or rather some particular bishop. The latter begins thus:

Hyrd-men hatieth ant vch mones hyne,
For everuch a parossh heo polketh in pyne
Ant clastreth wyf heore colle:
Nou wol vch fol clerc that is fayly
Wende to the bysshop ant bugge bayly,
Nys no wyt in is nolle.

I doubt not that the author of the satire on the monastic profession, cited above, copied some French satire on the subject. Satire was one species of the poetry of the Provencial troubadours. Anselm Fayditt a troubadour of the eleventh century, who will again be mentioned, wrote a sort of satirical drama called the Heresy of the Fathers, Heregia del Preyres, a ridiculton the council which condemned the Albigenses. The papellegates often fell under the lash of these poets; whose favour they were obliged to court, but in vain, by the promise of ample gratuities. Hugues de Bercy, a French monk, wrote in the twelfth century a very lively and severe satire; in which

MSS. ut supr. f. 70. b.
[This stanza forms a part of the satire on the lawyers. Warton was led into the mistake by the transcriber having deviated in the present instance from

his usual order of transcription— EDTT.]

f Ibid. f. 71.

Fontenelle, Hist. Theatr. Fr. p. 18. cdit. 1742.

no person, not even himself, was spared, and which he called the Bible, as containing nothing but truth h.

In the Harleian manuscripts I find an antient French poem, respecting England, which is a humorous panegyric on a religious order called Le Ordre de Bel Eyse. This is the exordium:

Qui vodra a moi entendre Oyr purra e aprendre L'estoyre de un Ordre Novel Qe mout est delitous [e] bel.

The poet ingeniously feigns, that his new monastic order consists of the most eminent nobility and gentry of both sexes, who inhabit the monasteries assigned to it promiscuously; and that no person is excluded from this establishment who can support the rank of a gentleman. They are bound by their statutes to live in perpetual idleness and luxury: and the satirist refers them for a pattern or rule of practice in these important articles, to the monasteries of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, Beverley in Yorkshire, the Knights Hospitalers, and many other religious orders then flourishing in England.

When we consider the feudal manners, and the magnificence of our Norman ancestors, their love of military glory, the enthusiasm with which they engaged in the Crusades, and the wonders to which they must have been familiarised from those eastern enterprises, we naturally suppose, what will herether be more particularly proved, that their retinues abounded with minstrels and harpers, and that their chief entertainment was to listen to the recital of romantic and martial adventures. But I have been much disappointed in my searches after the metrical tales which must have prevailed in their times. Most of those old heroic songs are perished, together with the stately

Seignor de Berze" is a more courtly composition, and forms a part of the same collection, p. 194. The earlier French antiquaries have frequently confounded these two productions.—EDTT.]

1 MSS. ibid. f. 121.

The piece here alluded to was not written by De Bercy. It will be found in the second volume of Barbazan's Fa-iliaux p. 307, and is called "Bible suist de Provins." "La Bible au

castles in whose halls they were sung. Yet they are not so totally lost as we may be apt to imagine. Many of them still partly exist in the old English metrical romances, which will be mentioned in their proper places; yet divested of their original form, polished in their style, adorned with new incidents, successively modernised by repeated transcription and recitation, and retaining little more than the outlines of the original composition. This has not been the case of the legendary and other religious poems written soon after the Conquest, manuscripts of which abound in our libraries. From the nature of their subject they were less popular and common; and being less frequently recited, became less liable to perpetual innovation or alteration.

The most ancient English metrical romance which I can discover, is entitled the Geste of King Horn. It was evidently written after the Crusades had begun, is mentioned by Chaucer^k, and probably still remains in its original state. I will first give the substance of the story, and afterwards add some specimens of the composition. But I must premise, that this story occurs in very old French metre in the manuscripts of the British Museum¹, so that probably it is a translation: a circumstance which will throw light on an argument pursued hereafter, proving that most of our metrical romances are translated from the French.

Mury, king of the Saracens, lands in the kingdom of Suddene, where he kills the king named Allof. The queen, Godylt, escapes; but Mury seizes on her son Horne, a beautiful youth aged fifteen years, and puts him into a galley, with two of his play-fellows, Athulph and Fykenyld: the vessel being driven on the coast of the kingdom of Westnesse, the young prince is found by Aylmer king of that country, brought to court, and delivered to Athelbrus his steward, to be educated in hawking, harping, tilting, and other courtly accomplishments. Here the princess Rymenild falls in love with

k Rim. Thop. 3402. Urr.

¹ MSS. Harl. 527. b. f. 59. Cod. membr.

him, declares her passion, and is betrothed. Horne, in consequence of this engagement, leaves the princess for seven years; to demonstrate, according to the ritual of chivalry, that by seeking and accomplishing dangerous enterprises he deserved her affection. He proves a most valorous and invincible knight: and at the end of seven years, having killed king Mury, recovered his father's kingdom, and atchieved many signal exploits, recovers the princess Rymenild from the hands of his treacherous knight and companion Fykenyld; carries her in triumph to his own country, and there reigns with her in great splendor and prosperity. The poem itself begins and proceeds thus:

Alle heo ben blythe, That to my songe ylythe^m: A song ychulle ou singe Of Allof the gode kynge, Kyng he wes by weste The whiles hit yleste; Ant Godylt his gode quene, No feyrore myhte bene, Ant huere sone hihte Horn, Feyrore childe ne myhte be born: For reyn ne myhte byryne Ne sonne myhte shyne Feyrore child then he was, Bryht so ever eny glas, So whit so eny lylye flour, So rose red wes his colour; He wes feyr ant eke bold, Ant of fystene wynter old, Nis non his yliche In none kinges ryche. Tueye feren n he hadde, That he with him ladde,

m listen.

[&]quot; companions.

Alle richemenne sones, And alle suythe feyre gomes, Wyth him forté pleye Mest he lovede tueye, That on wes hoten Athulf chyld, And that other Fykenyld, Athulf wes the beste, And Fykenyld the werste. Hyt was upon a someres day Also ich ou telle may, Allof the gode kyng Rode upon his pleyyng, Bi the see side, Ther he was woned to ride; With him ne ryde bote tuo, Al to fewe hue were tho: He fond by the stronde, Aryved on is londe, Shipes fystene Of Sarazynes kene: He askede whet hue sohten Other on is lond brohten.

But I hasten to that part of the story where prince Horne appears at the court of the king of Westnesse.

The kyng com into halle,
Among his knyhtes alle,
Forth he clepeth Athelbrus,
His stiward, and him seide thus:
"Stiward tac thou here
My fundling for to lere,
Of thine mestere
Of wode and of ryvere,

P So Robert de Brunne of king Marian. Hearne's Rob. Gloc. p. 622.

—Marian faire in chere He couthe of wod and ryvere In alle maner of venrie, &c. Ant toggen o the harpe With is nayles sharpe q, Ant tech him alle the listes That thou ever wystes, Byfore me to kerven, And of my coupe to serven, Ant his feren devyse With ous other servise; Horn child, thou understond, Tech him of harpe and song." Athelbrus gon leren Horn and hyse feren; Horn mid herte lahte Al that mon him tahte, Withinne court and withoute, And overal aboute, Lovede men Horn child, And most him lovede Rymenyld The kinges oune dohter, For he wes in hire thohte, Hue lovede him in hire mod, For he wes feir and eke god,

introduced playing on his harp.

Horn sette him abenche, Is harpe he gan clenche, He made Rymenild a lay Ant hue seide weylaway, &c.

In the chamber of a bishop of Winchester at Merden castle, now ruined, we find mention made of benches only. Comp. MS. J. Gerveys, Episcop. Winton, 1266. "Iidem red. comp. de ii. mensis in aula ad magnum descum. Et de iii. mensis, ex una parte, et ii. mensis ex altera parte cum tressellis in aula. Et de i. mensa cum tressellis in camera dom. episcopi. Et v. formis in eadem camera." Descus, in old English dees, is properly a canopy over the high

In another part of the poem he is table. See a curious account of the goods in the palace of the bishop of Nivernois in France, in the year 1287, in Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 984. col. 2.

' According to the rules of chivalry, every knight before his creation passed through two offices. He was first a page: and at fourteen years of age he was formally admitted an esquire. The esquires were divided into several departments; that of the body, of the chamber, of the stable, and the carving esquire. The latter stood in the hall at dinner, where he carved the different dishes with proper skill and address, and directed the distribution of them among the guests. The inferior offices had also their respective esquires. Mem. Anc. Cheval. i. 16. seq.

And thah hue ne dorste at borde Mid him speke ner a worde, Ne in the halle, Among the knyhtes alle, Hyre sorewe ant hire pyne Nolde never fyne, Bi daye ne bi nyhte For hue speke ne myhte, With Horn that wes so feir and fre Tho hue ne myhte with him be; In herte hue had care and wo, And ther hue bithohte hire tho: Hue sende hyre sonde Athelbrus to honde, That he come hire to, And also shulde Horn do, In to hire boure, For hue bigon to loure, And the sonde sayde, That seek wes the mayde, And bed hym come suythe For hue nis nout blythe. The stiward was in huerte wo, For he nuste whet he shulde do, What Rymenyld bysohte Gret wonder him thohte; About Horn the yinge To boure forté bringe, He tholte on is mode Hit nes for none gode; He tok with him another, Athulf Horne's brother t, "Athulf," quoth he, "ryht anon Thou shalt with me to boure gon,

[•] messenger.

t companion, friend.

To speke with Rymenyld stille, To wyte hyre wille, Thou art Horne's yliche, Thou shalt hire bysuyke, Sore me adrede That hue wole Horn mysrede." Athelbrus and Athulf bo To hire boure beth ygo, Upon Athulf childe Rymenild con waxe wilde, Hue wende Horn it were, That hue hade there; Hue seten adoun stille, Ant seyden hure wille, In hire armes tueye Athulf she con leye. "Horn," quoth heo, "wellonge Y have loved thee stronge, Thou shalt thy treuth plyhte In myn hond with ryhte, Me to spouse welde And ich the loverd to helde." So stille so hit were, Athulf seyde in hire eere, "Ne tel thou no more speche May y the byseche Thi tale gyn thou lynne, For Horn nis nout her ynne," &c.

length the princess finds she has been deceived, the d is severely reprimanded, and prince Horne is brought chamber; when, says the poet,

Of ys fayre syhte Al that boure gan lyhte^u.

S. ibid. f. 83. Where the title There is a copy, much altered and mon, "he zeste of kynge Horne." dernised, in the Advocates library at

It is the force of the story in these pieces that chiefly engages our attention. The minstrels had no idea of conducting and describing a delicate situation. The general manners were gross, and the arts of writing unknown. Yet this simplicity sometimes pleases more than the most artificial touched in the mean time, the pictures of antient manners presented by these early writers, strongly interest the imagination: especially as having the same uncommon merit with the pictures manners in Homer, that of being founded in truth and reality and actually painted from the life. To talk of the grossness and absurdity of such manners is little to the purpose; the poet is only concerned in the justness and faithfulness of the representation.

Edinburgh, W. 4. i. Numb. xxxiv. [and in Ritson's Romances, vol. 3.] The title Horn-childe and Maiden Rimnild. The beginning,

Mi leve frende dere, Herken and ye shall here.

The text of this romance has been taken from Mr. Ritson's edition; whose accuracy, by the way, though unimpeachable in the specimens quoted above, is not equally conspicuous throughout the poem. In fact, he seems neither to have been master of the language nor the subject. His glossary will afford sufficient evidence of the former assertion—to which much might be added from his omissions and misprints—and his notes will amply bear out the latter. The bishop of Dromore considered this production "of genuine English growth;" and though his lordship may have been mistaken in ascribing it, in its present form, to so early an æra as "within a century after the Conquest;" yet the editor has no hesitation in expressing his belief, that it owes its origin to a period long anterior to that event. The reasons for such an opinion cannot be entered upon here. They are too detailed to fall within the compass of a note; and though some of them will be introduced elsewhere, yet many perhaps are the result of convictions more easily felt than expressed, and whose shades of

evidence are too slight to be generally received, except in the rear of more obvious authority. However, to those who with Mr. Ritson persist in believing the French fragment of this romance, to be an earlier composition than "The Geste of Kyng Horn," the following passage is submitted, for the purpose of contrasting its highly wrought imagery with the simple narrative, and natural allusion, observed throughout the English poem:

Lors print la harpe a sei si commence a temprer

Deu ki dunc lesgardast, cum il la sot manier!

Cum les cordes tuchot, cum les feseit trembler,

A quantes faire les chanz, a cuantes organer,

Del armonie del ciel lie pureit remembrer Sur tuz ceus ke i sunt fait cist à merveiller Kuant celes notes ot fait prent sen amunter

E par tut autre tuns fait les cordes soner:

It remains to observe, that "The noble Hystory of Kynge Ponthus of Galyce" printed by De Worde, and quoted by Mr. Ritson, is but a more enlarged version of the same story, with some slight change of circumstance, and an almost total change of names, countries, &c.—EDT.]

SECTION II.

HITHERTO we have been engaged in examining the state of our poetry from the Conquest to the year 1200, or rather afterwards. It will appear to have made no very rapid improvement from that period. Yet as we proceed, we shall find the language losing much of its antient barbarism and obscurity, and approaching more nearly to the dialect of modern times.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry the Third, a poem occurs, the date of which may be determined with some degree of certainty. It is a satirical song, or ballad, written by one of the adherents of Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, a powerful baron, soon after the battle of Lewes, which was fought in the year 1264, and proved very fatal to the interests of the king. In this decisive action, Richard king of the Romans, his brother Henry the Third, and prince Edward, with many others of the royal party, were taken prisoners.

I.

Sitteth alle stille, ant herkneth to me:

The kyn of Alemaigne², bi mi leaute^b,

Thritti thousent pound askede he

Forte make the pees^c in the countre^d,

And so he dude more.

Richard, thah thou be ever trichard f,

Tricthen shall thou never more.

H

Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he was kyng, He spende al is tresour opon swyvyng,

The king of the Romans. loyalty.

d The barons made this offer of thirty thousand pounds to Richard.
f though.
f treacherous.

Haveth he nout of Walingford oferlyng^g,

Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng^h,

Maugre Wyndesoreⁱ.

Richard, thah thou, &c.

III.

The kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful welk,
He saisede the mulne for a castell,
With hare sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,
He wende that the sayles were mangonel To help Wyndesore.
Richard, than thou, &c.

IV.

The kyng of Alemaigne gederede ys host,
Makede him a castel of a mulne post p,
Wende with is prude q, ant is muchele bost,
Brohte from Almayne mony sori gost r
To store Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

A Overlyng, i. e. superiour. But perhaps the word is osterlyng, for esterlyng, a French piece of money. Wallingford was one of the honours conferred on Richard, at his marriage with Sauchia daughter of the count of Provence.

[Perhaps o ferlyng, "one furloug."]
h "Let him have, as he brews, poison

[misery] to drink."

Windsor-castle was one of the king's chief fortresses.

* "Thought to do full well."

¹ Some old chronicles relate, that at the battle of Lewes Richard was taken in a windmill. Hearne MSS. Coll. vol. 106. p. 82. Robert of Gloucester mentions the same circumstance, edit. Hearne, p. 547.

The king of Alemaigne was in a windmulle inome.

Richard and prince Edward took shelter in the Grey-friars at Lewes, but were afterwards imprisoned in the castle of Wallingford. See Hearne's Langtoft, Gloss. p. 616; and Rob. Glouc. p. 548. Robert de Brunne, a poet whom I shall speak at large in his per place, translates the onset of battle with some spirit, edit. Hear p. 217:

Symon com to the felde, and put up banere,

The king schewed forth his schelde, dragon ful austere:

The kyng saide on hie, Simon ico od defie, &c.

m their.

note n.]
p mill-post.

[Vid. infra p. 7. 7. 8. 9 gathered.
p price.

He brought with him many foreigners, when he returned to England from taking possession of his dignity of king of the Romans. This gave great offence to the barons. It is here insinuated, that he intended to garrison Windsor-castle with these foreigners. The barons obliged him to dismiss most of them soon after he landed in England.

V.

By God that is aboven ous he dude muche synne,
That lette passen over see the erl of Warynne:
He hath robbed Engelond, the mores, ant the fenne,
The gold, ant the selver, and y-boren henne,
For love of Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

VI.

Sire Simond de Mountfort hath suore bi ys chyn,
Hevede the nou here the erle of Waryn,
Shuld he never more come to is yn u,
Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with other gyn w,
To help of Wyndesore:
Richard, thah thou, &c.

VII.

Syre Simond de Montfort hath swore bi ys cop,
Hevede he nou here Sire Hue de Bigot,
Al he shulde grante here twelfemoneth scot*
Shulde he never more with his fot pot,
To helpe Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

VIII.

Thou shalt ride sporeless o thy lyard,
Al the ryhte way to Douere ward,
Shalt thou never more breke foreward,
And that reweth sore;
Edward, thou dudest ase a shreward,
Forsoke thyn emes * lore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.]

[Be the luef, be the loht Sire Edward,

The earl of Warren and Surry, and igh le Bigot the king's justiciary, attioned in the seventh stanza, had into France.

had.

habitation, home.

cogine, weapon.

z year's tax. I had transcribed this ballad from the British Museum, and written these few cursory explanations, before I knew that it was printed in the second edition of Doctor Percy's Ballads, ii. 1. See MSS. Harl. ut supr. f. 58. b.
[uncle's.]

These popular rhymes had probably no small influence in encouraging Leicester's partisans, and diffusing his faction. There is some humour in imagining that Richard supposes the windmill to which he retreated, to be a fortification; and that he believed the sails of it to be military engines. In the manuscript from which this specimen is transcribed, immediately follows a song in French, seemingly written by the same poet, on the battle of Evesham fought the following year; in which Leicester was killed, and his rebellious barons defeated. Our poet looks upon his hero as a martyr; and particularly laments the loss of Henry his son, and Hugh ke Despenser justiciary of England. He concludes with an English stanza, much in the style and spirit of those just quoted.

A learned and ingenious writer, in a work which places the study of the law in a new light, and proves it to be an entertaining history of manners, has observed, that this ballad on Richard of Alemaigne probably occasioned a statute against libels in the year 1275, under the title, "Against slanderors reports, or tales to cause discord betwixt king and people." That this spirit was growing to an extravagance which deserved to be checked, we shall have occasion to bring further proofs.

I must not pass over the reign of Henry the Third, who died in the year 1272, without observing, that this monarch entertained in his court a poet with a certain salary, whose name was Henry de Avranches². And although this poet was a Frenchman, and most probably wrote in French, yet this first instance of an officer who was afterwards, yet with sufficient impropriety, denominated a poet laureate in the English court, deservedly claims particular notice in the course of these annals. He is called Master Henry the Versifier^b: which

Y f. 59. It begins,

Chaunter mestoit | mon ever le voit | en un duré langage,

Tut en pluraunt | fust fet le chaunt | de noitie duz Bezonage, &c.

h Henry of Huntingdon says, the Walo Versificator wrote a panegyric of Henry the First; and that the san wall valo Versificator wrote a poem on the park which that king made at Woo

^{*} Observations upon the statutes, chiefly the more ancient, &c. edit. 17-16. p. 71.

^a See Carew's Surv. Cornw. p. 58. edit. 1602.

Walo Versificator wrote a panegyric on Henry the First; and that the same Walo Versificator wrote a poem on the park which that king made at Woodstock. Apud Leland's Collectan vol. ii. 203. i. 197. edit. 1770. Perhaps he was in the department of Henry mentioned in the text. One Gualo, a Lain poet, who flourished about this time.

perhaps implies a different character from the royal r Joculator. The king's treasurers are ordered to Master Henry one hundred shillings, which I supwe been a year's stipend, in the year 1251 c. same precept occurs under the year 1249d. Our enry, it seems, had in some of his verses reflected on ty of the Cornish men. This insult was resented in tire now remaining, written by Michael Blaunpayne, of Cornwall, and recited by the author in the pre-Hugh abbot of Westminster, Hugh de Mortimer the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop elect of er, and the bishop of Rochester. While we are of the Versisier of Henry the Third, it will not be add, that in the thirty-sixth year of the same king, ngs and one pipe of wine were given to Richard the per, and one pipe of wine to Beatrice his wife f.

by Bale, iii. 5. and Pitts, s commended in the Polis A copy of his Latin hexage on the monks is printed Placius, among miscellanepents De corrupto Ecclesiae. Basil. 1557. oct.

Hist. Excheq. p. 268. 574. In MSS. Digb. Bibl. i, in John of Hoveden's Sa-

inquaginta Mariæ, "Mag. RSIFICATOR MAGNUS, de B.

ibl. Bodl. Arch. Bodl. 29. 4to. viz. "Versus magistri Cornubiensis contra Mag. Abricensem coram dom. ate Westmon. et aliis." fol. "Archipoeta vide quod ibi de." See also fol. 83. b. 85.

a prius te diximus Archi-

postico nunc dicinus esse

lum, &c.

r place our Cornish satirist master Henry's person

Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris, et latus apri;

Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens et gena muli:

Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, et color undique mauri.

In a blank page of the Bodleian manuscript, from which these extracts are made, is written, "Iste liber constat ffratri Johanni de Wallis monacho Rameseye." The name is elegantly enriched with a device. This manuscript contains, among other things, Planctus de Excidio Trojæ, by Hugo Prior de Montacuto, in rhyming hexameters and pentameters, viz. fol. 89. Camden cites other Latin verses of Michael Blaunpain, whom he calls "Merry Michael the Cornish poet." Rem. p. 10. also p. 489. edit. 1674. He wrote many other Latin pieces, both in prose and verse.

[Compare Tanner in JOANNES CORNUBIENSIS, who recites his other pieces. Bibl. p. 492. Notes f g.—Additions.]

Rot. Pip. an 36 Henr. iii. "Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato magistro Ricardo Citharistæ regis, xl. sol. per Br. Reg. Et in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejusdem Ricardi."

But why this gratuity of a pipe of wine should also be made to the wife, as well as to the husband, who from his profession was a genial character, appears problematical according to our present ideas*.

The first poet whose name occurs in the reign of Edward the First, and indeed in these annals, is Robert of Glocester, a monk of the abbey of Glocester. He has left a poem of considerable length, which is a history of England in verse, from Brutus to the reign of Edward the First. It was evidently written after the year 1278, as the poet mentions king Arthur's sumptuous tomb, erected in that year before the high. altar of Glastenbury church f: and he declares himself a living witness of the remarkably dismal weather which distinguished the day on which the battle of Evesham above mentioned was fought, in the year 12658. From these and other circumstances this piece appears to have been composed about the year 1280. It is exhibited in the manuscripts, is cited by many antiquaries, and printed by Hearne, in the Alexandrine measure; but with equal probability might have been written in four-lined stanzas. This rhyming chronicle is totally destitute of art or imagination. The author has cloathed the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth in rhyme, which have often s more poetical air in Geoffrey's prose. The language is not much more easy or intelligible than that of many of the Norman Saxon poems quoted in the preceding section: it is full of Saxonisms, which indeed abound, more or less, in every writer before Gower and Chaucer. But this obscurity is perhaps owing to the western dialect, in which our monk of

jugleress, whose pantomimic exhibitions jougleurs et jougleresses of that city, we were accompanied by her husband's find among others the names of lehand harp, or who filled up the intervals. Langlois et Adeline, fame de Langlois between his performances. This union of professional talents in husband and wife was not uncommon. In a copy of the ordonnances for regulating the minstrels, &c. residing at Paris, a document drawn up by themselves in the year 1321, and signed by thirty-seven

^{• [}Beatrice may possibly have been a persons on behalf of all the menestres Jaucons, fils le moine et Marguerite, la See Roquefort de la same au moine. Poesie Françoise dans les xii. et xiii. Siècles. p. 288.—Edit.]

Pag. 224. edit. Hearne. 1724.

Pag. 560.

Glocester was educated. Provincial barbarisms are naturally the growth of extreme counties, and of such as are situated at a distance from the metropolis; and it is probable that the Saxon heptarchy, which consisted of a cluster of seven independent states, contributed to produce as many different provincial dialects. In the mean time it is to be considered, that writers of all ages and languages have their affectations and singularities, which occasion in each a peculiar phraseology.

Robert of Gloucester thus describes the sports and solemnities which followed king Arthur's coronation.

The kyng was to ys paleys, tho the servyse was y dos, Ylad wyth his menye, and the quene to hire also. Vor hii hulde the olde usages, that men wyth men were By them sulve, and wymmen by hem sulve also there h, The hii were echone ysett, as yt to her stat bycom, Kay, king of Aungeo, a thousand knytes nome Of noble men, yelothed in ermyne echone Of on sywete, and servede at thys noble fest anon, Bedwer the botyler, kyng of Normandye, Nom also in ys half a vayr companye Of one sywyte worto servy of the botelerye. Byvore the quene yt was also of al suche cortesye, Vorto telle al the noblye thet ther was ydo, They my tonge were of stel, me ssolde noght dure therto. **Wymmen** ne kepte of no kyngt as in druery k, Sote he were in armys wel yproved, and atte leste thrye! That made, lo, the wymmen the chastore lyf lede, and the kyngtes the stalwordore^m, and the betere in her dede. time after thys noble meten, as ryght was of such tyde, The kynghts atyled hem aboute in eche syde,

4

when the service in the church was

They kept the antient custom at finish, of placing the men and women more. Kay, king of Anjou, brought mine of one suit, or secta."

i "brought also, on his part, a fair company cloathed uniformly."

h modesty, decorum [gallantry].

[&]quot; "Soon after this noble feast, which was proper at such an occasion, the knights accounted themselves."

In feldys and in medys to prove her backelerye.

Somme wyth lance, some wyth suerd, wythoute vylenye,

Wyth pleyinge at tables, other atte chekere,

Wyth castynge, other wyth ssettinge, other in some of manere.

And wuch so of eny game adde the maystrye,

The kyng hem of ys gysteth dyde large cortysye.

Upe the alurs of the castles the laydes thanne stode,

And byhulde thys noble game, and wyche kyngts were god

All the thre hexte dawes ylaste thys nobleye

In halles and in veldes, of mete and eke of pleye.

Thys men com the verthe day byvore the kynge there,

And he gef hem large gystys, evere as his werthe were.

Bisshopryches and cherches clerkes he gef somme,

And castles and townes kyngtes that were ycome.

Many of these lines are literally translated from Gooffy of Monmouth. In king Arthur's battle with the giant at Barber fleet, there are no marks of Gothic painting. But there is a effort at poetry in the description of the giant's fall.

Tho grislych yal the ssrewe tho, that grislych was his been. He vel doung as a gret ok, that bynethe yeorve were,

That it thogte that all hul myd the vallynge ssok. "

That is, "This cruel giant yelled so horribly, and so vehence was his fall, that he fell down like an oak cut through at the

° chivalry, courage, or youth.

In the mean time, it is probable that to Saracens introduced it into Spain bear the Crusades. It is mentioned by G.4 Monmouth, and in the Alexiad of Am Comnena. See Mem. Acad. Lit. 232.

^q Different ways of playing at the "The ladies stood on the walks we within the battlements of the castle."

In halls and fields, of feasting, and t neying, &c."

fourth. Pag. 191. 192 " Pag. 206.

P chess. It is remarkable, that among the nine exercises, or accomplishments, mentioned by Kolson, an ancient northern chief, one is playing at chess. Bartholin, ii. c. 8, p. 420. This game was familiarised to the Europeans after the Crusades. The romances which followed those expeditions are full of it. Kolson, above mentioned, had made a pilgrimage into the Holy Land. But from the principles advanced in the first Introductions Dissertation, this game might have been known in the North before.

bottom, and all the hill shook while he fell." But this stroke is copied from Geoffry of Monmouth; who tells the same miraculous story, and in all the pomp with which it was perhaps dressed up by his favourite fablers. " Exclamavit vero invisus ille; et velut quercus ventorum viribus eradicata, cum maximo sonitu corruit." It is difficult to determine which is most blameable, the poetical historian, or the prosaic poet.

It was a tradition invented by the old fablers, that giants brought the stones of Stonehenge from the most sequestered deserts of Africa, and placed them in Ireland; that every stone was washed with juices of herbs, and contained a medical power; and that Merlin the magician, at the request of king Arthur, transported them from Ireland, and crected them in circles on the plain of Amesbury, as a sepulchral monument for the Britons treacherously slain by Hengist. This fable is thus delivered, without decoration, by Robert of Glocester.

"Sire kyng," quoth Merlin tho, "suche thynges y wis Ne bethe for to schewe nogt, but wen gret nede ys, For gef iche seid in bismare, other bute it ned were, Sone from me he wold wende the gost, that doth me lere ":" The kyng, tho non other nas, bod hym som quoyntise Bithinke about thilk cors that so noble were and wysex. "Sire kyng," quoth Merlin tho, "gef thou wolt here caste In the honour of men, a worke that ever schal ylaste, To the hul of Kylar z send in to Yrlond, Aftur the noble stones that ther habbet a lenge ystonde; That was the treche of giandes, for a quoynte work ther ys Of stones al wyth art ymad, in the world such non ys.

" If I should say any thing out of sake of the hodies of those noble and

onness or vanity, the spirit, or de- wise Britons." znon, which teaches me, would immedistely leave me. " Nam si ea in derisionem, sive vanitatem, proferrem, taceret Spiritus qui me docet, et, cum opus superveniret, recederct." Galfrid. Mon.

^{* 4} bade him use his cunning, for the

y "if you would build, to their honour, a lasting monument."

[&]quot; "To the hill of Kildare."

a have.

b "the dance of giants." The name of this wonderful assembly of immense stones.

Ne ther nys nothing that me scholde myd strengthe adoune cast
Stode heo here, as heo doth there ever a wolde last."

The kyng somdele to lyghed, tho he herde this tale,

"How mygte," he seyde, "suche stones so grete and so fales
Be ybrogt of so fer lond? And get mist of were,

Me wolde wene, that in this londe no ston to wonke nere."

"Syre kyng," quoth Merlyn, "ne make noght an ydel such lyghyng.

For yt nys an ydel noght that ich tell this tythyng. For in the farreste stude of Affric giands while fette. Thike stones for medycyne and in Yrlond hem sette, While heo wonenden in Yrlond to make here bathes there. Ther undir forto bathi wen thei syk were. For heo wuld the stones wasch and ther enne bathe ywis. For ys no ston ther among that of gret vertu nys. The kyng and ys conseil radde the stones forto fette, And with gret power of batail gef any more hem lette Uter the kynges brother, that Ambrose hett also, In another name ychose was therto, And fifteene thousant men this dede for to do And Merlyn for his quointise thider went also.

- quis cujus virtuti cedant. Quod si eo modo, quo ibi positi sunt, circa plateam locabuntur, stabunt in æternum." Galfrid. Mon. viii. x. 11.
 - 4 somewhat laughed.
 - so great and so many.
 - tyding.

Giants once brought them from the farthest part of Africa, &c."

balnea diffundebant, unde ægroti curabantur. Miscebant etiam cum herbarum confectionibus, unde vulnerati sa-

nabantur. Non est ibi lapis qui medicamento careat." Galfrid. Mon. ibid.

rode [advised or counselled].

Rag. 145, 146, 147. That Stone-henge is a British monument, erected in memory of Hengist's massacre, rests, I believe, on the sole evidence of Geoffry of Monmouth, who had it from the British bands. But why should not the

testimony of the British hards be allowed on this occasion? For they did not invent facts, so much as fables. In the present case, Hengist's massacre an allowed event. Remove all the sp parent fiction, and the bards only my, that an immense pile of stones raised on the plain of Ambresbury memory of that event. They lived to near the time to forge this origin of Stonehenge. The whole story was recent, and, from the immensity of the work itself, must have been still more notorious. Therefore their forgery would have been too glaring. It may be deiected, that they were fond of referring every thing stupendous to their favourite This I grant: but not hero Arthur. when known authenticated facts stood in their way, and while the real cause was remembered. Even to this day, the massacre of Hengist, as I have partly hinted, is an undisputed piece of history If any thing engages our attention in this passage, it is the wildness of the fiction; in which however the poet had no share.

. I will here add Uther's intrigue with Ygerne.

At the fest of Estre tho kyng sende ys sonde, That heo comen alle to London the hey men of this londe, And the levedys al so god, to ys noble fest wyde, For he schulde crowne here, for the hye tyde. Alle the noble men of this lond to the noble fest come, And heore wyves and heore dogtren with hem mony nome, This fest was noble ynow, and nobliche y do; For mony was the faire ledy, that y come was therto. Ygerne, Gorloys wyf, was fairest of echon, That was contasse of Cornewail, for so fair nas ther non. The kyng by huld hire faste y now, and ys herte on hire caste, And thogte, thay heo were wyf, to do folye atte last. He made hire semblant fair y now, to non other so gret. The erl nas not ther with y payed, tho he yt under get. Aftur mete he nom ys wyfe myd stordy med y now, And, with oute leve of the kyng, to ys contrei drow. The kyng sende to hym tho, to by leve al nygt, For he moste of gret consel habbe som insygt. That was for nogt. Wolde he nogt the kyng sende get ys sonde.

That he by levede at ys parlemente, for nede of the londe. The kyng was, tho he nolde nogt, anguyssous and wroth. For despyte he wolde a wreke be he swor ys oth,

Why should not the other part of the story be equally true? Besides the silence of Nennius, I am aware that this hypothesis is still attended with many difficulties and improbabilities. And so are all the systems and conjectures ever yet framed about this amazing monument. It appears to me to be the work of a rude people who had some ideas of art: such as we may suppose the Romans left behind them among the Britons. In the mean time I do not remember, that in the very controverted

etymology of the word Stonehenge the name of HENGIST has been properly or sufficiently considered.

[The etymology referred to by Mr. Ritson is evidently the most plausible that has been suggested: Scan-henze—hanging stone: Observations, &c. In addition to this it is supported by an authority of high antiquity:

Stanheng ont non en Anglois, Pierres pendues en François. Wace's Brut.—EDIT.]

Bute he come to amendement. Ys power atte laste He garkede, and wende forth to Cornewail faste. Gorloys ys casteles a store al a boute. In a strong castel he dude ys wyf, for of hire was al ys doute. _ In another hym self he was, for he nolde nogt, Gef cas come, that heo were bothe to dethe y brogt. The castel, that the erl inne was, the kyng by segede faste, For he mygte ys gynnes for schame to the oter caste. Tho he was ther sene nygt, and he spedde nogt, Igerne the contesse so muche was in ys thogt, That he nuste nen other wyt, ne he ne mygte for schame Telle yt bute a pryve knygt, Ulfyn was ys name, That he truste mest to. And tho the knygt herde this, "Syre," he seide, "y ne can wyte, wat red here of ys, For the castel ys so strong, that the lady ys inne, For ich wene al the lond ne schulde yt myd strengthe wynne For the se geth al aboute, but entre on ther nys, And that ys up on harde rockes, and so narw wei it ys, That ther may go bote on and on, that thre men with inne Mygte sle al the londe, er heo com ther inne. And nogt for than, gef Merlyn at thi conseil were, Gef any mygte, he couthe the best red the lere." Merlyn was sone of send, pleid yt was hym sone, That he schulde the beste red segge, wat were to done. Merlyn was sory ynow for the kynge's folye, And natheles, "Sire kyng," he seide, "there mot to maistrie, The erl hath twey men hym nert, Brygthoel and Jordan. Ich wol make thi self gef thou wolt, thoru art that y can, Habbe al tho fourme of the erl, as thou were rygt he, And Olfyn as Jordan, and as Brithoel me." This art was al clene y do, that al changet he were, Heo thre in the otheres forme, the selve at yt were. Ageyn even he wende forth, nuste nomon that cas, To the castel heo come rygt as yt evene was. The porter y se ys lord come, and ys moste privey twei, With god herte he lette ys lord yn, and ys men beye.

The contas was glad y now, the hire lord to hire com And eyther other in here armes myd gret joye nom. Tho heo to bedde com, that so longe a two were, With hem was so gret delyt, that bitwene hem there Bi gete was the beste body, that ever was in this londe, Kyng Arthure the noble mon, that ever worthe understande. Tho the kynge's men nuste amorwe, wer he was bi come, Heo ferde as wodemen, and wende he were ynome. Heo a saileden the castel, as yt schulde a down anon, Heo that with inne were, garkede hem echon, And smyte out in a fole wille, and fogte myd here fon: So that the erl was y slave, and of ys men mony on, And the castel was y nome, and the folk to sprad there, Get, tho thei hadde al ydo, heo ne fonde not the kyng there. The tything to the contas sone was y come, That hire lord was y slawe, and the castel y nome. Ac the messinger hym sey the erl, as hym thogte, That he hadde so foule plow, ful sore hym of thogte, The contasse made som del deol, for no sothnesse heo nuste. The kyng, for to glade here, bi clupte hire and cust. "Dame," he seide, "no sixt thou wel, that les yt ys al this: Ne wost thou wel ich am olyue. Ich wole the segge how it ys. Out of the castel stilleliche ych wende al in privete, That none of myne men yt nuste, for to speke with the. And the hee miste me to day, and nuste wer ich was, Heo ferden rigt as gydie men, myd wam no red nas, And fogte with the folk with oute, and habbeth in this manere Y lore the castel and hem selue, ac wel thou wost y am here. Ac for my castel, that is ylore, sory ich am y now, And for myn men, that the kyng and ys power slog. Ac my power is now to lute, ther fore y drede sore, Leste the kyng us nyme here, and sorwe that we were more. Ther fore ich wole, how so yt be, wende agen the kynge, And make my pays with hym, ar he us to schame brynge." Forth he wende, and het ys men that gef the kyng come, That hei schulde hym the castel gelde, ar he with trengthe it nome.

So he come toward ys men, ys own forme he nom,
And levede the erle's fourme, and the kyng Uter by com.
Sore hym of thogte the erle's deth, ac in other half he fonde
Joye in hys herte, for the contasse of spoushed was unbonde,
Tho he hadde that he wolde, and paysed with ys son,
To the contasse he wende agen, me let hym in a non.
Wat halt it to talle longe: bute heo were seth at on,
In gret loue longe y now, wan yt nolde other gon;
And hadde to gedere this noble sone, that in the world ys pere nas.
The kyng Arture, and a dogter, Anne hire name was!

In the latter end of the reign of Edward the First, many officers of the French king, having extorted large sums of money from the citizens of Bruges in Flanders, were murthered: and an engagement succeeding, the French army, commanded by the count du Saint Pol, was defeated; upon which the king off France, who was Philip the Fair, sent a strong body of troops under the conduct of the count de Artois, against the Flemings he was killed, and the French were almost all cut to pieces. One of this occasion the following ballad was made in the year 1301

Lustneth, lordinges, bothe zonge ant olde,
Of the Freynsh men that were so proude ant bolde,
How the Flemmyshe men bohten hem ant solde,
Upon a Wednesday,

Betere hem were at home in huere londe, Then forte seche Flemishe by the see stronde Whare rourh moni Frensh wyf wryngeth hire honde,

Ant syngeth weylaway.

The kyng of Fraunce made statuz newe,
In the lond of Flaundres among false ant trewe,
That the commun of Bruges ful sore can arewe,
And seiden amonges hem,

Gedere we us togedere hardilyche at ene,

Take we the bailifs by twenty ant by tene,

Clappe we of the hevedes an oven o the grene,

Ant cast we

the fen.

¹ Chron. p. 156. ^m The last battle was fought that year, July 7.

The webbes ant the fullaris assembleden hem alle, And makeden huere consail in huere commune halle, Token Peter Conyng huere kynge to calle

Ant beo huere cheveteyne, &c. a

These verses shew the familiarity with which the affairs of France were known in England, and display the disposition of the English towards the French, at this period. It appears from this and previous instances, that political ballads, I mean such as were the vehicles of political satire, prevailed much among our early ancestors. About the present era, we meet with a ballad complaining of the exorbitant fees extorted, and the numerous taxes levied, by the king's officers. There is a libel remaining, written indeed in French Alexandrines, on the commission of trayl-baston p, or the justices so denominated by Edward the First, during his absence in the French and Scotch wars, about the year 1306. The author names some of the justices or commissioners, now not easily discoverable: and says, that he served the king both in peace and war in Flanders, Gascony, and Scotland q. There is likewise a ballad against the Scots, traitors to Edward the First, and taken prisoners at the battles of Dunbar and Kykenclef, in 1305 and 1306 r. The licentiousness of their rude manners was perpetually breaking out in these popular pasquins, although this species of petulance usually belongs to more polished times.

Nor were they less dexterous than daring in publishing their satires to advantage, although they did not enjoy the many conveniencies which modern improvements have afforded for the circulation of public abuse. In the reign of Henry the Sixth, to pursue the topic a little lower, we find a ballad of this species stuck on the gates of the royal palace, severely reflecting

MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 73. b.

[•] Ibid. f. 64. There is a song half Latin and half French, much on the same subject. Ibid. f. 137. b.

^{*} See Spelman and Dufresne in v. and cient Songs.—EDIT.]
Rob. Brunne's Chron.ed. Hearne, p. 328.

⁹ MSS. Harl. ibid. f. 113. b.

⁷ Ibid. f. 59

[[]This and the balled against the French will be found in Ritson's Ancient Songs.—Epr.]

on the king and his counsellors then sitting in parliame. This piece is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, with following Latin title prefixed. "Copia scedule valvis domeregis existentis in parliamento suo tento apud Westmonasterimense marcii anno regni Henrici sexti vicesimo octavo." The antient ballad was often applied to better purposes: and it appears from a valuable collection of these little pieces, lately published by my ingenious friend and fellow-labourer Doctor Percy, in how much more ingenuous a strain they have transmitted to posterity the praises of knightly heroism, the marvels of romantic fiction, and the complaints of love.

At the close of the reign of Edward the First, and in the year 1303, a poet occurs named Robert Mannyng, but more commonly called Robert de Brunne. He was a Gilbertine canon in the monastery of Brunne, or Bourne, near Depyng in Lincolnshire: but he had been before professed in the priory of Sixhille, a house of the same order, and in the same county. He was merely a translator. He translated into English metre, or rather paraphrased, a French book, written by Grosthead bishop of Lincoln, entitled Manuel Peche, or Manuel de Peche, that is, the Manual of Sins. This translation was never printed. It is a long work, and treats of the decalogue, and the seven deadly sins, which are illustrated with many legendary stories. This is the title of the translator: "Here

• [This piece is not a ballad. See Hearne's Hemingi Chartularium. Rit-

† [De Brunne's account rather varies from this statement.

In the third Edward's time was I, When I wrote all this story; In the house of Sixille, I was a throwe, Dan Robert of Malton that ye know, Did it write for felaws sake.

"By this passage he seems to mean that he was born at a place called Malton; that he had resided some time in a house in the neighbourhood called Sixhill; and that there he, Robert de Brunne, had composed at least a part of his poem during the reign of Edward III." ELLIS.

^a MSS. Bibl. Bodl. N. 415. membr. fol. Cont. 80. pag. Pr. "Fadyr and sone and holy goste." And MSS. Harl. 1701.

The Harleian manuscript has been collated for the present text. Like the Bodleian, if Warton followed the Bodleian manuscript, it professes to be a translation from the French of Grosteste. But this may be a mere dictum of the transcriber. All we gather from the work itself is an acknowledgement of a French original called "Manuel Peche," whose author was clearly unknown to De Brunne. Had it been written by a man of Grosteste's eminence, it would hardly have been published anonymously; nor can we suppose this circumstance, it really true, would have been passed over

PECHE, the which boke made yn Frenshe Robert Groosteste byshop of Lyncoln." From the Prologue, among other circumstances, it appears that Robert de Brunne designed this performance to be sung to the harp at public entertainments, and that it was written or begun in the year 1303.

For lewede men y undyrtoke,
On Englysh tunge to make thys boke:
For many ben of swyche manere
That talys and rymys wyl blethly here,
Yn gamys and festys at the ale Love men to lestene trotevale; &c.

in silence by his translator. Be this as it may, the French production upon which De Brunne unquestionably founded his poem, is claimed by a writer calling himself William of Wadigton, and that in language too peculiar and self-ondemning to leave a doubt as to the justice of his title.

De le françeis vile ne del rimer,
Ne me deit nuls hom blamer,
Kar en Engletere fu ne,
E norri, e ordiné, e alevé.
De une vile sui nomé,
Ou ne est burg ne cité, &c.
De Deu seit beneit chescun hom,
Ke prie por Wilhelm de Wadigton.
Manuel de Peches, Harl. MSS. 4657.

De Brunne, however, is not a mere translator. He generally amplifies the **moral** precepts of his original; introduces occasional illustrations of his own, (as in the case of Groseteste cited in the text;) and sometimes avails himself of Wadigton's Latin authorities, where these are more copious or circumstantial than their French copyist. Wadigton's work, according to M. de la Rue, (Archæologia, vol. xiv.) is a free trans**lation** of a Latin poem called Floretus; by some ascribed to St. Bernard, and by others to Pope Clement. This I have not been able to meet with; but the following lines which De Brunne extracted from the "Latin Boke," may either

confirm this opinion or lead to a know-ledge of the true source.

Equitabat Bevo per silvam frondosam, Ducebat secum Merswyndam formosam, Quid stamus? cur non imus?

By the leved wode rode Bevolyne, Wyth hym he ledde feyre Merswyne, Why stond we? why go we noght?

The Harleian MS. No. 278 of the "Manuel de Pechees," calls the author William de Windingdon; but this part of the manuscript is written by a comparatively recent and careless hand.—No. 4657, reads Wadigton, but perhaps we should read Wadington.—Edt.]

fol. 1. a. laymen, illiterate. gladly.

* So in the Vision of P. Plowman, fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1550.

I am occupied every day, holy day and other,
With idle tales at the Ale, &c.

Again, fol. 1. b.

—Foughten at the Ale In glotony, godwote, &c.

Chaucer mentions an Alestake, Prol. v. 669. Perhaps, a May-pole. And in the Plowman's Tale, p. 185. Urr. edit. v. 2110.

And the chief chantours at the nale.

y truth and all.

To alle Crystyn men undir sunne, And to gode men of Brunne; And speciali alle be name The felaushepe of Symprynghame *, Roberd of Brunne greteth yow, In alle godenesse that may to prow . Of Brymwake yn Kestevene^b Syxe myle besyde Sympryngham evene, Y dwelled in the pryorye Fystene yere yn cumpanye, In the tyme of gode Dane Jone Of Camelton that now ys gone; In hys tyme was I ther ten yeres And knewe and herde of hys maneres; Sythyn with Dan Jon of Clyntone Fyve wyntyr wyth hym gan I wone, Dan Felyp was maystyr in that tyme That y began thys Englyssh ryme, The yeres of grace fylc than to be A thousand and thre hundred and thre. In that tyme turned y thys On Englysh tunge out of Frankys.

From the work itself I am chiefly induced to give the following specimen; as it contains an anecdote relating to bishop Grosthead his author, who will again be mentioned, and on that account.

> Y shall you telle as y have herd Of the bysshope seynt Roberd, Hys toname^d ys Grostest Of Lynkolne, so seyth the gest.

<sup>the name of his order.
A part of Lincolnshire. Chron. Br.
p. 311.</sup>

At Lincoln the parlement was in Lyndessy and Kestevens.

Lyndesay is Lincolnshire, ibid. p. 248. See a story of three monks of Lyndesay, ibid. p. 80.

c fell.

d surname. See Rob. Br. Chron. p. 168. "Thei cald hi this toname," &c. Fr. "Est surnomes," &c.

vede moche to here the harpe, nannys wytte hyt makyth sharpe. hys chaumber, besyde hys stody, narper's chaumber was fast ther by. tymes, be nyztys and dayys, idd solace of notes and layys, sked hym onys [the] resun why idde delyte in mynstralsy? iswered hym on thys manere he helde the harper so dere. virtu of the harpe, thurgh skyle and ryght, destroye the fendes e myzt; o the croys by gode skylle harpe lykened weyle. fore, gode men, ye shul lere, 1 ye any glemen f here, irshep God at your power, wyd seyth yn the sautereg. rpe yn thabour and symphan gleh hepe God in troumpes and sautre: rdys, an organes, and bellys ringyng, these wurshepe ye hevene kyng, &c."1

t de Brunne's largest work is a metrical chroland k. The former part, from Æneas to the vallader, is translated from an old French poet ER WACE or GASSE, who manifestly copied Geof-

Devil's. strels.

ir Thop. v. 3321. Urr.

pipe, and Simphonie.
There is an old Latin Melancholy," which poem. Burton's Mel. nb. iii. pag. 423. part was printed by

Hearne at Oxford, which he calls Peter Languages's Chronicle, 1725. Of the first part Hearne has given us the Prologue, Pref. p. 96. An extract, ibid. p. 188. And a few other passages in his Glossary to Robert of Gloucester. But the first part was never printed entire. Hearne says this Chronicle was not finished till the year 1338. Rob. Gloucest. Pref. p. 59. It appears that our author was educated and graduated at Cambridge, from Chron. p. 337.

Rois D'Angleterre. It is esteemed one of the oldest of the French romances; and begun to be written [by Eustace, sometimes called Eustache, Wistace, or Huistace, who finished he part] under the title of Brut D'Angleterre, in the year 115. Hence Robert de Brunne [somewhat inaccurately] calls simply the Brut^m. This romance was soon afterwards con

¹ This erroneous account of Wace and his writings, has been copied from the statements of Fauchet and others, who have multiplied his person, and confounded his writings with the most unparalleled absurdity. Whether written Eustace, Eustache, Wistace, Huistace, Vace, Gasse, or Gace, the name through all its disguises is intended for one and the same person, Wace of Jersey. Mr. Tyrwhitt was the first to rescue this ingenious writer from the errors which had gathered round his name; and M. de la Rue has fully established his rights, by supplying us with an authentic catalogue of his works, and exhibiting their importance both to the historian and antiquary. De Brunne was induced to follow the Brut d'Angleterre in the first part of his Chronicle, from the copiousness of its details upon British history. But the continuation noticed in the text was the production of Geoffri Gaimar, a poet rather anterior to Wace; and is supposed to have formed a part of a larger work on English and Norman history. Le Roman du Rou, or the History of Rollo first duke of Normandy, is another of Wace's works: and Les Vies des Ducs de Normandie, which is brought down to the sixth year of Henry I., a But the reader who is desirous of further information on this subject, is referred to the 12, 13, and 14th volumes of the "Archæologia," where he will find a brief but able outline of the history of Anglo-Norman poetry, by M. de la Rue. By omitting the passages inclosed within brackets, and substituting the name of Geoffri Gaimar for Robert Wace, and the year 1146 for 1160, Warton's text will be made to cancel its errors.—Edit.]

In the British Museum there is a fragment of a poem in very old French verse, a romantic history of England, drag from Geoffry of Monmouth, perhaps before the year 1200. MSS. Harl. 1605. f. l. Cod. membran. 4to. In the muscript library of Doctor N. Johns of Pontefract, now perhaps dispense there was a manuscript on vellum, cotaining a history in old English vertaining and in that Basil lord Denbigh, a metrical history in English, from the same period Henry the Third. Wanley supposed to have been of the hand-writing of the time of Edward the Fourth.

m The Brut of England, a pr Chronicle of England, sometimes of tinued as low as Henry the Sixth, is It was at E common manuscript. translated from a French Chroni [MSS. Harl. 200. 4to.], written in t beginning of the reign of Edward ! Third. I think it is printed by Cast under the title of Fructus Tempora (The Chronicles of England.) I French have a famous antient prose mance called Brur, which includes history of the Sangreal. I know 1 whether it is exactly the same. In an (metrical romance, The story of Rot MS. Verb there is this passage. Bibl. Bodl. f. 123.

Lordus gif ye wil lesten to me, Of Croteye the nobile citee As wrytten i fynde in his story Of Brur the chronicle. &c.

Of Bruit the chronicle, &c.

In the British Museum we have Leg
Bruit, compiled by Meistre Raufe
Boun, and ending with the death
Edward the First. MSS. Harl 9
f. 1. Cod. chart. fol. It is an abrid
ment of the grand Brur. In the a
library I find Liber de Bruro et deg
Anglorum metrificatus; (that is, to
into rude Latin hexameters). It is a

r Vace, Gasse or Gace, a native of Jersey, educated at Caen, anom of Bayeux, and chaplain to Henry the Second, under the itle of Le Roman le Rou et les Vies des Ducs de Normandie, yet sometimes preserving its original one,] in the year 1146 [1160 n]. Thus both parts were blended, and became one work. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum it is thus entitled: "Le Brut, ke maistre Wace translata de Latin en Franceis de tutt les Reis de Brittaigne"." That is, from the Latin prose history of Geoffry of Monmouth. And that master Wace aimed only at the merit of a translator, appears from his exordial verses.

Maistre Gasse l'a translatè Que en conte le veritè.

Otherwise we might have suspected that the authors drew their materials from the old fabulous Armoric manuscript, which is mid to have been Geoffry's original.

[Although this romance, in its antient and early manuscripts,

Many prose annotations are intermixed. MSS. ibid. 1808. 24. f. 31. Ced. membran. 4to. In another copy of this piece, one Peckward is said to be the versifier. MSS. ib. 2386. 23. f. 35. In another manuscript the grand Baur is said to be translated from the French by "John Maundeule parson of Brunlian Thorpe." MSS. ibid. 2279. 3.

See Lenglet, Biblioth. des Romans, p. 226. 227. And Lacombe, Diction de vieux Lang. Fr. pref. p. xviii. Paris. 1767. 8vo. And compare Montanc. Catal. Manuscr. ii. p. 1669. See the M. Galland, Mem. Lit. 111. p. 426.

"3 A xxi. 3. It occurs again, 4 C xi. "Histoire d'Angleterre en vers, par Meistre Wace." I cannot help correcting a mistake into which both Wanley and bishop Nicholson have fallen, with meand to this Wace. In the Cotton library, a Saxo-Norman manuscript occurs wice, which seems to be a translation of Geoffry's History, or very like it.

Calig. A ix. and Otho. C 13. 4to. vellum. The translator is one Lazamon, a priest, born at Ernly on Severn. He says, that he had his original from the book of a French clergyman, named Wate; which book Wate the author had presented to Eleanor, queen of Henry the Second. So Lazamon in the preface. "Bot he nom the thridde, leide ther amidden: tha makede a frenchis clerc: Wate (Wate) wes ihoten, &c." Now because Geoffry of Monmouth in one of his prefaces, cap. i. b. 1. says that he received his original from the hands of Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford; both Wanley and Nicholson suppose that the Wate mentioned by Lazamon is Walter Mapes. Whereas Lazamon undoubtedly means Wace, perhaps written or called Wate, author of LE ROMAN LE Rou above mentioned. Nor is the Saxon t (t) perfectly distinguishable from c. See Wanley's Catal. Hickes's Thesaur.ii. p. 228. and Nicholson, Hist. Libr. i. 8. And compare Leland's Coll. vol. i. P. ii. p. 509. edit. 1770.

has constantly passed under the name of its finisher, I yet the accurate Fauchet cites it by the name of it author, Eustace. And at the same time it is extraord that Robert de Brunne, in his Prologue, should not once tion the name of Eustace, as having any concern in it: so was the name of the beginner superseded by that of the nuator. An ingenious French antiquary very justly sup that Wace took many of his descriptions from that invalent and singular monument the Tapestry of the Norman compreserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Bayeux' lately engraved and explained in the learned Doctor Du C Anglo-Norman Antiquities. Lord Lyttelton has a this romance, and shewn that important facts and curious trations of history may be drawn from such obsolete b thentic resources.

The measure used by Robert de Brunne, in his trans of the former part of our French chronicle or romance, actly like that of his original. Thus the Prologue.

Lordynges that be now here,
If ye wille listene and lere,
All the story of Inglande,
Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand,
And on Inglysch has it schewed,
Not for the lered but for the lewed;
For tho that on this lond wonn
That the Latin ne Frankys conn,
For to half solace and gamen
In felauschip when tha sitt samen

^p Rec. p. 82. edit. 1581.

^q Mons. Lancelot, Mem. Lit. viii. 602. 4to. And see Hist. Acad. Inscript. xiii. 41. 4to.

[M. de la Rue has advanced some very satisfactory reasons for supposing this tapestry to have been made by, or wrought under the direction of, the empress Matilda, who died in the year 1167. (See Archæologia, vol. xviii.) It was evidently sent to Bayeux at a period sub-

sequent to the death of its proje whose demise it was left in an unstate. Wace probably never savall events, could it be proved that he disdained to use it in his "of the Irruption of the Norma England," his only work where have assisted him; since his nata trainance with the representate monument contains.—Enr.]

' Hist. Hen. II. vol. iii. p.

And it is wisdom forto wytten The state of the land, and hef it wryten, What manere of folk first it wan, And of what kynde it first began. And gude it is for many thynges, For to here the dedis of kynges, Whilk were foles, and whilk were wyse, And whilk of tham couth most quantyse; And whylk did wrong, and whilk ryght, And whilk mayntened pes and fyght. Of there dedes sall be mi sawe, In what tyme, and of what law, I sholl yow from gre to gre, Sen the tyme of Sir Noe: From Noe unto Eneas, And what betwixt tham was, And fro Eneas till Brutus tyme, That kynde he tells in this ryme. For Brutus to Cadweladres, The last Briton that this lande lees. Alle that kynd and alle the frute That come of Brutus that is the Brute; And the ryght Brute is told no more Than the Brytons tyme wore. After the Bretons the Inglis camen, The lordschip of this land thai namen; South, and north, west, and east, That call men now the Inglis gest. When thai first among the Bretons, That now ere Inglis than were Saxons, Saxons Inglis hight all oliche. Thai aryved up at Sandwyche, In the kynges synce Vortogerne That the lande wolde tham not werne, &c. One mayster WACE the Frankes telles The Brute all that the Latin spelles,

Fro Eneas to Cadwaladre, &c.
And ryght as mayster Wace says,
I telle myne Inglis the same ways, &c.

The second part of Robert de Brunne's Chronicle, beginning from Cadwallader, and ending with Edward the First, is translated, in great measure, from the second part of a French metrical chronicle, written in five books, by Peter Langtot, an Augustine canon of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote not many years before his translator. This is mentioned in the Prologue preceding the second part.

Frankis spech is cald romance^t,
So sais clerkes and men of France.
Pers of Langtoft, a chanon
Schaven in the house of Bridlyngton
On Frankis style this storie he wrote
Of Inglis kinges, &c.^u

As Langtoft had written his French poem in Alexandrines, the translator, Robert de Brunne, has followed him, the Prologue excepted, in using the double distich for one line, after the manner of Robert of Gloucester. As in the first part he copied the metre of his author Wace. But I will exhibit a specimen from both parts. In the first, he gives us this dislogue between Merlin's mother and king Vortigern, from Master Wace.

"Dame, said the kyng, welcom be thow: Nedeli at the I mette witte how "

* Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 98.

The Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France about the ninth century; and was succeeded by what was called the Romance tongue, a mixture of Frankish and bad Latin. Hence the first poems in that language are called Romans or Romants. Essay on Pope, p. 281. In the following passages of this Chronicle, where Robert de Brunne mentions Romance, he sometimes means Langtoft's French book, from which he translated: viz. Chron. p. 205.

This that I have said it is Pers save.

Als he in Romance laid thereafter gas
I drawe.

See Chauc. Rom. R. v. 2170. Also Belades, p. 554. v. 508. Urr. And Crescerbin. Istor. della Volg. Poes. vol. i. L. v. p. 316. seq.

" Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 106.

W Some are printed by Hollind. Hist. iii. 469. Others by Hearne, Chronical Langt. Pref. p. 58. and in the margin of the pages of the Chronicle.

* " I must by all means know of you."

Who than gate y thi sone Merlyn And on what maner was he thin?" His moder stode a throwe z and thought Are scho a to the kyng ansuerd ouht: When scho had standen a litelle wight b, Scho said, by Jhesu in Mari light, That I ne saugh hym never ne knewe That this knave c on me sewed. Ne I wist, ne I herd, What maner schap with me so ferd . But this thing am I wole ograunt, That I was of elde avenaunt :: One com to my bed I wist, With force he me halsed h and kist: Als i a man I him felte, Als a man he me welte k; Als a man he spake to me. Bot what he was, myght I not se!."

he following, extracted from the same part, is the speech of Romans to the Britons, after the former had built a wall ast the Picts, and were leaving Britain.

We haf closed ther most nede was; And yf ye defend wele that pas With archers^m and with magnelsⁿ, And kepe wele the kyrnels;

er she.

b white, while.

d begot.

y [fared. Ritson].

f assured.

I was then young and beautiful.'

it age. Ritson.]

abraced.

as.

k wickled, moved.

pud Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glouc.

lot Bowmen, but apertures in the or shooting arrows. Viz. In the of Taunton castle, 1266. Comp. meys, Episc. Wint. "Tantonia. se domorum. In mercede Cemento muro erigendo juxta turrim ex

parte orientali cum Kernellis et Archeriis faciendis, xvi. s. vi. d." In Archiv. Wolves. apud Wint. Kernells mentioned here and in the next verse were much the same thing: or perhaps Battlements. In repairs of the great hall at Wolvesey-palace, I find, "In kyrnillis emptis ad idem, xii. d." Ibid. There is a patent granted to the monks of Abingdon, in Berkshire, in the reign of Edward the Third, "Pro kernellatione monasterii." Pat. an. 4. par. 1.

n Cotgrave has interpreted this word, an old-fashioned sling. V. MANGONZAU. Viz. Rot. Pip. An. 4 Hen. iii. [A.D. Ther may ye bothe schote and cast Waxes bold and fend you fast.
Thinkes your faders wan franchise,
Be ye no more in other servise:
Bot frely lyf to your lyves end:
We fro you for ever wende.

1219.) "Nordhant. Et in expensis regis in obsidione castri de Rockingham, 100% per Br. Reg. Et custodibus ingeniorum (engines) regis ad ea carianda usque Bisham, ad castrum illud obsidendum, 13s. 10d. per id. Br. Reg. Et pro duobus coriis, emptis apud Northampton ad fundas petrariarum et mangonellorum regis faciendas, 5s. 6d. per id. Br. Reg."-Rot. Pip. 9 Hen. III. (A.D. 1225.) "Surr. Comp. de Cnareburc. Et pro vii. cablis emptis ad petrarias et mangonellos in codem castro, 7s. 11d." Rot. Pip. 5 Hen. III. (A.D. 1220.) "Devons. Et in custo posito in 1. petraria et 11. mangonellis cariatis a Nottingham usque Bisham, et in eisdem reductis a Bisham usque Notingham, 71. 4s."

[See infr. p. 76. MANGONEL also signified what was thrown from the machine so called. Thus Froissart: "Et avoient les Brabançons de tres grans engins devant la ville, qui gettoient pierres de faix et mangoneaux jusques en la ville." Liv. iii. c. 118. And in the old French Ovide cited by Borel, Tresor. in v.

Onques pour une tor abatre, Ne oit on Mangoniaux descendre Plus briement ne du ciel destendre Foudre pour abatre un clocher.

Additions.

Chaucer mentions both Mangonels and Kyrnils, in a castle in the Romaunt of the Rose, v. 4195. 6279. Also archers, i. e. archeriæ, v. 4191. So in the French Roman de la Rose, v. 3945.

Vous puissiez bien les Mangonneaulx, Veoir la par-dessus les Creneaulx. Et aux archieres de la Tour Sont arbalestres tout entour.

Archieres occur often in this poem. Chaucer, in translating the above passage, has introduced guns, which were not known when the original was written, v. 4191.

The use of artillery, however, proved by a curious passage in Petrance to be older than the period to which has been commonly referred. The passage is in Petrarch's book de Ruserus UTRIUSQUE FORTUNE, undoubtedly willten before the year 1334. "G. Habee machinas et balistas. R. Mirum, mi et glandes æneas, quæ flammis injetti horrisono sonitu jaciuntur.—Erat bax pestis nuper rara, ut cum ingenti minculo cerneretur: nunc, ut rerum penmarum dociles sunt animi, ita communi est, ut quodlibet genus armorum." La i DIAL. 99. See Muratori, ANTIQUEAT. Med. Æv. tom. ii. col. 514. Camos are supposed to have been first used by the English at the battle of Cresy, in the year 1346. It is extraordinary that Froissart, who minutely describes the battle, and is fond of decorating in narrative with wonders, should have wholly omitted this circumstance. Musquets are recited as a weapon of the infantry so early as the year 1475. "Quilibet peditum habeat balistam vel kombardam." Lit. Casimiri III. an. 1475. LEG. Polon. toni. i. p. 228. These are generally assigned to the year 1520. ADDITIONS.

I am of opinion, that some of the great military battering engines, so frequently mentioned in the histories and other writings of the dark ages, were fetched from the Crusades. See a species of the catapult, used by the Syrian army in the siege of Mecca, about the year 680. Mod. Univ. Hist. b. i. c. 2. tom. L p. 117. These expeditions into the Esst undoubtedly much improved the European art of war. Tasso's warlike machines, which seem to be the poet's invention, are formed on descriptions of such wonderful machines which he had read in the Crusade historians, particularly Will:elmus Tyrensis.

O Gloss. Rob. Glouc. p. 664,

Vortigern, king of the Britons, is thus described meeting the beautiful princess Rouwen, daughter of Hengist, the Rosamond of the Saxon ages, at a feast of wassaile. It is a curious picture of the gallantry of the times.

Hengest that day did his might, That alle were glad, king and knight, And as thei were best in glading, And wele cop schotin p knight and king, Of chambir Rouewen so gent, Be fore the king in halle scho went. A coupe with wyne sche had in hand, And hir hatire q was wele farand r. Be fore the king on kne sett, And on hir langage scho him grett. "Lauerid king, Wassaille," seid sche. The king asked, what suld be. On that langage the king ne couthe '. A knight ther u langage lerid w in youthe. Breg hiht * that knight born Bretoun, That lerid the langage of Sessoun v. This Breg was the latimer 2. What scho said told Vortager.

F "Sending about the cups apace. Carousing briskly." attire.

very rich [very becoming.—ELLIS].
lord. was not skilled. u their.

learned. was not skilled. when.

For Latiner, or Latinier, an Interpreter. Thus, in the Romance of KING RICHARD, hereafter cited at large, Saladin's Latiner at the siege of Babylon proclaims a truce to the Christian army from the walls of the city. Signat. M. i.

The LATEMERE tho tourned his eye
To that other syde of the toune,
And cryed trues with gret sounc.

In which sense the French word occurs in the Roman de Garin. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris. Num. 7542.

LATIMER fu si sot parler Roman, Englois, Gallois, et Breton, et Norman. And again, Un LATINIER vieil ferant et henu Molt sot de plet, et molt entresnie fu. And in the manuscript Roman de Rou, which will again be mentioned:

L'archevesque Franches a Jumeges ala, A Rou, et a sa gent par LATINIER parla. We find it in Froissart, tom. iv. c. 87. And in other antient French writers. In the old Norman poem on the subject of king Dermod's expulsion from his kingdom of Ireland, in the Lambeth library, it seems more properly to signify, in a limited sense, the king's domestic Secretary.

Par son demeine LATINIER
Que moi conta de luy l'histoire, &c.
See lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II.
vol. iv. App. p. 270. We might here
render it literally his Latinist, an officer
retained by the king to draw up the

"Sir, Breg seid, Rowen yow gretis, And king callis and lord yow letis. This es ther custom and ther gest, Whan thei are atte the ale or fest. Ilk man that louis quare him think, Salle say Wosseille, and to him drink. He that bidis salle say, Wassaille, The tother salle say again, Drinkhaille. That sais Wosseille drinkis of the cop, Kissand^b his felaw he gives it up. Drinkheille, he sais, and drinke ther of, Kissand him in bourd and skofc." The king said, as the knight gan kend, Drinkheille, smiland on Rouewen. Rouwen drank as hire list, And gave the king, sine him kist. There was the first wassaille in dede, And that first of fame gede f. Of that wassaille men told grete tale, And wassaille whan thei were at ale. And drinkheille to tham that drank. Thus was wassaille tanes to thank. Fele sithes h that maidin ying i, Wassailed and kist the king. Of bodi sche was right avenant k, Of fair colour, with swete semblaunt 1. Hir hatire^m fulle wele it semed,

Mervelik the king sche quemid.

For of that maidin he wer alle mad.

Oute of messure was he glad,

public instruments in Latin. As in Domesdal-book. "Godwinus accipitrarius, Hugo Latinarius, Milo portarius." MS. Excerpt. penes me. But in both the last instances the word may bear its more general and extensive signification. Camden explains Latiner by interpreter. Rem. p. 158. See also p. 151. cdit. 1674.

esteems.

b kissing.

c sport, joke.

d to signify.

since, afterwards.

f went.

h many times.

k handsome, gracefully shaped, &c.

countenance [appearance, Ellis.]

m attire.

n marvellously.

pleased.

Drunkenes the feend wroght, Of that paen p was al his thought. A meschaunche that time him led. He asked that paen for to wed. Hengist wild not draw a lite, Bot graunted him alle so tite. And Hors his brother consentid sone. Her frendis said, it were to done. Thei asked the king to gife hir Kent, In douary to take of rent. O pon that maidin his hert so cast, That thei askid the king made fast. I wene the king toke her that day, And wedded hire on paiens lay. Of prest was ther no benison: No mes songen, no orison. In seisine he had her that night, Of Kent he gave Hengist the right. The erelle that time, that Kent alle held, Sir Goragon, that had the scheld, Of that gift no thing ne wist t To u he was cast oute with v Hengist. w

the second part, copied from Peter Langtoft, the attack ichard the First, on a castle held by the Saracens, is thus ibed.

ne dikes were fulle wide that closed the castle about, and depe on ilka side, with bankis hie without. as ther non entre that to the castelle gan ligge, at a streiht kauce, at the end a drauht brigge. It ith grete duble cheynes drauhen over the gate, and fifti armed sueynes, porters at that yate.

gan, heathen.
would not fly off a bit."
in pagens law; according to the
nish custom."
nediction, blessing.

t knew not.

till. by.

Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glo. p. 695.

^{*} lying. y causey.

swains, young men, soldiers.

With slenges and magneles thei kast to kyng Rychare Our cristen by parcelles kasted ageynward. Ten sergeauns of the best his targe gan him bere That egre were and prest to covere hym and to wered. Himself as a geaunt the cheynes in tuo hew, The targe was his warant^c, that non tille him threw: Right unto the gate with the targe thei yede Fightand on a gate, undir him the slouh his stede, Therfor ne wild he sesse, alone into the castele Thorgh tham all wild presse on fote faught he fulle wele. And whan he was withinne, and fauht as a wilde leon, He fondred the Sarazins otuynne⁸, and fauht as a drago-Without the Cristen gan crie, Allas! Richard is taken, Tho Normans were sorie, of contenance gan blaken, To slo downe and to stroye never wild thei stint Thei left for dede no noyeh, ne for no wound no dynt, That in went alle their pres, maugre the Sarazins alle, And fond Richard on des fightand, and wonne the halle.

From these passages it appears that Robert of Brunne kess scarcely more poetry than Robert of Glocester. He kess however taken care to acquaint his readers that he avoided high description, and that sort of phraseology which was then used by the minstrels and harpers; that he rather aimed to give information than pleasure, and that he was more studients of truth than ornament. As he intended his chronicle to be sung, at least by parts, at public festivals, he found it pedient to apologise for these deficiencies in the prologue; as he had partly done before in his prologue to the Manual of Sins.

^a mangonels. Vid. supr. p. 72.

b cast.

c In Langtoft's French,

^{&#}x27; Dis seriauntz des plus feres e de melz vanez,

Devaunt le cors le Reis sa targe ount portez."

d ward, defend.

e guard, defence.

f "he could not cease."

parties." ['Fondered' (explained for and in Hearne's Glossary) is perhaps a smintake of the transcriber for sondered, i.e. sundered, separated. Ellis.]

h annoyance.

¹ Chron. p. 182. 183.

I mad noght for no disours k
Ne for seggers no harpours,
Bot for the luf of symple men,
That strange Inglis cannot ken!:
For many it erem that strange Inglis
In ryme waten never what it is.
I made it not for to be praysed,
Bot at the lewed men were aysed.

He next mentions several sorts of verse, or prosody; which were then fashionable among the minstrels, and have been long since unknown.

If it were made in ryme couwée, Or in strangere or enterlacè, &c.*

tale-tellers, Narratores, Lat. Conteours, Fr. Seggers in the next line perhaps means the same thing, i. e. Sayers. The writers either of metrical or of prose romances. See Antholog. Fran. p. 17. 1765. 8vo. Or Disours may signify Discourse, i. e. adventures in prose. We have the "Devil's disours," in P. Plowman, fol. xxxi. b. edit. 1550. Disour precisely signifies a tale-teller at a feast in Gower. Conf. Amant. lib. vii. fol. 155. a. edit. Berthel. 1554. He is speaking of the coronation festival of a Roman emperor.

When he was gladest at his mete, And every minstrell had plaide And every dissour had saide Which most was pleasaunt to his ere.

Du Cange says, that Discurs were judges of the turney. Diss. Joinv. p. 179.

- 1 know.
- m it ere, there are.
- a knew.
- o eased.
- The rhymes here called, by Robert de Brunne, Couwée, and Enterlacée, were undoubtedly derived from the Latin rhymers of that age, who used versus caudati et interlaqueati. Brunne here professes to avoid these elegancies of composition, yet he has intermixed many passages in Rime Couwée. See his Chronicle, p. 266. 273. &c. &c. And almost all the latter part of his work from the Conquest is written in rhyme

enterlacée, each couplet rhyming in the middle as well as the end. As thus, MSS. HARL. 1002.

Plausus Græcorum | lux cæcis et via claudis |
Incola cælorum | virgo dignissima laudis.

The rhyme Baston had its appellation from Robert Baston, a celebrated Latin rhymer about the year 1315. The rhyme strangere means uncommon. See CAN-TERBURY TALES, vol. iv. p. 72. seq. ut The reader, curious on this subinfr. ject, may receive further information from a manuscript in the Bodleian library, in which are specimens of Metra Leonina, cristata, cornuta, reciproca, &c. MSS. Laud. K 3. 4to. In the same library there is a very antient manuscript copy of Aldhelm's Latin poem De Virginitate et Laude Sanctorum, written about the year 700, and given by Thomas Allen, with Saxon glosses, and the text almost in semi-saxon characters. These are the two first verses.

Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti,

Et laudem capiat quadrato carmine Virgo.

Langbaine, in reciting this manuscript, thus explains the quadratum carmen. "Scil. prima cujusque versus litera, per Acrostichidem, conficit versum illum Metrica tyrones. Ultima cujusque versus

He adds, that the old stories of chivalry had been so disguised by foreign terms, by additions and alterations, that they were now become unintelligible to a common audience: and particularly, that the tale of Sir Tristram*, the noblest of all, was much changed from the original composition of its first author Thomas.

I see in song in sedgeying tale^p
Of Erceldoune, and Kendale,
Non tham says as thai tham wroght^q,
And in ther saying^r it semes noght,
That may thou here in Sir Tristram^s;
Over gestes^t it has the steem ^u,

litera, ab ultimo carmine ordine retrogrado numerando, hunc versum facit.

"Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti."

(Langb. MSS. v. p. 126.) MSS. DIGE. 146. There is a very antient tract, by one Mico, I believe called also Levita, on Prosody, De Quantitate Syllabarum, with examples from the Latin poets, perhaps the first work of the kind. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. A 7. 9. See J. L. Hocker's Catal. MSS. Bibl. Heidelb. p. 24. who recites a part of Mico's Preface, in which he appears to have been a grammatical teacher of youth. See also Dacheri Spiciles. tom. ii. p. 300. b. edit. ult.—Additions.]

• [See Note at the end of this vol.]

p "among the romances that are sung, &c."

- q "none recite them as they were first written."
 - " " as they tell them."
 - * "this you may see, &c."
- to Romance. Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 37. But this is a mistake. Thus we have the Geste of kyng Horne, a very old metrical Romance. MSS. Harl. 2253. p. 70. Also in the Prologue of Rychard Cuer de Lyon.

King Richard is the best That is found in any jeste.

And the passage in the text is a proof against his assertion. Chaucer, in the following passage, by JESTOURS, does not mean Jesters in modern significa-

tion, but writers of adventures. Hose

And JESTOURS that tellen tales. Both of wepyng and of game.

In the House of Fame he also places those who wrote "olde Gestes." v. 425.

It is however obvious to observe the whence the present term Jest arose.

Fauchet, Rec. p. 73. In P. Plowns we have Job's Jestes. fol. xlv. b.

Job the gentyl in his jestes, greatly resseth.

That is, "Job in the account of his Life" In the same page we have,

And japers and judgelers, and jangel of jestes.

That is, Minstrels, Reciters of tales. Other illustrations of this word will occur in the course of the work. Chansons de gestes were common in France in the thirteenth century among the troubedours. See Mem. concernant les principaux monumens de l'Histoire de France, Mem. Lit. xv. p. 582; by the very learned and ingenious M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye. I add the two first lines of a manuscript entitled, Art de Kalender par Rauf, who lived 1256. Bibl. Bodl. J. b. 2. Th. (Langb. M88. 5. 439.)

De geste ne voil pas chanter, Ne veilles estoires el canter.

There is even Gesta Passionis et Reserrectionis Christi, in many manuscript libraries. Over all that is or was,
If men yt sayd as made Thomas.—
Thai sayd in so quaynte Inglis
That manyone wate not what it is.—
And for sooth I couth nought
So strange Inglis as thai wroght.

On this account, he says, he was persuaded by his friends to write his Chronicle in a more popular and easy style, that would be better understood.

And men besought me many a time
To turn it bot in light ryme.
Thai said if I in strange it turne
To here it manyon would skurne,
For it are names fulle selcouthe,
That ere not used now in mouth.—
In the hous of Sixille I was a throwe.
Danz Robert of Meltone, that ye knowe,
Did it wryte for felawes sake,
When thai wild solace make.

Erceldoune and Kendale are mentioned, in some of these lines of Brunne, as [writers of] old romances or popular tales. Of the latter I can discover no traces in our antient literature. As to the former, Thomas Erceldoun, or Ashelington, is said to have written *Prophecies*, like those of Merlin. Leland, from the *Scalæ Chronicon*^c, says that "William Banastre*,

many a one.

y strange.

a little while.

Sir Robert of Malton." It appears

from hence that he was born at Malton

in Lincolnshire.

• Pref. Rob. Glouc. p. 57. 58.

An antient French history or Chromicle of England never printed, which Leland says was translated out of French rhyme into French prose. Coll. vol. i. P. ii. pag. 59. edit. 1770. It was probably written or reduced by Thomas Gray into prose. Londinens. Antiquitat. Cant. lib. i. p. 38. Others affirm it to have been the work of John Gray, an eminent churchman, about the year 1212.

It begins, in the usual form, with the creation of the world, passes on to Brutus, and closes with Edward the Third.

one Gilbert Banestre was a poet and musician. The Prophesies of Banister of England are not uncommon among manuscripts. In the Scotch Prophesies, printed at Edinburgh, 1680, Banaster is mentioned as the author of some of them. "As Berlington's books and Banester tell us." p. 2. Again, "Beid hath brieved in his book and Banester also." p. 18. He seems to be confounded with William Banister, a writer of the reign of Edward the Third. Berlington is probably John Bridlington, an Augus-

and Thomas Erceldoune, spoke words yn figure as were the prophecies of Merlin^e." In the library of Lincoln cathedral, there is a metrical romance entitled, Thomas of Erseldown, which begins with the usual address,

Lordynges both great and small.

In the Bodleian library, among the theological works of John Lawern, monk of Worcester, and student in theology at Oxford about the year 1448, written with his own hand, a fragment of an English poem occurs, which begins thus:

Joly chepert [sheperd] of Askeldowne f.

In the British Museum a manuscript English poem occurs, with this French title prefixed, "La Countesse de Dunbar, demanda a Thomas Essedoune quant la guere d'Escoce predet fyns." This was probably our prophesier Thomas of Erceldown. One of his predictions is mentioned in an antient Scots poem entitled A New Year's Gift, written in the year 1562, by Alexander Scotth. One Thomas Leirmouth, or Rymer, was also a prophetic bard, and lived at Erslington, sometimes perhaps pronounced Erseldoun. This is there fore probably the same person. One who personates him, says

In Erslingtoun I dwell at hame, Thomas Rymer men call me.

tine canon of Bridlington, who wrote three books of Carmina Vaticinalia, in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should happen to England. MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 89. and 186. There are also Versus Vaticinales under his name, MSS. Bodl. NE. E. ii. 17. f. 21. He died, aged sixty, in 1379. He was canonised. There are many other Prophetice, which seem to have been fashionable at this time, bound up with Bridlington in MSS. Digb. 186.

e Ub. supr. p. 510.

* [Another copy is preserved at Cambridge, a transcript from which has been published by Mr. Jamieson in his Popular Ballads and Songs. The various readings of the Lincoln MS. are there given.—Edit.]

f MSS. Bodl. 692. fol.

[Mr. Ritson has said of this part that "it was found impracticable him] to make out more than the two lines.

Joly chepte of Aschell downe

Can more on love than al the town.

Epst.

至16年次

() 司法证

. ¥

⁸ MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 127. It begins thus,

When man as mad a kingge of a capped man

When mon is lever other monnes thynge then ys owen.

h Ancient Scots Poems, Edinb. 1770. 12mo. p. 194. See the ingenious editor's notes, p. 312.

He has left vaticinal rhymes, in which he predicted the union of Scotland with England, about the year 1279. Fordun mentions several of his prophecies concerning the future state of Scotland.

Our author, Robert de Brunne, also translated into English rhymes the treatise of cardinal Bonaventura, his cotemporary', De cæna et passione domini et pænis S. Mariæ Virginis, with the following title: "Medytaciuns of the Soper of our Lorde Jhesu, and also of hys Passyun, and eke of the Peynes of hys swete Modyr mayden Marye, the whyche made yn Latyn Bonaventure Cardynall^m." But I forbear to give further extracts from this writer, who appears to have possessed much more industry than genius, and cannot at present be read with much pleasure. Yet it should be remembered, that even such a writer as Robert de Brunne, uncouth and unpleasing as he naturally seems, and chiefly employed in turning the theology of his age into rhyme, contributed to form a style, to teach expression, and to polish his native tongue. In the infancy of language and composition, nothing is wanted but writers: at that period even the most artless have their use.

Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincolnⁿ, who died in 1253, is said in some verses of Robert de Brunne, quoted above, to have been fond of the metre and music of the minstrels. He

1 See Scotch Prophesies, ut supr. p. 19.
11. 13. 18. 36. viz. The Prophesy of Thomas Rymer. Pr. "Stille on my wayes as I went."

Lib. x. cap. 43. 44. I think he is also mentioned by Spotswood. See

Dempst. xi. 810.

ture's tracts were at this time translated into English. In the Harleian manuscripts we have, "The Treatis that is kallid Prickynge of Love, made bi a Frere menour Bonaventure, that was Cardinall of the courte of Rome." 2254.

1. f. 1. This book belonged to Dame Alys Braintwat "the worchypfull prioras of Dartforde." This is not an uncommon manuscript.

MSS. Harl. 1701. f. 84. The first

line is,

Almighti god in trinite.

It was never printed.

a See Diss. ii.—The author and translator are often thus confounded in manuscripts. To an old English religious poem on the holy Virgin, we find the following title: Incipit quidam cantus quem composait frater Thomas de Hales de ordine fratrum minorum, &c. MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. 85. supr. citat. But this is the title of our friar's original, a Latin hymn de B. Maria Virgine, improperly adopted in the translation. Thomas de Hales was a Franciscan friar, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and flourished about the year 1340. We shall see other proofs of this.

was most attached to the French minstrels, in whose language he has left a poem, never printed, of some length. This was probably translated into English rhyme about the reign of Edward the First. Nor is it quite improbable, if the translation was made at this period, that the translator was Robert de Brunne; especially as he translated another of Grosthead's pieces. It is called by Leland Chateau d'Amouro. But in one of the Bodleian manuscripts of this book we have the following title, Romance pur Mestre Robert Grossetester. In another it is called, Ce est la vie de D. Jhu de sa humanite fet a ordine de Saint Robert Grosseteste ke fut eveque de Nickole's And in this copy, a very curious apology to the clergy is prefixed to the poem, for the language in which it is written's Et quamvis lingua romana [romance] coram clericis sapo-

° Script. Brit. p. 285.

P MSS. Bodl. NE. D. 69.

[It has been shown in a former note, that Grosseteste's claim to the authorahip of the French "Manuel de Pechees"—at least to the work at present known by that name—is extremely doubtful. The following extract from the "Chateau d'Amour," ascribed to him by Leland and others, will render his title to the composition of any poem in French still more problematical:

Ici comence un escrit,
Ke Seint Robert de Nichole fist.
Romanze de romanze est apelé,
Tel num a dreit li est assigné;
Kar de ceo livre la materie,
Est estret de haut cleregie,
E pur ceo ke il pasco (surpasse) altre
romanz

Apelé est romanz de romanz.

Les chapitres ben conuz serunt

Par les titres ke siverunt

Les titles ne voil pas rimer

Kar leur matiere ne volt suffrer.

Primis sera le prologe mis

E puz les titles tuz assis.

MSS. Reg. 20 B. xiv.

The probability is, that both the present poem, and the "Manuel de Pechees" are founded on similar works of Grosseteste written in the Latin language; and that the transcribers, either from ignorance, or a desire of giving a fictitious value to their own labours, have inscribed in name upon the copies. His "Temples Domini," a copious system of mysical divinity, abounding in pious raptures and scholastic subtleties, may have atforded the materials for the former poss; and his treatise "De sept. vitiis et remdiis"-if we except the Contes devets which Wadigton may have gleaned from other source—possibly supplied the trines of the latter. The title adopted by Leland and the English translator, has been taken from the following per sage of the French work:

En un chastel bel e grant, Bien fourme et avenant, Ceo est le chastel d'amour, E de solaz e de socour.

Harl. MS. no. 1191.

With regard to Warton's conjecture, that Robert de Brunne was the author of the English version, it can only be said, that the internal evidence is most decidedly against such an opinion.—Eprr.]

word Nicole is perfectly French, for Liscoln. See likewise MSS. Bodl. E4.14

In the hand-writing of the poem is self, which is very antient.

REM SUAVITATIS non habeat, tamen pro laicis qui minus intelligunt opusculum illud aptum est." This piece professes to treat of the creation, the redemption, the day of judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell: but the whole is a religious allegory, and under the ideas of chivalry the fundamental articles of Christian belief are represented. It has the air of a system of divinity written by a troubadour. The poet, in describing the advent of Christ, supposes that he entered into a magnificent castle, which is the body of the immaculate virgin. The structure of this castle is conceived with some imagination, and drawn with the pencil of romance. The poem begins with these lines.

Ki pense ben, ben peut dire:
Sanz penser ne poet suffise:
De nul bon oure commencer
Deu nos dont de li penser
De ki par ki, en ki, sont
Tos les biens ki font en el mond.

But I hasten to the translation, which is more immediately connected with our present subject, and has this title: "Her bygenet a tretys that ys yclept Castel of Love that biscop Grosteyzt made ywis for lewde mennes by hove'." Then follows the prologue or introduction.

That good thinketh good may do,
And God wol help him thar to:
Ffor nas never good work wrougt
With oute biginninge of good thougt.
Ne never was wrougt non vuel thyng
That vuel thougt nas the biginnyng.
God ffuder, and sone and holigoste
That alle thing on eorthe sixt and wost,

f. 1. So also in MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 232. In MSS. Harl. 1121. 5. "[Ici demoustre] Roberd Grosseteste evesque de Nichole un tretis en Franceis, del commencement du monde, &c." f. 156. Cod. membran.

^t Bibl. Bodl. MS. Vernon, f. 292. This translation was never printed: and is, I believe, a rare manuscript.

[&]quot; well, good [foul].

F. hext. highest [seest].

That one God art and thrillihod . And three persones in one hod?, Withouten end and bi ginninge, To whom we ougten over alle thinge, Worschepe him with trewe love, That kineworthe king art us above, In whom, of whom, thorw whom beoth, Alle the good schipes that we hire i seoth, He leve us thenche and worchen so, That he us schylde from vre fo, All we habbeth to help neode That we ne beth all of one theode, Ne i boren in one londe, Ne one speche undirstonde, Ne mowe we al Latin wite * Ne Ebreu ne Gru* that beth i write, Ne Ffrench, ne this other spechen, That me milite in worlde sechen. To herie God our derworthi drihteb. As vch mon ougte with all his mihte; Loft song syngen to God zernes, With such speche as he con lerne: Ne monnes mouth ne be i dut Ne his ledened i hud, To serven his God that him wrougte, And maade al the worlde of nougte. Of Englische I shal nir resun schowen Ffor hem that can not i knowen, Nouther French ne Latyn On Englisch I chulle tullen him.

I trinity.

y unity.

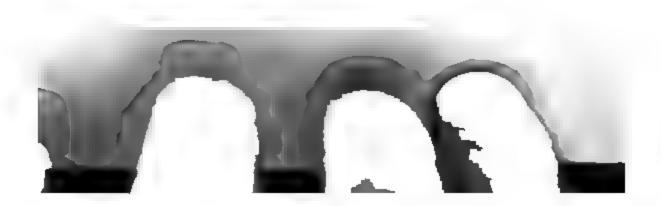
" understand.

Greek. In John Trevisas's dialogue concerning the translation of the Polychronicon, MSS. Harl. 1900. b. f. 42. "Aristotile's bokes, &c. were translated out of grae into Latin. Also with praying of kyng Charles (the Bald),] Scott translated Denys bookes out into Latyn."

b "to bless [praise] God our be

" earnestly.

language.



Wherefor the world was i wroht,
Ther after how he was bi tauht,
Adam vre ffader to ben his,
With al the merthe of paradys
To wonen and welden to such ende
Til that he scholde to hevene wende,
And hou sone he hit fu les
And seththen hou for bouht wes,
Thurw the heze kynges sone
That here in eorthe wolde come,
Ffor his sustren that were to boren,
And ffor a prison thas was for loren
And hou he made as ze schal heren
That heo i cust and sauht weren
And to wruche a castel he alihte, &c.

it the following are the most poetical passages of this

God nolde a lihte in none manere, But in feir stude and in clere, In feir and clene siker hit wes, Ther God almihti his in ches f In a CASTEL well comeliche, Muche^g and ffeire, and loveliche, That is the castell of alle floure, Of solas and of socour, In the mere he stont bi twene two, Ne hath he forlak for no fo: For the tour h is so wel with outen, So depe i diched al abouten, That non kunnes asayling, Ne may him derven fer no thing; He stont on heiz rocke and sound, And is y planed to the ground,

ace.
chose his habitation."

La tur est si bien en clos. Fr. Orig.

That ther may won non vuel thing, Ne derve ne gynnes castyng; And thaug he be so lovliche, He is so dredful and hatcliche, To all thulke that ben his fon, That heo flen him everichon; Ffor smal toures that beth abouten, To witen the heige toure withouten, Sethe k beoth thre bayles withalle!, So feir i diht with strunge walle, As heo beth here after I write, Ne may no man the feirschipe^m i wite, Ne may no tongue ne may hit telle, Ne thougt thincke, ne mouthe spelle: On trusti rocke heo stondeth fast, And with depe diches bethe bi cast, And the carnels n so stondeth upright, Wel I planed, and feir i dight: Seven barbicanes ther beth i wrouht With gret ginne al bi thouht, And evrichon hath gat and toure, Ther never fayleth ne socoure. Never schal fo him stonde with That thider wold flen to sechen grith p. This castel is siker fair abouten, And is al depeynted withouten, With three heewes that wel beth seneq; So is the foundement al grene, That to the rock fast lith. Wel is that ther murthe i sith, Ffor the greneschip lasteth evere, And his heul ne leoseth nevere,

1 vile.

^{*} Tres bailes en tour. Fr. Orig.

^{1 &}quot;morcover there are three," &c.

m beauty.

n kernels.—Kerneaus bien poli. Fr. Orig.

o Pur bon engin fait. Fr. Orig-

p counsel [grace].

La chastel est a bel bon
De hors de peint a en virun
De treis culurs diversement
Fr. O

Sethen abouten that other heug So is ynde so ys blu'. That the midel heug we clepeth ariht And schyneth so faire and so briht. The thridde heug an ovemast Over wrigeth al and so ys i cast That withinnen and withouten, The castel lihteth al abouten, And is raddore than eny rose schal That shunneth as hit barnd were t. Withinne the castel is whit schinynge So u the snows that is snewynge, And casteth that liht so wyde, After long the tour and be syde, That never cometh ther wo ne woug, As swetnesse ther is ever i noug. Amydde w the heige toure is springynge A well that ever is corninge * With four stremes that striketh wel, And erneth upon the gravel, And fulleth the duches about the wal, Much blisse ther is over al, Ne dar he seeke non other leche That mai riht of this water eleche. In y thulke derworthi faire toure Ther stont a trone with much honour, Of whit yvori and feirore of liht Than the someres day when heis briht, With cumpas i throwen and with gin al i do Seven steppes ther beoth therto, &c.

est ynde si est blu. Fr. Orig. rned, on fire.

Plus est vermail ke nest rose E piert un ardant chose. Fr. Orig.

n mi la tur plus hauteine Est surdant une funtayne Dunt issent quater ruissell. Ki bruinet par le gravel, &c. Fr. Orig. * running.

Y En cele bel tur a bone
A de yvoire un trone
Ke plusa eissi blanchor
Ci en mi este la beau jur
Par engin est compassez, &c. Fr. Orig.

The floure smale toures abouten, That with the heige tour withouten, Ffour had thewes that about hire i seoth, Ffoure vertus cardinals beoth, &c. And which beoth three bayles get, That with the carnels ben so wel i set, And i cast with cumpas and walled abouten That wileth the heihe tour with outen: Bote the inmost bayle i wote Bitokeneth hire holi maydenhode, &c. The middle bayle that wite ge, Bitokeneth hire holi chastite And sethen the overmast bayle Bitokeneth hire holi sposaile, &c. The seven kernels abouten. That with great gin bean y wrougt withouten, And witeth this castel so well, With arwe and with quarrel *, That beoth the seven vertues with wunne To overcum the seven deadly sinne, &c. b

It was undoubtedly a great impediment to the cultivation and progressive improvement of the English language at these early periods, that the best authors chose to write in French. Many of Robert Grosthead's pieces are indeed in Latin; yet where the subject was popular, and not immediately addressed to learned readers, he adopted the Romance or French language, in preference to his native English. Of this, as we have already seen, his Manuel Peche, and his Chateau d'Amour, are sufficient proofs, both in prose and verse: and his example and authority must have had considerable influence in encouraging this practice. Peter Langtoft, our Augustine

Les barbicanes seet Kis hors de bailles sunt fait,

Ki bien gardent le chastel, E de secte e de quarrel. Fr. Orig.

Les treis bailles du chastel
Ki sunt overt au kernel
Qui a compas sunt en virun
E defendent le dungun. Fr. Orig.
Les barbicanes seet

b Afterwards the fountain is explained to be God's grace: Charity is constable of the castle, &c. &c.

canon of Bridlington, not only compiled the large chronicle of England, above recited, in French; but even translated Herbert Boscam's Latin Life of Thomas Becket into French rhymes. John Hoveden, a native of London, doctor of divinity, and chaplain to queen Eleanor mother of Edward the First, wrote in French rhymes a book entitled, Rosarium de Nativitate, Passione, Ascensione, Jhesu Christia. Various other proofs have before occurred. Lord Lyttelton quotes from the Lambeth library a manuscript poem in French or Norman verse on the subject of king Dermod's expulsion from Ireland, and the recovery of his kingdom. I could mention many others. Anonymous French pieces both in prose and verse, and written about this time, are innumerable in our manuscript repositories. Yet this fashion proceeded rather from necessity

Fits. p. 890. Append. Who with great probability supposes him to have been an Englishman.

MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Cant. G. 16. where it is also called the Nightingale.

Pr. "Alme fesse lit de peresse."

[In this manuscript the whole title is this: "Le Rossignol, ou la pensee Jehan de Hovedene clerc la roine d'Engleterre mere le roi Edward, de la naissance et de la mort et du relievement et de lascension Jesu Crist et de lassumpcion notre dame." This manuscript was written in the fourteenth century.—Apprilons.]

Our author, John Hoveden, was also skilled in sacred music, and a great writer of Latin hymns. He died, and was buried, at Hoveden, 1275. Pits. p. 356.

Bale, v. 79.

There is an old French metrical life of Tobiah, which the author, most probably an Englishman, says he undertook at the request of William, Prior of Kenilworth in Warwickshire. MSS. Jes. Coll. Oxon. 85. supr. citat.

Le prior Gwilleyme me prie De l'eglyse seynte Marie De Kenelworth an Ardenne, Ki porte le plus haute peyne De charite, ke nul eglyse Del reaume a devyse Ke jeo liz en romaunz le vie De kelui ki can mun Tobie, &c. * Hist. Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 270. Notes. It was translated into proce by Sir George Carew in Q. Elizabeth's time: this translation was printed by Harris in his HIBERNIA. It was probably written about 1190. See Ware, p. 56. And compare Walpole's Anecd. Paint. i. 28. Notes. The Lambeth manuscript seems to be but a fragment. viz. MSS. Bibl. Lamb. Hib. A. See supr. p. 73. Note.

[Among the learned Englishmen who now wrote in French, the Editor of the Canterbury Tales mentions Helis de Guincestre, or Winchester, a translator of Cato into French. (See vol. ii. sect. xxvii.) And Hue de Roteland. author of the Romance, in French verse, called Ipomedon, MSS. Cott. Vzsp. The latter is also supposed to have written a French Dialogue in metre, MSS. Bodl. 3904. La pleinte par entre mis Sire Henry de Lacy Counte de Nichole [Lincoln] et Sire Wauter de Byblesworth pur la croiserie en la terre seinte. And a French romantic poem on a knight called CAPANER, perhaps Statius's Capaneus. MSS. Cott. VESP. A vii. ut supr. It begins,

Qui bons countes viel entendre.

[See "The Cantergury Tales of Chaucer. To which are added An Essay upon his Language and Versirication, an Introductory Discourse,

and a principle of convenience, than from affectation. The vernacular English, as I have before remarked, was rough and unpolished: and although these writers possessed but few ideas of taste and elegance, they embraced a foreign tongue, almost equally familiar, and in which they could convey their sentiments with greater ease, grace, and propriety. It should also be considered, that our most eminent scholars received a part of their education at the university of Paris. Another, and a very material circumstance, concurred to countenance this fashionable practice of composing in French. It procured them readers of rank and distinction. The English court, for more than two hundred years after the Conquest, was totally French: and our kings, either from birth, kindred, or marriage, and from a perpetual intercourse, seem to have been more closely connected with France than with England. It was however fortunate that these French pieces were written, as some of them met with their translators: who perhaps unable to aspire to the praise of original writers, at least by this means contri-

This masterly performance, in which the author has displayed great taste, judgement, sagacity, and the most familiar knowledge of those books which peculiarly belong to the province of a commentator on Chaucer, did not appear till more than half of my second volume was printed.—Additions.]

I have before hinted that it was sometimes customary to intermix Latin with French. As thus. MSS. Harl. 2253.

f. 137. b.

Dieu roy de Mageste, Ob personas trinas, Nostre roy esa meyne Ne perire sinas, &c.

Again, ibid. f. 76. Where a lover, an Englishman, addresses his mistress who was of Paris.

Dum ludis floribus velut lacinia, Le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel Angustia, &c.

Sometimes their poetry was half French and half English. As in a song to the holy virgin on our Saviour's pssion. Ibid. f. 83.

Mayden moder milde, oyez cel oreysou. From shome thou me shilde, c de ly mil feloun:

For love of thine childe me menes de tresoun,

Ich wes wod and wilde, ore su en prisoun, &c.

In the same manuscript I find a Frence poem probably written by an Englishman, and in the year 1800, containing the adventures of Gilote and Johanne, two ladies of gallantry, in various parts of England and Ireland; particularly Winchester and Pontefract. f. 66. b. The curious reader is also referred to a French poem, in which the poet supposes that a minstrel, jugleour, travelling from London, cloathed in a rich tabard, the king and his retinue. The king asks him many questions; particularly his lord's name, and the price of his horse. The minstrel evades all the king's questions by impertinent answers; and at last presumes to give his majesty advice. 1bid. f. 107. b.

buted to adorn their native tongue: and who very probably would not have written at all, had not original writers, I mean their cotemporaries who wrote in French, furnished them with models and materials.

Hearne, to whose diligence even the poetical antiquarian is reach obliged, but whose conjectures are generally wrong, Emagines, that the old English metrical romance, called Ry-CHARDE CUER DE LYON, was written by Robert de Brunne. It is at least probable, that the leisure of monastic life produced Examp rhymers. From proofs here given we may fairly con-Lude, that the monks often wrote for the minstrels: and although Tur Gilbertine brother of Brunne chose to relate true stories plain language, yet it is reasonable to suppose, that many of Tur antient tales in verse containing fictitious adventures, were ritten, although not invented, in the religious houses. The mantic history of Guy earl of Warwick, is expressly said, on good authority, to have been written by Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan friar of Carocus in Cornwall, about the year 1292. The libraries of the monasteries were full of romances. Bevis Southampton, in French, was in the library of the abbey of Leicester b. In that of the abbey of Glastonbury, we find Liber Le Excidio Trojæ, Gesta Ricardi Regis, and Gesta Alexandri

E Carew's Surv. Cornw. p. 59. edit. wat supr. I suppose Carew means the metrical Romance of Guy. But Bale mays that Walter wrote Vitam Guidonis, which seems to imply a prose history. 78. Giraldus Cambrensis also wrote Guy's history. Hearne has printed an Historia Guidonis de Warul:, Append. Annal Dunstaple, num. xi. It was extracted from Girald. Cambrens. Hist. Reg. West-Sax. capit. xi. by Girardus Comphiensis. Lydgate's life of Guy, mover printed, is translated from this Grandus; as Lydgate himself informs ms at the end. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Land. DSL L 64. The Here gymneth the lift of Gay of Wareyk.

Out of the Latyn made by the Chronycler
Called of old Giana: Constantant.

Which wrote the dedis, with grete diligence,

Of them that were in Westsex crowned kynges, &c.

See Wharton, Angl. Secr. i. p. 89. Some have thought that Girardus Cornubiensis and Giraldus Cambrensis were the same persons. This passage of Lydgate may perhaps show the contrary. We have also in the same Hudleian manuscript, a poem on Guy and Colbrand, viz. MSS Laud. D 31. f. 87. More will be said on this subject.

See Registrum I, deverum omnaum et Joedeum en monastero S. Maria de Pratu prope Legentrum. Sol. 182. b. In MSS. Bibl. Book. Land. 175. This exployed was written by Will. Charles. one of the name. A.D. 1817.

11/2 1/20

Regis, in the year 1247. These were some of the most favourite subjects of romance, as I shall shew hereafter. catalogue of the library of the abbey of Peterborough are recited, Amys and Amelion's, Sir Tristram, Guy de Burgoyne, and Gesta Osuelis, all in French: together with Merlin's Prophecies, Turpin's Charlemagne, and the Destruction of Troy. Among the books given to Winchester college by the founder William of Wykeham, a prelate of high rank, about the year 1387, we have Chronicon Trojæn. In the library of Windsor college, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, were discovered in the midst of missals, psalters, and homilies, Duo libri Gallici de Romances, de quibus unus liber de Rose, et alius difficilis materice. This is the language of the king's commissioners, who searched the archives of the college: the first of these two French romances is perhaps John de Meun's Roman de la Rose. A friar, in Pierce Plowman's Visions, is said to be much better acquainted with the Rimes of Robin Hood, and Randal [Erle] of Chester, than with his Pater-noster p. The monks, who very naturally sought all opportunities of amusement in their retired

Hearne's Joann. Glaston. Catal. Bibl. Glaston. p. 435. One of the books on Troy is called bonus et magnus. There is also "Liber de Captione Antiochiæ, Gallice. legibilis." ibid.

The same Romance is in MSS.

Harl. Brit. Mus. 2386. § 42.

[The Harl. MS. is a bad copy of about one half of the poem. This Romance was translated into German verse by Conrad of Würzburg, who flourished about the year 1300. He chose to name the heroes Engelhard and Engeldrud. Weber.]

See Du Cang. Gloss. Lat. i. Ind. Auctor. p. 193. There is an old manuscript French Morality on this subject, Comment Amille tue ses deux enfans pour guerir Amis son compagnon, &c. Beauchamps, Rech. Theatr. Fr. p. 109. There is a French metrical romance Histoire d'Amys et Amilion, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12. C xii. 9.

[And at Bennet college, Num. L. L. It begins,

Ki veut oir chaunçoun damur.
Additions.

There is a Romance called Orom, MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4. 1. xxviii. I think he is mentioned in Charlemagne's story. He is converted to Christianity, and marries Charlemagne's daughter. [Analysed by Mr. Ellis: vol. ii. p. 324.]

m Gunton's Peterb. p. 108. seq.—I will give some of the titles as they stand in the catalogue. Darcs Phrygius & Excidio Trojæ, bis. p. 180. Prophetic Merlini versifice. p. 182. Gesta Cardi secundàm Turpinum. p. 187. Gests Encæ post destructionem Trojæ. p. 198. Bellum contra Runcivallum. p. 202. There are also the two following articles, viz. "Certamen inter regem Johannem et Barones, versifice. Per H. de Davench." p. 188. This I have never seen, nor know any thing of the author. "Versus de ludo scaccorum." p. 195.

* Ex archivis Coll. Wint.

o Dugd. Mon. iii. Eccles. Collegist. p. 80. P Fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1550.

and confined situations, were fond of admitting the minstrels their festivals; and were hence familiarised to romantic sto-Es. Seventy shillings were expended on minstrels, who accompanied their songs with the harp, at the feast of the instal-Lation of Ralph abbot of Saint Augustin's at Canterbury, in the year 1309. At this magnificent solemnity, six thousand guests were present in and about the hall of the abbey q. It was not eleemed an occurrence unworthy to be recorded, that when Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, visited his cathedral poriory of Saint Swithin in that city, a minstrel named Herbert was introduced, who sung the Song of Colbrond a Danish giant, and the tale of Queen Emma delivered from the plough-shares, In the hall of the prior Alexander de Herriard, in the year 1338. I will give this very curious article, as it appears in an antient register of the priory. "Et cantabat Joculator quidam nomine Herebertus CANTICUM Colbrondi, necnon Gestum Emme regine a judicio ignis liberate, in aula prioris "." In an annual accomptroll of the Augustine priory of Bicester in Oxfordshire, for the year 1431, the following entries relating to this subject occur, which I chuse to exhibit in the words of the original. "Dona PRIORIS. Et in datis cuidam citharizatori in die sancti Jeronimi, viii. d.—Et in datis alteri citharizatori in ffesto Apostolorum Simonis et Jude cognomine Hendy, xii d.—Et in datis cuidam minstrallo domini le Talbot infra natale domini, xii. d. -Et in datis ministrallis domini le Straunge in die Epiphanie, xx. d.—Et in datis duobus ministrallis domini Lovell in crastino & Marci evangeliste, xvi. d.—Et in datis ministrallis ducis

Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MSS. pergamen. in Archiv. de Wolvesey Wint. These were local stories. Guy fought and conquered Colbrond a Danish champion, just without the northern walls of the city of Winchester, in a meadow to this day called Danemarch: and Colbrond's battle-axe was kept in the treasury of St. Swithin's priory till the Dissolution. Th. Rudb. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 211. This history remained in rude painting against the

walls of the north transept of the cathedral till within my memory. Queen Emma was a patroness of this church, in which she underwent the tryal of walking blindfold over nine red hot ploughshares. Colbrond is mentioned in the old romance of the Squyr of Lowe Degree. Signat. a. iii.

Or els so doughty of my honde As was the gyaunte syr Colbronde.

See what is said above of Guy earl of Warwick, who will again be mentioned.

Glocestrie in ffesto nativitatis beate Marie, iii s. iv d." I must add, as it likewise paints the manners of the monks, "Et in datis cuidam Ursario, iiii d." In the prior's accounts of the Augustine canons of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, of various years in the reign of Henry the Sixth, one of the styles, or general heads, is De Joculatoribus et Mimis. I will, without apology, produce some of the particular articles; not distinguishing between Mimi, Joculatores, Jocatores, Lusores, and Citharistæ: who all seem alternately, and at different times, to have exercised the same arts of popular entertainment. "Joculatori in septimana S. Michaelis, iv d.—Cithariste tempore natalis domini et aliis jocatoribus, iv d.—Mimis de Solikull, vi d. -Mimis de Coventry, xx d.-Mimo domini Ferrers, vi d.-Lusoribus de Eton, viii d.—Lusoribus de Coventry, viii d.— Lusoribus de Daventry, xii d.—Mimis de Coventry, xii d.— Mimis domini de Asteley, xii d.—Item iiii. mimis domini de Warewyck, x d.—Mimo ceco, ii d.—Sex mimis domini de Clynton.—Duobus Mimis de Rugeby, x d.—Cuidam cithariste, vi d. -Mimis domini de Asteley, xx d.-Cuidam cithariste, vi d.-Cithariste de Coventry, vi d.—Duobus citharistis de Coventry, viii d.—Mimis de Rugeby, viii d.—Mimis domini de Buckeridge, xx d.—Mimis domini de Stafford, ii s.—Lusoribus de Coleshille, viii d." t Here we may observe, that the minstrels of the nobility, in whose families they were constantly retained, travelled about the county to the neighbouring monasteries; and that they generally received better gratuities for these occasional performances than the others. Solihull, Rugby, Coleshill, Eton, or Nun-Eton, and Coventry, are all towns situated at no great distance from the priory". Nor must I omit that two

shop Kennet has printed a Computus of in which three or four entries of the same sort occur. Paroch. Antiq. p. 578.

^t Ex orig. penes me.

Ex. Orig. in Rotul. pergamen. Tit. "Compotus dni Ricardi Parentyn Pri- the same monastery under the same reign, oris, et fratris Ric. Albon canonici, bursarii ibidem, de omnibus bonis per eosdem receptis et liberatis a crastino Michaelis anno Henrici Sexti post Conquestum octavo usque in idem crastinum anno R. Henrici prædicti nono." In .Thesauriar. Coll. SS. Trin. Oxon. Bi-

u In the antient annual rolls of accompt of Winchester college, there are many articles of this sort. The few following, extracted from a great number,

Secration of John, prior of this convent, in the year 1432, viz.

Dat. duobus mimis de Coventry in die consecrationis prioris,

Lid. Nor is it improbable, that some of our greater monasteries kept minstrels of their own in regular pay. So early as the year 1180, in the reign of Henry the Second, Jeffrey the harper received a corrody, or annuity, from the Benedictine abbey of Hide near Winchester; undoubtedly on condition that he should serve the monks in the profession of a harper on public

Excess serve as a specimen. They are Thiefly in the reign of Edward IV. viz. To the year 1481. "Et in sol. ministrallis **CLom.** Regis venientibus ad collegium xv. Aprilis, cum 12d. solut. ministrallis **Lom.** Episcopi Wynton venientibus ad **Collegium** primo die junii, iiii s. iiii d.— Lt in dat. ministralis dom. Arundell wen ad Coll. cum viiid. dat. minis-Tallis dom. de Lawarr, ii s. iiii d."— the year 1483. "Sol. ministrallis cm. Regis ven. ad Coll. iii s. iiii d."m the year 1472. "Et in dat. ministral-Las dom. Regis cum viii d. dat. duobus Berewardis ducis Clarentie, xx d.—Et dat. Johanni Stulto quondam dom. Warewyco, cum iiii d. dat. Thome Nevyle taborario.—Et in datis duobus ministrallis ducis Glocestrie, cum iiii d. Let. uni ministrallo ducis de Northumerland, viii d.—Et in datis duobus cithaatoribus ad vices venient. ad collegium iiid."—In the year 1479. "Et in **Setis satrapis** Wynton venientibus ad **coll. festo** Epiphanie, cum xii d. dat. mimistrallis dom. episcopi venient. ad coll. In the iii s."——In the 1477. "Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Princinis venient. ad coll. festo Ascenmionis Domini, cum xx d. dat. ministral-Ris dom. Regis, vs."-In the year 1464. Et in dat. ministrallis comitis Kancie venient, ad Coll. in mense julii, iiiis. Filld."—In the year 1467. "Et in detis quatuor mimis dom. de Arundell venient. ad Coll. xiii. die ffebr. ex curialitate dom. Custodis, iis."——In the 300 1466. "Et in dat. satrapis, [ut supr.] cum iis. dat. iiii. interludentibus et J. Meke citharistæ eodem flesto, iiii s." In the year 1484. "Et in dat. uni ministrallo dom. principis, et in aliis

ministrallis ducis Glocestrie v. die julii, xx d."—The minstrels of the bishop, of lord Arundel, and the duke of Gloucester, occur very frequently. In domo muniment. coll. prædict. in cista ex orientali latere.

In rolls of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the counters of Westmoreland, sister of cardinal Beaufort, is mentioned as being entertained in the college; and in her retinue were the minstrels of her household, who received gratuities. Ex Rot. Comp. orig.

In these rolls there is an entry, which seems to prove that the *Lusores* were a sert of actors in dumb show or masquerade. Rot. ann. 1467. "Dat. lusoribus de civitate Winton, venientibus ad collegium in apparatu suo mens. julii, va. viii d." This is a large reward. I will add from the same rolls, ann. 1479. "In dat. Joh. Pontisbery and socioludentibus in aula in die circumcisionis, iis."

w Ibid. It appears that the Coventrymen were in high repute for their performances of this sort. In the entertainment presented to queen Elizabeth at
Killingworth castle, in the year 1575,
the Coventry-men exhibited "their old
storiall sheaw." Laneham's Narratice,
&c. p. 32. Minstrels were hired from
Coventry to perform at Holy Crosse
feast at Abingdon, Berks, 1422. Hearne's
Lib. Nig. Scacc. ii. p. 598. See an account of their play on Corpus Christi
day, in Stevens's Monasticon, i. p. 138.
and Hearne's Fordun, p. 1450. sub
an. 1492.

Madox, Hist. Exchequer, p. 251. Where he is styled, "Galfridus citharcedus."

occasions. The abbies of Conway and Stratslur in Wales respectively maintained a bard y: and the Welsh monasteries in general were the grand repositories of the poetry of the British bards z.

In the statutes of New-college at Oxford, given about the year 1380, the founder bishop William of Wykeham orders his scholars, for their recreation on festival days in the hall after dinner and supper, to entertain themselves with songs, and other diversions consistent with decency: and to recite poems, chronicles of kingdoms, the wonders of the world, together with the like compositions, not misbecoming the clerical character. I will transcribe his words. "Quando ob dei reverentiam aut sue matris, vel alterius sancti cujuscunque, tempore yemali, ignis in aula sociis ministratur; tunc scolaribus et sociis post tempus prandii aut cene, liceat gracia recreationis, in aula, in Cantilenis et aliis solaciis honestis, moram facere condecentem; et Poemata, regnorum Chronicas, et mundi hujus Mirabilia, ac cetera que statum clericalem condecorant, seriosius pertractare²." The latter part of this injunction seems to be an explication of the former: and on the whole it appears, that the Cantilenæ which the scholars should sing on these occasions, were a sort of Poemata, or poetical Chronicles, containing general histories of kingdoms^b. It is natural to conclude, that they preferred pieces of English history: and among Hearne's manuscripts I have discovered some fragments on

y Powel's CAMBRIA. To the Reader. pag. 1. edit. 1581.

Evans's Diss. de Bardis. Specimens of Welsh Poetry. p. 92. Wood relates a story of two itinerant priests coming, towards night, to a cell of Benedictines near Oxford, where, on a supposition of their being mimes or minstrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, sacrist, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained with their gesticulatoriis ludicrisque artibus, and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent ecclesiastics who could only administer spiritual consolation, and being consequently disappointed of their mirth, beat them and turned them out of the

monastery. Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 67. Under the year 1224.

Rubric. xviii. The same thing is enjoined in the statutes of Winchester college, Rubr. xv. I do not remember any such passage in the statutes of preceding colleges in either university. But this injunction is afterwards adopted in the statutes of Magdalene college; and from thence, if I recollect right, was copied into those of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

b Hearne thus understood the passage. "The wise founder of New college permitted them [metrical chronicles] to be sung by the fellows and scholars upon extraordinary days." Heming. Cartal ii. Append. Numb. ix. § vi. p. 662.

llum c, containing metrical chronicles of our kings; which, m the nature of the composition, seem to have been used for is purpose, and answer our idea of these general Chronica Hearne supposed them to have been written about time of Richard the First d: but I rather assign them to the gn of Edward the First, who died in the year 1307. reader shall judge. The following fragment begins abruptwith some rich presents which king Athelstan received from arles the Third, king of France: a nail which pierced our viour's feet on the cross, a spear with which Charlemagne ight against the Saracens, and which some supposed to be spear which pierced our Saviour's side, a part of the holy oss enclosed in crystal, three of the thorns from the crown our Saviour's head, and a crown formed entirely of precious mes, which were endued with a mystical power of reconciling emies.

Ther in was closyd a nayle grete
That went thorw oure lordis fete.
Gyt he presented hym the spere
That Charles was wont to bere
Agens the Sarasyns in batayle;
Many swore and sayde saunfayle,
That with that spere smerte.
Our lorde was stungen to the herte.
And a party of the holi crosse
In crystal done in a cloos.
And three of the thornes kene
That was in Cristes hede sene,
And a ryche crowne of golde
Non rycher kyng wer y scholde,

Given to him by Mr. Murray. See thing. Chartul. ii. p. 654. And Rob. the. ii. p. 731. Nunc MSS. Bibl. il. Oxon. RAWLINS. Cod. 4to. (E. 87.)

whi supr.

yet, moreover.

without doubt. Fr.

sharp, strong. So in the Lives of

the Saints, MSS. supr. citat. In the Life of S. Edmund.

For Saint Edmund had a smerte zerde, &c.

i. e. "He had a strong rod in his hand, &c."

h part, piece.

Y made within and withowt With pretius stonys alle a bowte, Of eche manir vertu thry i The stonys hadde the maystry To make frendes that evere were fone. Such a crowne was never none, To none erthelyche mon y wrogth Syth God made the world of nogth. Kyng Athelstune was glad and blythe, And thankud the kynge of Ffraunce swythe, Of gyfts nobul and ryche In Crystiante was no hym leche. In his tyme, I understonde, Was Guy of Warwyk yn Inglonde, And ffor Englond dede batayle With a mygti gyande, without fayle; His name was hote Colbrond Gwy hym slough with his hond. Seven yere kyng Athelston Held this his kyngdome In Inglond that ys so mury, He dyedde and lythe at Malmesbury k. After hym regned his brother Edmond And was kyng of Ingelond, And he ne regned here, But unneth nine yere, Sith hyt be falle at a feste At Caunterbury 1 a cas unwrest m,

three.

* To which monastery he gave the fragment of the holy cross given him by the king of France. Rob. Glouc. p. 276.

King Athelston lovede much Malmesbury y wis,

He zef of the holy cross som, that there zut ys.

It is extraordinary that Peter Langtoft should not know where Athelstan was

Buried: and as strange that his translater. Rob. de Brunne should supply this defect by mentioning a report that his body was lately found at Hexham in North-umberland. Chron. p. 32.

1 Rob. of Gloucester says that this happened at Pucklechurch near Bristol. p. 277. But Rob. de Brunne at Capterbury, whither the king went to held the feast of S. Austin. p. 33.

m a wicked mischance.

As the kyng at the mete sat He behelde and under that Of a theef that was desgyse Amonge hys knyghtes god and wise; The kyng was hesty and sterte uppe And hent the thefe by the toppe n And cast hym doune on a ston: The theefe brayde out a knyfe a non And the kyng to the hert threste, Or any of his knightes weste: The baronys sterte up anone, And slough the theefe swythe sone, But arst p he wounded many one, Thrugh the fflesh and thrugh the bone: To Glastenbury they bare the kynge, And ther made his buryinge q. After that Edmund was ded, Reyned his brother Edred; Edred reyned here But unnethe thre yere, &c. After hym reyned seynt Edgare, A wyse kynge and a warre: Thilke nyghte that he was bore, Seynt Dunstan was glad ther fore; Ffor herde that swete stevene Of the angels of hevene: In the songe thei songe bi ryme, "Y blessed be that ylke tyme That Edgare y bore y was, Ffor in hys tyme schal be pas, Ever more in hys kyngdome." The while he liveth and seynt Dunston,

But Rob. of Gloucester says his abbey. p. 278. was brought from Pucklechurch, starred at Glastonbury: and that p. 281.

o perceived. Parest, first. hence the town of Pucklechurch became t Gloucester, says Rob. de Brunne, part of the possessions of Glanstonburg

This song is in Rob. Gl. Chron.

Ther was so meche grete foyson',
Of all good in every tonne;
All wyle that last his lyve,
Ne lored he never fyght ne stryve.

The knyghtes of Wales, all and some Han to swery and othes holde, And trewe to be as y told, To bring trynge hym trewage 'yeare, CCC. wolves eche zere; And so they dyde trewliche Three yere pleyneverlyche, The ferthe yere myght they fynde non So clene thay wer all a gon,

And the kyng hyt hem forgat For he nolde hem greve, Edgare was an holi man That oure lorde, &c.

Although we have taken our leave of Robert de Brunne, yet as the subject is remarkable, and affords a striking portraiture of antient manners, I am tempted to transcribe that chronicler's description of the presents received by king Athelstane from the king of France; especially as it contains some new circumstances, and supplies the defects of our fragment. It is from his version of Peter Langtoft's chronicle above mentioned.

At the feste of oure lady the Assumption,
Went the king fro London to Abindon.
Thider out of France, fro Charles kyng of fame,
Com the of Boloyn, Adulphus was his name,
And the duke of Burgoyn Edmonde sonne Reynere.
The brouht kynge Althelston present withouten pere:
Fro Charles kyng sanz faile thei brouht a gonfaynoun
That saynt Morice in batayle before the legioun;

⁴ provision.

t ready.

d scharp lance that thrilled Jhesu side; id a suerd of golde, in the hilte did men hide to of the nayles that war therh Jhesu fete; iched w on the croys, the blode thei out lete; ad som of the thornes that don were on his heved, and a fair pece that of the croys leved x, at saynt Heleyn sonne at the batayle won the soudan of Askalone his name was Madan. ian blewe the trumpets full loud and full schille, ie kyng com in to the halle that hardy was of wille: ian spak Reyner Edmunde sonne, for he was messengere, Athelstan, my lord the gretes, Charles that has no pere; e sends the this present, and sais, he wille hym bynde the thorh, Ilde thi sistere, and tille alle thi kynde." for the messengers was the maiden brouht, body so gentill was non in erthe wrouht; on non so faire of face, of spech so lusty, ho granted befor tham all to Charles hir body: nd so did the kyng, and alle the baronage, ikelle was the richesse thei purveied in hir passage. nother of these fragments, evidently of the same composiseems to have been an introduction to the whole. with the martyrdom of saint Alban, and passes on to the duction of Wassail, and to the names and division of En-1.

And now he ys alle so hole y fonde,
As whan he was y leyde on grounde.
And gyf ge wille not trow me,
Goth to Westmynstere, and ye mow se.
In that tyme Seynt Albon,
For Goddys love tholed martirdome,

cked, fastened.

thee through."

hron. p. 29. 30. Afterwards folne combat of Guy with "a hogge
) geant, hight Colibrant." As in
agment. p. 31. See Will. Malms.

Gest. Angl. ii. 6. The lance of Charlemagne is to this day shewn among the relies of St. Dennis's in France. Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss. Let. Du-cang. tom. ii. p. 994. edit. 1766.

* believe. * buffered.

And xl. yere with schame and schonde Was drowen^d oute of Englond. In that tyme weteth e welle, Cam ferst Wassayle and drynkehayl In to this lond, with owte wene f, Thurghe a mayde brygh and schene . Sche was cleput i mayde Ynge. For hur many dothe rede and synge Lordyngys gent k and free. This lond hath y hadde namys thre. Ferest hit was cleput Albyon, And syth 1 for Brut Bretayne a non, And now Ynglond cleput hit ys, Aftir mayde Ynge y wysse. Thilke Ynge fro Saxone was come, And with here many a moder sonne, For gret hungure y understonde Ynge went oute of hure londe. And thorow leue of oure kyng In this land sche hadde restyng. As meche lande of the kyng sche bade^m, As with a hole hyde me mygth n sprede, The kyng graunt he bonne? A strong castel sche made sone, And whan the castel was al made, The kyng to the mete sche bade p. The kyng graunted here a none. He wyst not what thay wold done.

And sayde to ham q in this manere, "The kyng to morow schal ete here, He and alle hys men, Ever one of us and one of them,

confusion.

d driven, drawn.

f doubt.

f doubt.

h fair.

granted her request.

called.

granted.

granted her record.

To geder schal sitte at the mete. And when thay have all most y etc. I wole say wassayle to the kyng, And sle hym with oute any leyng. And loke that ye in this manere Eche of gow sle his fere "." And so sche dede thenne, Slowe the kyng and alle hys men. And thus, thorough here queyntyse ", This londe was wonne in this wyse. Syth w a non sone an swythe x Was Engloud deled, on fyve, To fyve kynggys trewelyche, That were nobyl and swythe ryche. That one hadde alle the londe of Kente, That ys free and swythe gente. And in hys lond bysshopus tweye. Worthy men where theye. The archebysshop of Caunturbery, And of Rochestore that ys mery. The kyng of Essex of renon^a He hadde to his portion Westschire, Barkschire, Soussex, Southamptshire. And ther to Dorsetshyre, All Cornewalle and Devenshire, All thys were of hys anpyreb. The king hadde on his hond Five bysshopes starke and strong, Of Salusbury was that on.

o the Mirabilia Mundi, mentioned in the statutes of ollege at Oxford, in conjunction with these Poemata and rum Chronica, the immigrations of the Arabians into and the Crusades produced numberless accounts,

t companion. u stratagem.

y divided.
renown.

b empire.

partly true and partly fabulous, of the wonders seen in the eastern countries; which falling into the hands of the monks, grew into various treatises, under the title of Mirabilia Mundi. There were also some professed travellers into the East in the dark ages, who surprised the western world with their marvellous narratives, which could they have been contradicted would have been believed. At the court of the grand Khan, persons of all nations and religions, if they discovered any distinguished degree of abilities, were kindly entertained and often preferred.

In the Bodleian library we have a superb vellum mannscript, decorated with antient descriptive paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Histoire de Graunt Kaan et des Men*veilles du Monde^d. The same work is among the royal manuscripts^c. A Latin epistle, said to be translated from the Greek by Cornelius Nepos, is an extremely common manuscript, entitled, *De situ et Mirabilibus Indiæ*^c. It is from Alexander the Great to his preceptor Aristotle: and the

The first European traveller who went far Eastward, is Benjamin a Jew of Tudela in Navarre. He penetrated from Constantinople through Alexandria in Ægypt and Persia to the frontiers of Tzin, now China. His travels end in 1173. He mentions the immense wealth of Constantinople; and says that its port swarmed with ships from all countries. He exaggerates in speaking of the prodigious number of Jews in that city. He is full of marvellous and romantic stories. William de Rubruquis, a monk, was sent into Persic Tartary, and by the command of S. Louis king of France, about the year 1245. As was also Carpini, by Pope Innocent the Their books abound with improbabilities. Marco Polo a Venetian nobleman travelled eastward into Syria and Persia to the country constantly called in the dark ages Cathay, which proves to be the northern part of China. This was about the year 1260. His book is entitled De Regionibus Orientis. He mentions the immense and opulent city of Cambalu, undoubtedly Pekin. Hak.

luyt cites a friar, named Oderick, who travelled to Cambalu in Cathay, and whose description of that city corresponds exactly with Pekin. Friar Bacon about 1280, from these travels formed his geography of this part of the globe, as may be collected from what he relates of the Tartars. See Purchas Pilgr. iii. 52. And Bac. Op. Maj. 228. 235.

4 MSS. Bodl. F. 10. fol. pragrand ad calc. Cod. The hand-writing is about the reign of Edward the Third. I am not sure whether it is not Mandeville's book.

Brit Mus. MSS. Bibl. Reg. 19 D

[The royal manuscript is a magnificent copy of the French translation of Marco Polo's travels, which it affirms to have been made in the year 1298.—Enr.]

It was first printed à Jacobo Catalonensi without date or place. Afterwards at Venice 1499. The epistle is inscribed: Alexander Magnus Aristoteli pracritori suo salutem dieu. It was never extant in Greek. Greek original was most probably drawn from some of the fabulous authors of Alexander's story.

There is a manuscript, containing La Chartre que Prestre Jehan maunda a Fredewik l'Empereur de Mervailles de sa TERRES. This was Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, or his successor; both of whom were celebrated for their many successful enterprises in the Holy Land, before the year 1230. Prester John, a Christian, was emperor of India. I find another tract, DE MIRABILIBUS Terræ Sanctæh. A book of Sir John Mandeville, a famous traveller into the East about the year 1340, is under the title of Mirabilia Mundi. His Itinerary might indeed have the same title k. An English title in the Cotton library is, "The Voiage and Travailes of Sir John Maundevile knight, which treateth of the way to Hierusaleme and of the Marveyles of Inde with other ilands and countryes." In the Cotton library there is a piece with the title, Sanctorum Loca, MIRABILIA MUNDI, &c. 1 Afterwards the wonders of other countries were added: and when this sort of reading began to grow fashionable, Gyraldus Cambrensis composed his book De MIRABILIBUS Hiberniæ^m.

Ibid. MSS. Reg. 20 A xii. 3. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. E 4. 3. "Liters Joannis Presbiteri ad Fredericum Imperatorem, &c."

MSS. Reg. 14. C xiii. 3.

i MSS. C. C. C. Cant. A iv. 69. We find De Mirabilibus Mundi Liber, MSS. Reg. ut supr. 13. E ix. 5. And again, De Mirabilibus Mundi et Viris illustribus Tractatus 14. C vi. 3.

* His book is supposed to have been interpolated by the monks. Leland observes, that Asia and Africa were parts of the world at this time "Anglis de sola fere nominis umbra cognitas." Script. Br. p. 366. He wrote his Itinerary in French, English, and Latin. It extends to Cathay, or China, before mentioned. Leland says, that he gave to Becket's shrine in Canterbury cathedral a glass globe enclosing an apple, which he probably brought from the East. Leland saw this curiosity, in which the apple remained fresh and undecayed. Ubi supr. Maundeville, on returning from his tra-

vels, gave to the high altar of S. Alban's abbey church a sort of Patera brought from Ægypt, now in the hands of an ingenious antiquary in London. He was a native of the town of S. Alban's, and a physician. He says that he left many MERVAYLES unwritten; and refers the curious reader to his MAPPA MUNDI, chap. cviii. cix. A history of the Tartars became popular in Europe about the year 1310, written or dictated by Aiton a king of Armenia, who baving traversed the most remarkable countries of the East, turned monk at Cyprus, and published his travels; which, on account of the rank of the author, and his amazing adventures, gained great esteem.

Galb. A xxi. 3.

m It is printed among the Scriptores Hist. Angl. Francof. 1602. fol. 692. Written about the year 1200. It was so favourite a title that we have even DE MIRABILIBUS Veteris et Novi Testamenti. MSS. Coll. Æn. Nas. Oxon. Cod. 12. f. 190. a.

There is also another De Mirabilibus Angliæⁿ. At the superstitious curiosity of the times was gratified with pilations under the comprehensive title of Mirabilia niæ, Angliæ, et Orientalis^o. But enough has been a these infatuations. Yet the history of human creduling necessary speculation to those who trace the gradations man knowledge. Let me add, that a spirit of rational commerce and of a thousand improvements, took its ris these visions.

I close this section with an elegy on the death of kin ward the First, who died in the year 1307.

I.

Alle that beoth of huert trewe^p
A stounde herkneth to my song^q,
Of duel that Deth hath diht us newe.
That maketh me syke ant sorewe amonge;
Of a knyht that wes so strong
Of wham God hath done ys wille;
Me thuncheth^r that Deth has don us wrong
That he^s so sone shall ligge stille.

II.

Al Englond ahte forte knowe:

Of wham that song ys that y synge,

Of Edward kyng that lith so lowe,

Zent al this world is nome con springe;

Trewest mon of al thinge,

Ant in werre war and wys;

For him we ahte oure honden wrynge,

Of Cristendome he ber the pris.

Bibl. Bodl. MSS. C 6.
As in MSS. Reg. 13 D. i. 11. I must not forget that the Polyhistor of Julius Solinus appears in many manuscripts under the title of Solinus de Mirabilibus Mundi. This was so favourite a book, as to be translated into hexameters by

some monk in the twelfth cent cording to Voss. Hist. Latin, iii.

[&]quot; be of true heart."

a little while. meth the king. ough

[&]quot; through. Sax. zent. Yent. " hands.

III,

Byfore that oure kyng wes ded

He speke ase mon that wes in care

"Clerkes, knyhtes, barouns, he sayde
Ycharge ou by oure sware

That ye to Engelonde be trewe,
Y deze y ne may lyven na more;

Helpeth mi sone, ant crowneth him newe,
For he is nest to buen ycore.

JV.

Iche biquethe myn hirte aryht,

That hit be write at mi devys,

Over the sea that hue be diht,

With fourscore knyghtes al of pris,

In werre that buen war ant wys,

Agein the hethene forte fyhte,

To wynne the croiz that lowe lys,

Myself ycholde zef that y myhte."

V.

Kyng of Fraunce! thou hevedest sunne^c,

That thou the counsail woldest fonde,

To latte^d the wille of kyng Edward,

To wende to the holy londe:

That oure kyng hede take on honde,

All Engelond to zeme^c and wysse^f,

To wenden in to the holy londe

To wynnen us heveriche^g blisse,

VI.

The messager to the pope com And seyde that our kyng was ded^h,

-

h He died in Scotland, July 7, 1907. The chroniclers pretend, that the Pope knew of his death the next day by a vision or some miraculous information. So Robert of Brunne, who recommends this tragical event to those who "Singe and

you.

dege. Dryr, die.

mext, to be chosen."

one of his officers [it].

dege. Dryr, die.

cone of his officers [it].

geme, protect.

govern [instruct, teach].

cone

Ys oune honde the lettre he nom k, Ywis is herte wes ful gret: The pope himself the lettre redde, And spec a word of gret honour. "Alas!" he seide, "is Edward ded? Of Cristendome he ber the flour!"

The pope to is chaumbre wende For del ne mihte he speke na more; Ant after cardinales he sende That muche couthen of Cristes lore. Both the lasse ant eke the more Bed hem both rede ant synge: Gret deol me^m myhte se thoreⁿ, Many mon is honde wrynge.

The pope of Peyters stod at is masse With ful gret solempnete, Ther me con of the soule blesse: "Kyng Edward, honoured thou be: God leve thi sone come after the, Bringe to ende that thou hast bygonne, The holy crois ymad of tre So fain thou woldest hit hav ywonne.

IX.

"Jerusalem, thou hast ilore The flour of al chivalerie, Nou kyng Edward liveth na more, Alas, that he yet shulde deye!

p. 340. edit. ut supr.

The Pope the tother day wist it in the court of Rome.

The Pope on the morn bifor the clergi

And tolde tham biforn, the floure of Cristendam

say in romance and ryme." Chron. Was ded and lay on bere, Edward of Ingeland.

> He said with hevy chere, in spirit he it fond.

He adds, that the Pope granted five years of pardon to those who would pray in his. for his soul. i less. men. " there. o began.

He wolde ha rered up ful heyge
Our baners that bueth broht to grounde:
Wel longe we mowe clepe and crie,
Er we such a kyng hav yfounde!"

X.

Now is Edward of Carnarvan^q,

Kyng of Engelond al aplyht^r;

God lete him ner be worse man

Then is fader ne lasse of myht,

To holden is pore men to ryht

Ant understonde good counsail,

Al Engelond for to wisse ant diht

Of gode knightes darh him nout fail.

XI.

Thah mi tonge were mad of stel
Ant min herte yzote of bras
The godness myht y never telle
That with kyng Edward was.
Kyng as thou are cleped conquerour
In vch bataile thou hadest pris,
God bringe thi soule to the honour
That ever wes and ever ys,
[That lesteth ay withouten ende
Bidde we God ant oure ledy
To thilke blisse Jesus us sende. Amen.]^t

That the pope should here pronounce the funeral panegyric of Edward the First, is by no means surprising, if we consider

call.

thar, there.

death, the author unknown." p. 4. Lond. Pr. for T. Davies, 1738. octavo. But this piece, which has great merit, could not have been written till some centuries afterwards. From the classical allusions and general colour of the phraseology, to say nothing more, it with greater probability belongs to Henry the Eighth. It escaped me till just before this work went to press, that Dr. Percy had printed this elegy, Ball. ii. 9.

Edward the Second, born in Carbarvon castle.

MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 73. In a Miscellany called the Muses Library, compiled, as I have been informed, by an ingenious lady of the name of Cooper, there is an elegy on the death of Henry the First, "wrote immediately after his

the predominant ideas of the age. And in the true spirit of these ideas, the poet makes this illustrious monarch's atchievements in the Holy Land, his principal and leading topic. But there is a particular circumstance alluded to in these stanzas, relating to the crusading character of Edward*, together with its consequences, which needs explanation. Edward, in the decline of life, had vowed a second expedition to Jerusalen; but finding his end approach, in his last moments he devoted the prodigious sum of thirty thousand pounds to provide one hundred and forty knights^u, who should carry his heart into Palestine. But this appointment of the dying king was never executed. Our elegist, and the chroniclers, impute the crime of withholding so pious a legacy to the advice of the king of France, whose daughter Isabel was married to the succeeding king. But it is more probable to suppose, that Edward the Second, and his profligate minion Piers Gaveston, dissipated the money in their luxurious and expensive pleasures.

• [It appears that king Edward the First, about the year 1271, took his HAR-FER with him to the Holy Land. This officer was a close and constant attendant of his master: for when Edward was wounded with a poisoned knife at Ptolemais, the harper, citharcda suus, hearing the struggle, rushed into the royal apartment, and killed the assassin. Chron. Walt. Hemingford, cap. xxxv. p. 591.

Apud V Histor. Anglic. Scriptor. vol. ii. Oxon. 1687. fol.—Additions.

[After the king himself had slain the assassin [his harper] had the singular courage to brain a dead man with a trivet or tripod, for which act of heroism he was justly reprimanded by Edward. Ritson.]

" The poet says eighty.

SECTION III.

WE have seen, in the preceding section, that the character of our poetical composition began to be changed about the reign of the first Edward: that either fictitious adventures were substituted by the minstrels in the place of historical and traditionary facts, or reality disguised by the misrepresentations of invention; and that a taste for ornamental and even exotic expression gradually prevailed over the rude simplicity of the native English phraseology. This change, which with our language affected our poetry, had been growing for some time; and among other causes was occasioned by the introduction and increase of the tales of chivalry.

The ideas of chivalry, in an imperfect degree, had been of old established among the Gothic tribes. The fashion of challenging to single combat, the pride of seeking dangerous adventures, and the spirit of avenging and protecting the fair sex, seem to have been peculiar to the Northern nations in the most uncultivated state of Europe. All these customs were afterwards encouraged and confirmed by corresponding circumstances in the feudal constitution. At length the Crusades excited a new spirit of enterprise, and introduced into the courts and ceremonies of European princes a higher degree of splendor and parade, caught from the riches and magnificence of eastern cities². These oriental expeditions established a taste for hyperbolical description, and propagated an infinity of marvellous tales, which men returning from distant coun-

Jerusalem. Aussi la France commença de son temps a s'embellir de bastimens plus magnifiques: prendre plaisir a pierrieres, et autres delicatesses goustus en Levant par luy, ou les seigneurs qui avoient ja fait ce voyage. De sorte qu'on

I cannot help transcribing here a curious passage from old Fauchet. He is speaking of Louis the young, king of France about the year 1150. "Le quel fut le premier roy de sa maison, qui anonstra dehors ses richesses allant en

tries easily imposed on credulous and ignorant minds. The unparalleled emulation with which the nations of Christendoma universally embraced this holy cause, the pride with whice emperors, kings, barons, earls, bishops, and knights, strowe to excel each other on this interesting occasion, not only in prowess and heroism, but in sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognisances, splendid pavilions, and other expensive articles of a similar nature, diffused a love of war, and a fondness for military pomp. Hence their very diversions became warlike, and the martial enthusiasm of the times appeared in tilts and tournaments. These practices and opinions co-operated with the kindred superstitions of dragons, dwarfs, fairies, giants, and enchanters, which the traditions of the Gothic scalders had already planted; and produced that extraordinary species of composition which has been called ROMANCE.

Before these expeditions into the East became fashionable, the principal and leading subjects of the old fablers were the atchievements of king Arthur with his knights of the round table, and of Charlemagne with his twelve peers. But in the romances written after the holy war, a new set of champions, of conquests and of countries, were introduced. Trebizonde took place of Rouncevalles, and Godfrey of Bulloigne, Solyman, Nouraddin, the caliphs, the souldans, and the cities of Ægypt and Syria, became the favourite topics*. The trou-

peut dire qu'il a este le premier tenant Cour de grand Roy: estant si magnifique, que sa femme dedaignant la simplicité de ses predecesseurs, luy fit elever une sepulture d'argent, au lieu de pierre." Recueil de la Lang. et Poes. Fr. ch. viii. p. 76. edit. 1581. He adds, that a great number of French romances were composed about this period.

b See Kircher's Mund. Subterran. viii. § 4. He mentions a knight of Rhodes made grand master of the order for killing a dragon, 1345.

* [Though this passage has been the subject of severe animadversion, and characterized as containing nothing but "random assertion, falsehood and im-

position," there are few of its positions which a more temperate spirit of criticism might not reconcile with the truth The popularity of Arthur's story anterior to the first Crusade, is abundantly manifested by the language of William of Malmesbury and Alanus de Insulis; who refer to it as a fable of common notoriety and general belief among the people. Had it arisen within their own days, we may be certain that Malmesbury, who rejected it as beneath the dignity of history, would not have suffered an objection so well founded, as the novelty of its appearance, to have escaped his censure; nor can the narrative of Alanus be reconciled with the general

bedours of Provence, an idle and unsettled race of men, took up arms, and followed their barons in prodigious multitudes to the conquest of Jerusalem. They made a considerable part of the houshold of the nobility of France. Louis the Seventh, king of France, not only entertained them at his court very liberally, but commanded a considerable company of them into his retinue, when he took ship for Palestine, that they might solace him with their songs during the dangers and inconveniencies of so long a voyage. The antient chronicles of France mention Legions de poetes as embarking in this wonderful enterprise. Here a new and more copious source of fabling was opened: in these expeditions they picked up numberless extravagant stories, and at their return enriched

Progress of traditionary faith—a plant of ardy growth—if we limit its first pubicity to the period thus prescribed (1096-1142). With regard to Charlemagne and his peers, as their deeds were chaunted by Talliefer at the battle of Hastings (1066), it would be needless to Offer further demonstrations of their early **Popularity**; nor in fact does the accuracy of this part of Warton's statement ap-Peer to be called in question by the wrialluded to. It would be more difficalt to define the degree in which these romances were superseded by similar Poems on the achievements of the Crutaders; or, to use the more cautious lanrage of the text, to state how far "Trebisonde took place of Roncevalles." But it will be recollected that in consequence of the Crusades, the action of several robances was transferred to the Holy Land, toch as Sir Bevis, Sir Guy, Sir Isumbru, the King of Tars, &c.: and that most of these were "favorite topics" in high esteem, is clear from the declaration of Claucer, who catalogued them among be "romances of Pris." In short, if we cont the names of the caliphs, and conine ourselves to the Soldans—a generic name used by our early writers for every successive ruler of the East—and the zices of Egypt and Syria, this rhapody, as it has been termed, will contain offing which is not strictly demontrable by historical evidence, or the

language of the old romancers.—The Life of Godfrey of Boulogne was written in French verse by Gregory Bechada, about the year 1130. It is usually supposed to have perished; unless, indeed, it exist in a poem upon the same subject by Wolfram Von Eschenbach, who generally founded his romances upon a French or Provençal original.—Edit.]

^c Velley, Hist. Fr. sub an. 1178.

d Massieu, Hist. Poes. Fr. p. 105. Many of the troubadours, whose works now exist, and whose names are recorded, accompanied their lords to the holy war. Some of the French nobility of the first rank were troubadours about the eleventh century: and the French critics with much triumph observe, that it is the GLORY of the French poetry to number counts and dukes, that is sovereigns, among its professors, from its commencem What a glory! The worshipfull company of Merchant-taylors in London, if I recollect right, boast the names of many dukes, earls, and princes, enrolled in their community. This is indeed an honour to that otherwise respectable so-But poets can derive no lustre from counts, and dukes, or even princes, who have been enrolled in their lists; only in proportion as they have adorned the art by the excellence of their compositions.

romance with an infinite variety of Oriental scenes and fictions. Thus these later wonders, in some measure, supplanted the former: they had the recommendation of novelty, and guited still more attention, as they came from a greater distance.

In the mean time we should recollect, that the Saracens or Arabians, the same people which were the object of the Crusades, had acquired an establishment in Spain about the ninth century: and that by means of this earlier intercourse, many of their fictions and fables, together with their literature, must have been known in Europe before the Christian armies invaded Asia. It is for this reason the elder Spanish romances have professedly more Arabian allusions than any other. Cervantes makes the imagined writer of Don Quixote's history Arabian. Yet exclusive of their domestic and more immediate connection with this eastern people, the Spaniards from temper and constitution were extravagantly fond of chivalrous exer-Some critics have supposed, that Spain having learned the art or fashion of romance-writing, from their naturalised guests the Arabians, communicated it, at an early period, to the rest of Europe f.

It has been imagined that the first romances were composed in metre, and sung to the harp by the poets of Provence & festival solemnities: but an ingenious Frenchman, who has made deep researches into this sort of literature, attempts to prove, that this mode of reciting romantic adventures was in

goes so far as to derive the origin of the French poetry and romances from the Crusades. Hist. p. 416, 417.

[Geoffrey of Vincsauf says, that when king Richard the First arrived at the Christian camp before Ptolemais, he was received with populares Cantiones, which recited Antiquorum Præclara Gesta. It. Hierosol. cap. ii. p. 332. ibid.—Additions.]

Huet in some measure adopts this opinion. But that learned man was a very incompetent judge of these matters. Under the common term Romance, he confounds romances of chivalry, romances of gallantry, and all the fables

of the Provencial poets. What can we think of a writer, who having touched upon the gothic romances, at whose setions and barbarisms he is much shocked, talks of the consummate degree of art and elegance to which the French are at present arrived in romances? He adds, that the superior refinement and politesse of the French gallantry has happily given them an advantage of shining in this species of composition. Hist. Rom. p. 158. But the sophistry and ignorance of Huet's Treatise has been already detected and exposed by a critic of another cast in the Supplement to Jarvis's Preface, prefixed to the Translation of Don Quirole.



nigh reputation among the natives of Normandy, above a century before the troubadours of Provence, who are generally supposed to have led the way to the poets of Italy, Spain, and France, and that it commenced about the year 1162. If the critic means to insinuate, that the French troubadours acquired their art of versifying from these Norman bards, this reasoning will favour the system of those, who contend that metrical romances lineally took their rise from the historical odes of the Scandinavian scalds: for the Normans were a branch of the Scandinavian stock. But Fauchet, at the same time that he allows the Normans to have been fond of chanting the praises of their heroes in verse, expressly pronounces that they borrowed this practice from the Franks or French.

It is not my business, nor is it of much consequence, to discuss this obscure point, which properly belongs to the French antiquaries. I therefore proceed to observe, that our Richard the First, who began his reign in the year 1189, a distinguished hero of the Crusades, a most magnificent patron of chivalry, and a Provencial poet, invited to his court many minstrels or

Mons. L'Eveque de la Ravaliere, in his Revolutions de Langue Françoise, de suite des Poesses du Ros de Na-

des François." Rec. liv. i. p. 70. edit. 1581.

P. 28. 29. And Mr. Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, i. 5. See also Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, ch. vii. P. 73. edit. 1693. Savarie de Mauleon, English gentleman who lived in the service of Saint Louis king of France, and one of the Provencial poets, said of Richard.

Cobles a teira faire adroitement Pou vos oillez enten dompna gentiltz.

"He could make stanzas on the eyes

f gentle ladies." Rymer, ibid. p. 74.

There is a curious story recorded by the

French chroniclers, concerning Richard's

kill in the minstrel art, which I will here

clate.—Richard, in his return from the

Turade, was taken prisoner about the

year 1193. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was imprisoned. Blondell de Nesle, Richard's favourite minstrel, resolved to find out his lord; and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained in custody. Here he found that the castle belonged to the Duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before a window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson, which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song, he knew it was Blondell who sung it; and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it. On this, Blondell returned home to England, and acquainted Richard's berons with the place of his imprisonment, from which he was soon afterwards released. See also Fauchet, Rec. p. 93. Rirewards. These poets imported into England a great multitude of their tales and songs; which before or about the reign of Edward the Second became familiar and popular among our ancestors, who were sufficiently acquainted with the French language. The most early notice of a professed book of chivalry in England, as it should seem, appears under the reign

chard lived long in Provence, where he acquired a taste for their poetry. The only relic of his sonnets is a small fragment in old French accurately cited by Mr. Walpole, and written during his captivity; in which he remonstrates to his men and barons of England, Normandy, Poictiers, and Gascony, that they suffered him to remain so long a prisoner. Catal. Roy. and Nob. Auth. i. S. Nostradamus's account of Richard is full of false facts and anachronisms. Poet. Provenc. artic. RICHARD.

[There is too much reason to believe this story of Blondell and his illustrious patron to be purely apocryphal. The poem published by Walpole is written in the Provençal language, and a Norman version of it is given by M. Sismondi, in his "Literature du Midi," vol. i. p. 149. In which of these languages it was originally composed remains a matter of dispute among the French antiquaries.—Edit.]

joculatores muneribus allexerat." Rog. Hoved. Ric. i. p. 340. These gratuities were chiefly arms, cloaths, horses, and sometimes money.

On a review of this passage in Hoveden, it appears to have been William bishop of Ely, chancellor to king Richard the First, who thus invited minstrels from France, whom he loaded with favours and presents to sing his praises in the But it does not much alter the doctrine of the text, whether he or the king was instrumental in importing the French minstrels into England. This passage is in a letter of Hugh bishop of Coventry, which see also in Hearne's Benedictus Abbas, vol. ii. p. 704. sub ann. 1191. It appears from this letter, that he was totally ignorant of the English language. ibid. p. 708. By his co.

temporary Gyraldus Cambrensis, he represented as a monster of injustice, implety, intemperance, and lust. Gyraldus has left these anecdotes of his character, which shew the scandalous grossness of the times. " Sed taceo quod ruminare solet, nunc clamitat Anglia tota, qualiter puella, matris industria tam coma quam cultu puerum professa, simulansque virum verbis et vultu, al cubiculum belluse istius est perducts Sed statim ut exosi illius sexus est inventa, quanquam in se pulcherrime, thelamique thorique deliciis valde idones, repudiata tamen est et abjecta. Unde « in crastino, matri filia, tam flagiticsi 🗗 cinoris conscia, cum Petitionis efects, terrisque non modicis candem jure burditario contingentibus, virgo, ut venent, est restituta. Tantæ nimirum intemperantiæ, et petulantiæ fuerat tam immoderatze, quod quotidie in prandio circa finem, pretiosis tam potionibus quam & bariis ventre distento, virga aliquantului longa in capite aculeum præferente putros nobiles ad mensam ministrantes, 🕹 que propter multimodam qua fungebet potestatem in omnibus ad nutum obesquentes, pungere vicissim consuevera: ut eo indicio, quasi signo quodam secretiore, quem fortius, inter alies, atque frequentius sic quasi ludicro pungeba, &c. &c." De Vit. Galfrin. Archiepiscop. Ebor. Apud Whart. Angl. Sacs. vol. ii. p. 406. But Wharton endeavours to prove, that the character of this great prelate and statesman in many particulars had been misrepresented through prejudice and envy. Ibid. vol. i. p. 632. It seems the French minstrels, with

whom the Song of ROLAND originated,

were famous about this period. Mura-

tori cites an old history of Bologna, un-

der the year 1288, by which it appears

that they swarmed in the streets of Italy.

Henry the Third; and is a curious and evident proof of the rotation and esteem in which this sort of composition was ld at that period. In the revenue roll of the twenty-first ir of that king, there is an entry of the expence of silver sps and studs for the king's great book of romances. This in the year 1237. But I will give the article in its original ss. "Et in firmaculis hapsis et clavis argenteis ad magnum rum Romancis regist." That this superb volume was in ench, may be partly collected from the title which they re it: and it is highly probable, that it contained the Ronce of Richard the First, on which I shall enlarge below. least the victorious achievements of that monarch were so

R CANTATORES FRANCIGENARUM in eis comunis ad cantandum morari persent." On which words he ob-" Colle quali parole sembra vemile, che sieno disegnati i cantatore favole romanze, che spezialmente della mais erano portate in Italia." Dis-B. ANTICHIT. Ital. tom. ii. c. xxix. 6. In Napoli, 1752. He adds, that minstrels were so numerous in nce, as to become a pest to the comity; and that an edict was issued st the year 1200, to suppress them hat kingdom. Muratori, in further of this point, quotes the above age from Hoveden; which, as I had e, he misapplies to our king Richard First. But, in either sense, it equally s his argument. In the year 1934, feast on Easter Sunday, celebrated Rimini, on occasion of some noble ions receiving the honour of knighti, more than one thousand five hunl mistriours are said to have attend-"Triumphus quidem maximus fuit un, &c.—Fuit etiam multitudo Hiswum circa mille quingentos et ul-" Annal Cæsenat. tom. xiv. Rer. LEC. SCRIPTOR. col. 1141. But their stries are not specified. In the year 7, at a feast in the palace of the archop of Genoa, a sumptuous banquet vestments without number were gito the minstrels, or Joculatores, then ent, who came from Lombardy, rence, Tuscany, and other countries. eri Ankal. Genurns. lib. vi. p. 449.

D. Apud Tom. vi. ut supr. In the year 774, when Charlemagne entered Italy and found his passage impeded, he was met by a minstrel of Lombardy, whose song promised him success and victory. "Contigit Joculatoram ex Longobardorum gente ad Carolum venire, et Cantiunculam a se compositam, rotando in conspectu suorum, cantare." Tom. ii. P. 2. ut supr. Chron. Monast. Noval. lib. iii. cap. x. p. 717. D.

To recur to the origin of this Note. Rymer, in his Short View of Tragent, on the notion that Hoveden is here speaking of king Richard, has founded a theory, which is consequently false, and is otherwise but imaginary. See p. 66. 67. 69. 74. He supposes, that Richard, in consequence of his connection with Raimond count of Tholouse, encouraged the heresy of the Albigenses; and that therefore the historian Hoveden, as an ecclesiastic, was interested in abusing Richard, and in insinuating, that his reputation for poetry rested only on the venal praises of the French minstrels. The words quoted are, indeed, written by a churchman, although not by Hoveden. But whatever invidious turn they bear, they belong, as we have seen, to quite another person; to a bishop who justly deserved such an indirect stroke of satire, for his criminal enormities, not for any vein pretensions to the character of a Provencial songster.—Additions. ^k Rot. Pip. an. 21. Henr. III.

famous in the reign of Henry the Third, as to be made the subject of a picture in the royal palace of Clarendon new Salisbury. A circumstance which likewise appears from the same ancient record, under the year 1246. "Et in camera regis subtus capellam regis apud Clarendon lambruscanda, « muro ex transverso illius cameræ amovendo et hystoria Antiochiæ in eadem depingenda cum duello regis Ricardi." To these anecdotes we may add, that in the Royal library at Paris there is, "Lancelot du Lac mis en François par Robert de Borron, du commandement d'Henri roi de Angleterre avec figures"." And the same manuscript occurs twice again in that library in three volumes, and in four volumes of the largest folion. Which of our Henrys it was who thus commanded the romance of Lancelot Du Lac to be translated into French, is indeed uncertain: but most probably it was Henry the Third just mentioned, as the translator Robert Borron* is placed soon after the year 1200°.

But not only the pieces of the French minstrels, written in French, were circulated in England about this time; but translations of these pieces were made into English, which containing much of the French idiom, together with a sort of poetical phraseology before unknown, produced various innovations in our style. These translations, it is probable, were

¹ Rot. Pip. an. 36. Henr. III. Richard the First performed great feats at the siege of Antioch in the Crusade. The Duellum was another of his exploits among the Saracens. Compare Walpole's Anecd. Paint. i. 10. Who mentions a certain great book borrowed for the queen, written in French, containing Gesta Antiochiæ et regum aliorum, &c. This was in the year 1249. He adds, that there was a chamber in the old palace of Westminster painted with this history, in the reign of Henry the Third, and therefore called the Antioch Chamber: and another in the Tower.

^m Cod. 6783. fol. max. See Montfauc.
Cat. MSS. p. 785 a.
ⁿ See Montf. ibid.
ⁿ See Note A. at the end of the sec-

tion. - Frat.

^o Among the infinite number of old manuscript French romances on this subject in the same noble repository, the learned Montfaucon recites, "Le Roman de Tristan et Iseult traduit de Latin en François par Lucas chevalier sieur du chastel du Gast pres de Salisben, Anglois, avec figures." Cod. 6776. fol max. And again, "Livres de Tristan mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat." Cod. 6956seq. fol. max. In another article, this translator, the chevalier Lucas, of whom I can give no account, is called Huc or Hue. [Luc?] Cod. 6976. seq. Nor do I know of any castle, or place, of this name near Salisbury. See also Cod. 7174.

enlarged with additions, or improved with alterations of the story. Hence it was that Robert de Brunne, as we have already seen, complained of strange and quaint English, of the changes made in the story of SIR TRISTRAM, and of the liberties assumed by his cotemporary minstrels in altering facts and coining new phrases. Yet these circumstances enriched our tongue, and extended the circle of our poetry. And for what reason these fables were so much admired and encouraged, in preference to the languid poetical chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne, it is obvious to conjecture. The gallantries of chivalry were exhibited with new splendour. and the times were growing more refined. The Norman fashions were adopted even in Wales. In the year 1176, a splendid carousal, after the manner of the Normans, was given by a Welsh prince. This was Rhees ap Gryffyth king of South Wales, who at Christmas made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan, then called Aberteivi, which he ordered to be proclaimed throughout all Britain; and to "which came many strangers, who were honourably received and worthily entertained, so that no man departed discontented. And smong deeds of arms and other shewes, Rhees caused all the poets of Wales^p to come thither: and provided chairs for them to be set in his hall, where they should dispute together

In illustration of the argument pursmed in the text we may observe, that shout this time the English minstrels flourished with new honours and rewards. At the magnificent marriage of the countess of Holland, daughter of Edward the First, every king minstrel received xl. shillings. See Anstis Ord. Gart. ii. p. 303. And Dugd. Mon. i. 355. In the same reign a multitude of minetrels attended the ceremony of latighting prince Edward on the feast of Pentecost. They entered the hall, while the king was sitting at dinner surrounded with the new knights. Nic. Trivet. Anmal. p. 342. edit. Oxon. The whole number knighted was two hundred and sixtyseven. Dugd. Bar. i. 80. b. Robert de Brunne says, this was the greatest royal feast since king Arthur's at Carleon:

concerning which he adds, "therof yit men rime." p. 332. In the wardroberoll of the same prince, under the year 1306, we have this entry. "Will. Fox et Cradoco socio suo CANTATORIBUS CADtantibus coram Principe et aliie mugnatibus in comitiva sua existente apud London, &c. xxx." Again, "Willo Ffox et Cradoco socio suo cantantibu in presentia principis et al. Magnatumi apud London de dono ejusdem dni per manus Johis de Ringwode, &c. 8. die jan. xxs." Afterwards, in the same roll four shillings are given, "Ministrallo comitisse Mareschal facienti menestralciam suam coram principe, &c. in comitiva sua existent. apud Penreth." Comp. Garderob. Edw. Princip. Wall. ann. 35. Edw. I. This I chiefly cite to shew the greatness of the gratuity. Minstrels were

to try their cunning and gift in their several faculties, where great rewards and rich giftes were appointed for the overcomers q." Tilts and tournaments, after a long disuse, were revived with superiour lustre in the reign of Edward the First. Roger earl of Mortimer, a magnificent baron of that reign, erected in his stately castle of Kenelworth a Round Table, # which he restored the rites of king Arthur. He entertained in this castle the constant retinue of one hundred knights, and as many ladies; and invited thither adventurers in chivalry from every part of Christendom'. These fables were therefore an image of the manners, customs, mode of life, and favourite amusements, which now prevailed, not only in France but in England, accompanied with all the decorations which fancy could invent, and recommended by the graces of romantic fiction. They complimented the ruling passion of the time, and cherished in a high degree the fashionable sentiments of deal honour, and fantastic fortitude.

Among Richard's French minstrels, the names only of three are recorded. I have already mentioned Blondell de Nesle. Fouquet of Marseilles, and Anselme Fayditt, many of whose compositions still remain, were also among the poets patronised and entertained in England by Richard. They are both cele-

part of the establishment of the houshold of our nobility before the year 1307. Thomas earl of Lancaster allows at Christmas, cloth, or vestis liberata, to his houshold minstrels at a great expence, in the year 1314. Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 134. edit. 1618. See supr. p. 95. Soon afterwards the minstrels claimed such privileges that it was thought necessary to reform them by an edict, in 1315. See Hearne's Append. Leland. Collectan. vi. 36. Yet, as I have formerly remarked in OBSERVATIONS ON Spenser's FAIRRIE QUEENE, we find a person in the character of a minstrel entering Westminster-hall on horseback while Edward the Second was solemnizing the feast of Pentecest as above, and presenting a letter to the king. See Walsing. Hist. Angl. Franc. p. 109.

^q Powell's Wales, 237. edit. 1584.

Who adds, that the bards of "Northwales won the prize, and amonge the musicians Rees's owne boushold men were counted best." Rhees was one of the Welsh princes who, the preceding year, attended the parliament at Oxford, and were magnificently entertained in the castle of that city by Henry the Second. Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. edit. iii. p. 302. It may not be foreign to our present purpose to mention here, that Henry the Second, in the year 1179, was entertained by Welsh bards at Pembroke castle in Wales in his pe sage into Ireland. Powell, ut supr. p. 238. The subject of their songs was the history of king Arthur. See Selden on Polyola s. iii. p. 53.

Drayton's Heroic. Epist. Mont. Isanet. v. 53. And Notes ibid. from Walsingham.

brated and sometimes imitated by Dante and Petrarch. Fayditt, a native of Avignon, united the professions of music and verse; and the Provencials used to call his poetry de bon mots e de bon son. Petrarch is supposed to have copied, in his TRIUMFO DI AMORE, many strokes of high imagination, from a poem written by Fayditt on a similar subject; particularly in his description of the Palace of Love. But Petrarch has not left Fayditt without his due panegyric: he says that Fayditt's tongue was shield, helmet, sword, and spear. He is likewise in Dante's Paradise. Fayditt was extremely profuse and voluptuous. On the death of king Richard, he travelled on foot for near twenty years, seeking his fortune; and during this long pilgrimage he married a nun of Aix in Provence, who was young and lively, and could accompany her husband's tales and sonnets with her voice. Fouquett de Marseilles had a beautiful person, a ready wit, and a talent for singing: these popular accomplishments recommended him to the courts of king Richard, Raymond count of Tholouse, and Beral de Baulx; where, as the French would say, il fit les delices de cour. He fell in love with Adelasia the wife of Beral, whom he celebrated in his songs. One of his poems is entitled, Las complanchas de Beral. On the death of all his lords, he received absolution for his sin of poetry, turned monk, and at length was made archbishop of Tholouse'. But among the

Triunf. Am. c. iv.

his disease and her kindness, had just time to say inarticulately, that having seen her he died satisfied. The countess made him a most splendid funeral, and erected to his memory a tomb of porphyry, incribed with an epitaph in Arabian verse. She commanded his sonnets to be richly copied and illuminated with letters of gold; was seized with a profound melancholy, and turned nun. I will endeavour to translate one of the sonnets which he made on his voyage. Yral et dolent m'en partray, &c. It has some pathos and sentiment, "I should depart pensive, but for this love of mine so far away; for I know not what difficulties I have to encounter, my native land being so far away. Thou who hast

⁴ See Beauchamps, Recherch. Theatr. Fr. Paris, 1735. p. 7. 9. It was Jeffrey, Richard's brother, who patronised Jeffrey Rudell, a famous troubadour of Provence, who is also celebrated by Petrarch. This poet had heard, from the adventurers in the Crusades, the beauty of a countess of Tripoly highly extolled. He became enamoured from imaginaa: embarked for Tripoly, fell sick in the voyage through the fever of expectation, and was brought on shore at Tripoly half expiring. The countess, having received the news of the arrival of this gallant stranger, hastened to the shore and took him by the hand. He opened his eyes; and at once overpowered by

many French minstrels invited into England by Richard, it is natural to suppose, that some of them made their magnificent and heroic patron a principal subject of their compositions. And this subject, by means of the constant communication between both nations, probably became no less fashionable in France: especially if we take into the account the general popularity of Richard's character, his love of chivalry, his gallantry in the Crusades, and the favours which he so liberally conferred on the minstrels of that country. We have a romance now remaining in English rhyme, which celebrates the achievements of this illustrious monarch. It is entitled RICHARD CUER DU LYON, and was probably translated from the French about the period above mentioned. That it was, at least, translated from the French, appears from the Prologue.

In Fraunce these rymes were wroht, Every Englyshe ne knew it not.

From which also we may gather the popularity of his story, in these lines.

King Richard is the beste 'That is found in any geste ".

made all things, and who formed this love of mine so far away, give me strength of body, and then I may hope to see this love of mine so far away. Surely my love must be founded on true merit, as I love one so far away! If I am easy for a moment, yet I feel a thousand pains for her who is so far away. No other love ever touched my heart than this for her so far away. A fairer than she never touched any heart, either near, or far away." Every fourth line ends with du luench. See Nostradamus, &c.

[The original poem, of which the above is only a fragment, will be found in the third volume of M. Raynouard's "Choix des Poesies Originales des Troubadours." The seeming inaccuracies of Warton's translation may have arisen from the varied readings of his original text. The fragment published by M. Sismondi, differs essentially from the larger poem given by M. Raynouard.—Edit.]

" Fayditt is said to have written a Chant funebre on his death. Bess-champs, ib. p. 10.

[For specimens of the poetry of Folquet de Marseille and Gaucelm Faidit, the reader is referred to the third volume of M. Raynouard's excellent work already noticed. The second volume contains a prose translation of Faidit's Pleak on the death of Richard I.—Enr.]

This agrees with what Hoveden says, ubi supr. "Dicebatur ubique qued non erat talis in orbe."

Impr. for W. C. 4to. It contains Sign. A 1.—Q iii. There is another edition impr. W. de Worde, 4to. 1528. There is a manuscript copy of it in Caina College at Cambridge, A 9.

[Among Crynes's books in the Bodleian library is a copy of king Richard's romance, printed by W. de Worde in 1509. Cr. 734. 8vo. This edition was in the Harleian library.—Additions.]

That this romance, either in French or English, existed before the year 1300, is evident from its being cited by Robert of Gloucester, in his relation of Richard's reign.

In Romance of him imade me it may finde iwrite.

This tale is also mentioned as a romance of some antiquity among other famous romances, in the prologue of a voluminous etrical translation of Guido de Colonna, attributed to Liderte. It is likewise frequently quoted by Robert de Brunne, be wrote much about the same time with Robert of Gloucester.

Whan Philip tille Acres cam litelle was his dede, The Romance sais gret sham who so that pas wil rede.

Chron. p. 487.

Many speken of men that romaunces rede, &c.

Of Bevys, Gy, and Gawayne, Of KYNG RYCHARD, and Owayne, Of Tristram, and Percyvayle, Of Rowland ris, and Aglavaule, Of Archeroun, and of Octavian, Of Charles, and of Cassibedlan, Of K | H | eveloke, Horne, and of Wade, In romances that of hem bi made That gestours dos of him gestes At mangeres and at great festes, Here dedis ben in remembraunce, In many fair romaunce. But of the worthiest wyght in wede, That ever bystrod any strede Spekes no man, ne in romaunce redes, Off his battayle ne of his dedes; Off that battayle spekes no man, There all prowes of knyghtes began, Thet was forsothe of the batayle Thet at Troyr was saunfayle, Of swythe a fyght as ther was one, &c. Ffor ther were in thet on side, Mati kynges and dukes of pride.— And there was the best bodi in dede That ever yit wered wedc, Sithen the world was made so ferre,

That was Ecror in eche werre, &c.

Laud. K 76. f. 1. fol. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.

Cod. membr. Whether this poem was written by Lidgate, I shall not enquire at present. I shall only say here, that it is totally different from either of Lidgate's two poems on the Theban and Trojan Wars; and that the manuscript,

which is beautifully written, appears to be of the age of Henry the Sixth.

[By the way, it appears from this quotation, that there was an old romance called Wadz. Wade's Bote is mentioned in Chaucer's Marchaunts Tale, v. 940. p. 68. Urr.

And eke these olde wivis, god it wote, They connin so much crafte in Wadis bote. Again, Tron. Crass. iii. 615.

He songe, she plaide, he tolde a tale of Wadc.

Where, says the glossarist, "A romantick story, famous at that time, of one Wade, who performed many strange exploits, and met with many wonderful adventures in his Boat Guigelet." Speght says, that Wade's history was long and fabulous.—Additions.

[The story of Wade is also alluded to in the following passage taken from the Romance of Sir Bevis:

Swiche bataile ded neuer non Cristene man of flesch and bon— Of a dragoun thar beside, That Beues slough ther in that tide, Saue Sire Launcelot de Lake, He faught with a fur-drake, And Wade dede also, And neuer knightes boute thai to.

The connection between Wade, and a hero bearing a similar name in the Wilkina Saga wil be noticed elsewhere.—
Edit.]

² Passus. Compare Percy's Ball. ii. 66. 398. edit 1767.

The Romance of Richard sais he wan the toun.—
He tellis in the Romance sen Acres wonnen was
How God gaf him fair chance at the bataile of Caifas.—
Sithen at Japhet was slayn fanuelle his stede
The Romans tellis gret pas of his douhty dede.—
Soudan so curteys never drank no wyne,
The same the romans sais that is of Richardyn.
In prisoun was he bounden, as the romance sais,
In cheynes and lede wonden that hevy was of peis.—

I am not indeed quite certain, whether or no in some of these instances, Robert de Brunne may not mean his French original Peter Langtoft. But in the following lines he manifestly refers to our romance of RICHARD, between which and Langtoft's chronicle he expressly makes a distinction. And in the conclusion of the reign,

I knowe no more to ryme of dedes of kyng Richard: Who so wille his dedes all the sothe se,
The romance that men reden ther is propirte.
This that I have said it is Pers sawe.
Als he in romance h lad ther after gan I drawe.

It is not improbable that both these rhyming chroniclers cite from the English translation: if so, we may fairly suppose that this romance was translated in the reign of Edward the First, or his predecessor Henry the Third. Perhaps earlier. This circumstance throws the French original to a still higher period.

In the royal library at Paris, there is "Histoire de Richard Roi d'Angleterre et de Maquemore d'Irlande en rimet."

^a Percy's Ball. ii. p. 157. ^b Ibid. ^c p. 175.

[Warton's conjecture is perfectly correct in most of these instances. They contain allusions to circumstances which are unnoticed by Langtoft.—Epr.]

d Percy's Ball. ii. p. 175.

^e Ibid. p. 188. (p. 198.

I anglost."

The words of my original Peter

I anglost."

In French.

I p. 205. Du Cange recites an old French manuscript prose romance, entitled Histoire de la Mort de Richard Roy d'Angleterre. Gloss. Lat. Ind. Aucr. i. p. cxci. There was one, perhaps the same, among the manuscripts of the late Mr. Martin of Palgrave in Suffolk.

k Num. 7532.

[An account of this romance will be found in Mr. Strutt's Regal Antiquities.

Richard is the last of our monarchs whose achievements were adorned with fiction and fable. If not a superstitious belief of the times, it was an hyperbolical invention started by the minstrels, which soon grew into a tradition, and is gravely recorded by the chroniclers, that Richard carried with him to the Crusades king Arthur's celebrated sword Caliburn, and that he presented it as a gift, or relic, of inestimable value to Tancred king of Sicily, in the year 1191. Robert of Brunne calls this sword a jewel^m.

And Richard at that time gaf him a faire juelle, The gude swerd Caliburne which Arthur luffed so well. a

Indeed the Arabian writer of the life of the sultan Saladin, mentions some exploits of Richard almost incredible. Lord Lyttelton justly observes, this historian is highly valuable on account of the knowledge he had of the facts which he re-It is from this writer we learn, in the most authentic manner, the actions and negotiations of Richard in the course of the enterprise for the recovery of the Holy Land, and all the particulars of that memorable war.

But before I produce a specimen of Richard's English romance, I stand still to give some more extracts from its Prologues, which contain matter much to our present purpose: as they have very fortunately preserved the subjects of many romances, perhaps metrical, then fashionable both in France and England. And on these therefore, and their origin, I shall take this opportunity of offering some remarks.

> Fele romanses men make newe Of good knyghtes strong and trewe:

It relates entirely to the Irish wars of and silver, horses, bales of silk, four Ritton has confounded Maguemore, with Dermond Mac Morough, king of Leinster, in the reign of Henry II. though he adds with great candour, "but why king Richard [cœur de lion] is introduced does not appear."—Eprr.

¹ In return for several vessels of gold

Richard II. and the latter part of the great ships, and fifteen gallies, given by reign of that unfortunate monarch. Mr. Tancred. Benedict. Abb. p. 642. edit. Hearne.

Jocale. In the general and true sense of the word. Robert de Brunne, in another place, calls a rich pavilion a ^a Chron. p. 153. jowelle. p. 152.

See Hist. of Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 361.

Of hey dedys men rede romance,
Bothe in England and in Fraunce;
Of Rowelond and of Olyver,
And of everie Doseper,
Of Alysander and Charlemain,
Of kyng Arthor and of Gawayn;
How they wer knyghtes good and curteys,
Of Turpyn and of Ocier Daneys.
Of Troye men rede in ryme,
What werre ther was in olde tyme;
Of Ector and of Achylles,
What folk they slewe in that pres, &c. q

And again in a second Prologue, after a pause has been made by the minstrel in the course of singing the poem.

Now herkenes to my tale sothe Though I swere yow an othe I wole reden romaunces non Of Paris, ne of Ypomydone, Of Alisaundre, ne Charlemagne, Of Arthour, ne of sere Gawain, Nor of sere Launcelot the Lake, Of Beffs, ne Guy ne sere Sydrake, Ne of Ury, ne of Octavian, Ne of Hector the strong man, Ne of Jason, neither of Hercules, Ne of Eneas, neither Achilles.

Pairs. Fr.

Weber's edition of this romance, in his "Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries." 3 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1810.—Edin.

[The old printed copy reads Pertonape,] perhaps Parthenope, or Parthe-

nopeus.

Line 6657. To some of these romances the author of the manuscript LIVES OF THE SAINTS, written about the year. 1200, and cited above at large, al-

ludes in a sort of prologue. See Szcr. i. p. 15. supr.

Wel auht we loug Cristendom that is so dere y bougt,

With oure lorde's herte blode that the spere hath y sougt.

Men wilnethe more yhere of batayle of kyngis,

And of knygtis hardy, that mochel is lesyngis.

Of Rouland and of Olyvere, and Gy of Warwyk,

Of Wawayen and Tristrom that ne foundde here y like.

Here, among others, some of the most capital and favourite stories of romance are mentioned, Arthur, Charlemagne, the Siege of Troy with its appendages, and Alexander the Great: and there are four authors of high esteem in the dark ages, Geoffry of Monmouth, Turpin, Guido of Colonna, and Callisthenes, whose books were the grand repositories of these subjects, and contained most of the traditionary fictions, whether of Arabian or classical origin, which constantly supplied materials to the writers of romance. I shall speak of these authors, with their subjects, distinctly.

But I do not mean to repeat here what has been already observed u concerning the writings of Geoffry of Monmouth and Turpin. It will be sufficient to say at present, that these two fabulous historians recorded the achievements of Charlemagne and of Arthur: and that Turpin's history was artfully forged under the name of that archbishop about the year 1110, with a design of giving countenance to the Crusades from the example of so high an authority as Charlemagne, whose pretended visit to the holy sepulchre is described in the twentieth chapter.

Who so loveth to here tales of suche thinge,

Here he may y here thyng that nys no lesynge,

Of postoles and marteres that hardi knygttes were,

And stedfast were in bataile and fledde nogt for no fere, &c.

The anonymous author of an antient manuscript poem, called "The boke of Stories called Curson Munn," translated from the French, seems to have been of the same opinion. His work consists of religious legends: but in the prologue he takes occasion to mention many tales of another kind, which were more agreeable to the generality of readers. MSS. Laud, K 53. f. 177. Bibl. Bodl. Men lykyn Jestis for to here And romans rede in divers manere Of Alexandre the conquerour, Of Julius Cesar the emperour, Of Greece and Troy the strong stryf, Ther many a man lost his lyf: Of Brut that baron bold of hand The first conquerour of England,

Of kyng Artour that was so ryche, Was non in hys tyme so ilyche: Of wonders that among his knyghts felle, And auntyrs dedyn as men her telle, As Gaweyn and othir full abylle Which that kept the round tabyll, How kyng Charles and Rowland fawght With Sarazins, nold thei be cawght; Of Trystram and Ysoude the swetc, How thei with love first gan mete. Of kyng John and of Isenbras Of Ydoyne and Amadas. Stories of divers thynges Of princes, prelates, and kynges, Many songs of divers ryme As English, French, and Latyne, &c. This ylke boke is translate Into English tong to rede For the love of English lede Ffor comyn folk of England, &c. Syldyn yt ys for any chaunce English tong preched is in Fraunce, &c. See Montf. Par. MSS. 7540. and p. 123. supr.
See Diss. i.

As to the Siege of Troy, it appears that both Homer's possible were unknown, at least not understood in Europe, from the abolition of literature by the Goths in the fourth century, to the fourteenth. Geoffry of Monmouth indeed, who wrote about the year 1160, a man of learning for that age, produces Homer in attestation of a fact asserted in his history: but in such a manner, as shews that he knew little more than Homer's name, and was but imperfectly acquainted with Homer's subject. Geoffry says, that Brutus having ravaged the province of Acquitain with fire and sword, came to a place where the city of Tours now stands, as Homer testifies x. But the Trojana story was still kept alive in two Latin pieces, which passed under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis-Dares's history of the destruction of Troy, as it was called, pretended to have been translated from the Greek of Dares Phrygius into Latin prose by Cornelius Nepos, is a wretched performance, and forged under those specious names in the decline of Latin literature. Dictys Cretensis is a prose Latin history of the Trojan war, in six books, paraphrased about the reign of Dioclesian or Constantine by one Septimius, frozen some Grecian history on the same subject, said to be discovered under a sepulchre by means of an earthquake in the city of Cnossus, about the time of Nero, and to have been composed by Dictys, a Cretan, and a soldier in the Trojan war. fraud of discovering copies of books in this extraordinary maxim ner, in order to infer from thence their high and indubitable antiquity, so frequently practised, betrays itself. But that the present Latin Dictys had a Greek original, now lost, appears

but to Plato's opinion in his Report.
Dares, with Dictys Cretensis next mentioned in the text, was first printed standard in 1477. Mabillon says, that a manuscript of the Pseudo-Dares occurs in the Laurentian library at Florence, upwards of eight hundred years old. Mus. Ital. i. p. 169. This work was abridged by Vincentius Bellovacensis, a friar of Burgundy, about the year 1244. See his Specul. Histor. lib. iii. 63.

^x L. i. ch. 14.

y In the Epistle prefixed, the pretended translator Nepos says, that he found this work at Athens, in the handwriting of Dares. He adds, speaking of the controverted authenticity of Homer, De ea re Athenis Judicium fuit, cum pro insano Homerus haberetur quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripsit. In which words he does not refer to any public decree of the Athenian judges,

from the numerous grecisms with which it abounds: and from the literal correspondence of many passages with the Greek fragments of one Dictys cited by antient authors. The Greek original was very probably forged under the name of Dictys, a traditionary writer on the subject, in the reign of Nero, who is said to have been fond of the Trojan story. On the whole, the work appears to have been an arbitrary metaphrase of Homer, with many fabulous interpolations. At length Guido de Colonna, a native of Messina in Sicily, a learned civilian, and no contemptible Italian poet, about the year 1260, engrafting on Dares and Dictys many new romantic inventions, which the taste of his age dictated, and which the connection between .Grecian and Gothic fiction easily admitted; at the same time comprehending in his plan the Theban and Argonautic stories from Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus², compiled a grand prose romance in Latin, containing fifteen books, and entitled in most manuscripts Historia de Bello Trojanob. It was written at the request of Mattheo de Porta, archbishop of Salerno. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis seem to have been in some measure superseded by this improved and comprehensive history of the Grecian heroes: and from this period Achilles, Jason, and Hercules, were adopted into romance, and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Rowland, Gawain, Oliver, and other Christian champions, whom they so nearly resembled

b It was first printed Argentorat. 1486. and ibid. 1489. fol. The work was finished, as appears by a note at the end, in 1287. It was translated into Italian by Philip or Christopher Ceffio, a Florentine, and this translation was first printed at Venice in 1481. 4to. It has also been translated into German. See Lambec. ii. 948. The purity of our author's Italian style has been much commended. For his Italian poetry, see Mongitor, ubi supr. p. 167. Compare also, Diar. Eruditor. Ital xiii. 258. Montfaucon mentions, in the royal library at Paris, Le Roman de Tiebes qui futracine de Troye la grande. Catal. MSS. ii. p. 923—198.

Every Perison. Dissertat. de Dict. Cretens. sect. xxix. Constantinus Lascaris, a learned monk of Constantinople, one of the restorers of Grecian literature in Europe near four hundred years ago, says that Dictys Cretensis in Greek was lost. This writer is not once mentioned by Eustathius, who lived about the year 1170, in his elaborate and extensive commentary on Homer.

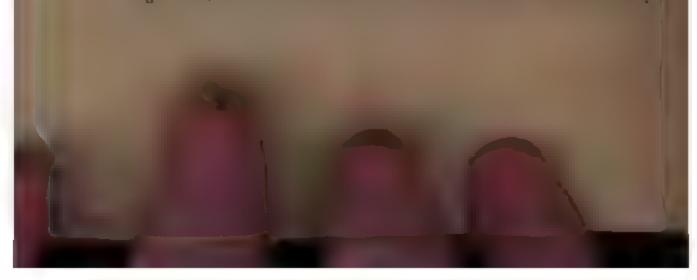
The Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus are cited in Chaucer's Hupsipile and Medea. "Let him reade the boke Argonauticon." v. 90. But Guido is afterwards cited as a writer on that subject, ibid. 97. Valerius Flaccus is a common manuscript. See pag. 141. infr.

in the extravagance of their adventures. This work abound with Oriental imagery, of which the subject was extremely succeptible. It has also some traites of Arabian literature. The

Bile says, that Edward the First, having met with our author in Sicily, in returning from Asia, invited him into England, vol. 36. This prince was interested in the Imjon story, as we shall see below. Our historians relate, that he wintered in Sicily in the year 1270. Chron. Rob. Brun. p. 227. A writer quoted by Hearne, supposed to be John Stowe the chronicler, says, that " Guido de Columpna arriving in England at the commountement of king Edward the Firste, made scholies and annotations upon Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrigins. Header these, he writ at large the Battavle of Proye. Heming, Curtal. h. 619. Among his works is redited Historia de Regihas Retrieque Angha. It is quoted by many writers under the title of Cno a.um Butannorum. He is sand also to have written Chronicum. Magnum libers xxxvi. See Mongitor. Bibl. Sic. i. 26 ..

Mr. Eichhorn has stated Juse "Scholies" of Guids to have been published in the year 1,16; a manufest rustake,since t leaves 71 years between this date, and the period at which be assigns the hest appearance of the Historia Tregona. But whatever to y have been Guido's merit in thus affinding a core on testbook for subsequent writers, ats work could have contained I tile of nevel y, either as matter or mainer, for the contempuraries, and it move to reasonably doubted, whether has lat are extended beyond the hamble task of reducing into prose the metrical completters fins predecesions. It is true, this circumstauce will not admit ut absolute proof, all the several poems upon the Trojan story expant in our own and villour conmental libraries shall be given to the world but the following not cess floore of these productions, though searty and imperfect, will perlian just by the opi-mon which has been expressed. The history of the Anglo-Saxo kings by Geoffer Gramar, a pact in technical to Water (1155), is but a fragment of a larger work, which the author meures

us commenced with an account of Jami and the Argonium expedition. This was doubtle aly continued at rough & whole cycle of Greens a fate low vitage till the stege of Proy connected Boots. the founder of the British dynasty will the heroes of the anti-or word. Disolu ninous work of Benoit it had More enoticed by Warton below, I confessedly taken from Dares Plangue and Dicty's Cremmos, and is idense. with all those fictions of romants and chtralric costone, which these wries are supposed to have received from the interpositions of Guidic Among bi comances empherated by Mens Stoke as the product out of earlier writer to Holland, and still (1 der helt in gentral esteem, we find " The Conflict of Troy " (De Stryd pan Tropen , and we know upon the authority of Jakob va Macriant (1270), if a translator of Viscent de Beauvis Speculum Historian that this was a version of Bero t's some It is not so certain where Corrol of Worzburg, a contemporary of final derived his German Lian, but be prefesses to have taken a from a lovel original, and his poem, like Game t communees with Jason and the Mrs. nautic expedit on. I pan the a ne proto preface his this with the sort of the Golden Florie, his countryman Heat you Veideck embraced the whole of 2 I to jua war, its origin and consequences to has version of the .b. ers. This how ever, is usually believed to he a transtropes; and if the date unit 1,86 sumed for its appearance by Mr you be Hagen bu ecreet, would place 12 become original mean earlier period date is given if by the French antiquared to the year (. 10), Albrecht von Helberstadt published a matrices version to Ov. I's Mein apanes, See ynviter Hi gen's Greatess aut Grech in E Denouble Posse, berlin 1812, and Henrik van Yeana Historische Avent stonden, Amsterdam Leut .- Larr



Trojan horse is a horse of brass; and Hercules is taught astromomy, and the seven liberal sciences. But I forbear to enter at present into a more particular examination of this history, as it must often occasionally be cited hereafter. I shall here only further observe in general, that this work is the chief source from which Chaucer derived his ideas about the Trojan story; that it was professedly paraphrased by Lydgate, in the year 1420, into a prolix English poem, called the Boke of Troyed, at the command of king Henry the Fifth; that it became the ground-work of a new compilation in French, on the same subject, written by Raoul le Feure chaplain to the duke of Burgundy, in the year 1464, and partly translated into English prose in the year 1471, by Caxton, under the title of the Recuyel of the historics of Troy, at the request of Margaret dutchess of Burgundy: and that from Caxton's book afterwards modernised, Shakespeare borrowed his drama of Troilus and Cressida e.

4 Who mentions it in a French as well as Latin romance: edit. 1555. Signat. B. i. pag. 2.

As in the latyn and the frenshe yt is. It occurs in French, MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. 16 F. ix. This manuscript was probably written not long after the year 1300.

[In Lincoln's-inn library there is a poem entitled Bellum Trojanum, Num. 150. Pr.

Sic[t]hen god hade this worlde wroght. Applitions.

The western nations, in early times, have been fond of deducing their origin from Troy. This tradition seems to be couched under Odin's original emigration from that part of Asia which is connected with Phrygia. Asgard, or Asia's fortress, was the city from which Odin 1ed his colony; and by some it is called Troy. To this place also they supposed Odin to return after his death, where he was to receive those who died in battle, in a hall roofed with glittering shields. See Bartholin. L. ii. cap. 8. p. 402, 403. seq. This hall, says the it to themselves; unless we suppose that

called the Field of Ida. Bartholin. ibid. In the very sublime ode on the Dissolution of the World, cited by Bartholine, it is said, that after the twilight of the gods should be ended, and the new world appear, the Asac shall meet in the field of Ida, and tell of the destroyed habitations Barthol. L. ii. cap. 14. p. 597. Compare Arngrim. Jon. Crymog. L i. c. 4. p. 45, 46. See also Edda, fab. 5. In the proem to Resenius's Edda, it is said, "Odin appointed twelve judges or princes, at Sigtune in Scandinavia, as at Troy; and established there all the laws of Troy, and the customs of the TROJANS." See Hickes. Thesaur. i. Dissertat. Epist. p. 39. See also Mallett's Hist. Dannem. ii. p. 34. Bartholinus thinks that the compiler of the Eddic mythology, who lived A. D. 1070, finding that the Britons and Francs drew their descent from Troy, was ambitious of assigning the same boasted origin to Odin. But this tradition appears to have been older than the Edda. And it is more probable, that the Britons and Francs borrowed it from the Scandinavian Goths, and adapted Edda, is in the city of Asgard, which is these nations, I mean the former, were

Proofs have been given, in the two prologues just cited, the general popularity of Alexander's story, another branch. Grecian history famous in the dark ages. To these we many add the evidence of Chaucer.

Alisaundres storie is so commune, That everie wight that hath discrecioune Hath herde somewhat or al of his fortune?.

And in the *House of Fame*, Alexander is placed with Hercules. I have already remarked that he was celebrated in a Latin poem by Gualtier de Chatillon, in the year 1212. Other proofs will occur in their proper places. The truth is, Alex-

branches of the Gothic stem, which gave them a sort of inherent right to the claim. This reasoning may perhaps account for the early existence and extraordinary popularity of the Trojan story among nations ignorant and illiterate, who could only have received it by tradition. Geoffry of Monmouth took this descent of the Britons from Troy, from the Welsh or Armoric bards, and they perhaps had it in common with the Scandinavian scalders. There is not a syllable of it in the authentic historians of England, who wrote before him; particularly those antient ones, Bede, Gildas, and the uninterpolated Nennius. Henry of Huntingdon began his history from Casar; and if was only on further information that he added Brute. But this information was from a manuscript found by him in his way to Rome in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, probably Geoffry's original. H. Hunt. Epistol. ad Warin. MSS. Cantabr. Bibl. publ. cod. 251. I have mentioned in another place, that Witlaf, a king of the West Saxons, grants in his charter, dated A. D. 833, among other things, to Croyland-abbey, his robe of tissue, on which was embroidered The destruction of Troy. Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. sect. v. p. 176. This proves the story to have been in high veneration even long before that period: and it should at the same time be remembered, that the Saxons came from Scandinavia.

This fable of the descent of the Britons from the Trojans was solemnly al-

leged as an authentic and undesidie proof in a controversy of great national importance, by Edward the First and his nobility, without the least objection from the opposite party. It was in the famous dispute concerning the subjection of the crown of England to that of Scatland, about the year 1901. The allegations are in a letter to pope Bosines, signed and sealed by the king and his lords. Ypodigm. Neustr. apud Cand. Angl. Norman. p. 492. Here is a carious instance of the implicit faith with which this tradition continued to be believed, even in a more enlightened ago; and an evidence that it was equally codited in Scotland.

^f V. 656. p. 165. Urr. ed. ⁸ V. 323.

h See Second Dissertation.

In the reign of Henry the First, the sheriff of Nottinghamshire is ordered to procure the queen's chamber at Nottingham to be painted with the Huston of Alexander. Madox, Hist. Exch. p. 249—259. "Depingi facias historiam Alexander undiquaque." In the Romance of Richard, the minstrel says of an army assembled at a siege in the Holy Land, Sign. Q. iii.

Covered is both mount and playne, Kyng Alysaunder and Charlemayne He never had halfe the route As is the city now aboute.

By the way, this is much like a passage in Milton, Par. Reg. iii. 337.

Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp, When Agrican, &c.

He could not therefore be long without his romance. Callinghenes, an Olynthian, educated under Aristotle with Alexander, wrote an authentic life of Alexander. This history, which is frequently referred to by antient writers, has been long since lost. But a Greek life of this hero, under the adopted name of Callisthenes, at present exists, and is no uncommon manuscript in good libraries. It is entitled, Biog Alexandrous of Alexander the Maccdonian. This piece was written in Greek, being a translation from the Persic, by Simeon Seth, styled Magister, and protovestiary or wardrobe keeper of the palace of Antiochus at Constantinople, about the year 1070, under the emperor Michael Ducas. It was most probably very soon

See Recherch. sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Callisthene. Par M. l'Abbe Sevin. Mem. de Lit. viii. p. 126. 4to. But many very antient Greek writers had corrupted Alexander's history with fabulous narratives, such as Orthagoras,

Onesicritus, &c.

[Julian Africanus, who lived in the third century, records the fable of Nectanabus, king of Egypt, the presumptive father of Alexander, who figures so conspicuously in the later romances. It is also presumed, that similar fictions were introduced into the poems of Arrian, Hadrian, and Soterichus. See Görres Volksbücher, p. 58. a translation of whose observations upon this subject will be found in the Retrospective Review, No. vi. For an account of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian versions of this story, see Herbelot, i. 144. and Weber's Metrical Romances, vol. i. xx. -Entr.]

Particularly Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MSS. Barocc. Cod. xvii. And Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 2064. See Montfauc. Catal. MSS. p. 738. See passages cited from this manuscript, in Steph. Byzant. Abr. Berckel. V. Boompalma. Canar Bulanger de Circo, c. xiii. 90, &c. and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiv. 148, 149, 150. It is adduced by Du Cange, Glossar. Gr. whi vid. Tom. ii. Catal. Scriptor. p. 24.

"Undoubtedly many smaller histo-

ries now in our libraries were formed from this greater work.

n Heuroliques, Protocestiarius. See Du Cange, Constantinop. Christ. lib. ii.

§ 16. n. 5. Et ad Zonar. p. 46.

 Allat. de Simeonibus. p. 181. And Labb. Bibl. nov. MSS. p. 115. Simeon Seth translated many Persic and Arabic books into Greek. Allat. ubi supr. p. 182. seq. Among them he translated from Arabic into Greek, about the year 1100, for the use or at the request of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, the celebrated Indian Fables now commonly called the Fables of Pilpay. . This work he entitled, Tripawrn and lymlarm, and divided it into fifteen books. It was printed at Berlin, by Seb. Godfr. Starchius, A.D. 1697, 8vo. under the title, Topsor Mayires ani filosofu rou Inf Kulike zar Aiper. These are the names of two African or Asiatic animals, called in Latin Thors, a sort of fox, [jsckall,] the principal interlocutors in the fables. Sect. i. ii. This curious monument of a species of instruction peculiar to the Orientals, is upwards of two thousand years old. It has passed under a great variety of names. Khosra a king of Persia, in whose reign Mahomet was born, sent his physician named Burzvisch into India, on purpose to obtain this book, which was carefully preserved among the treasures of the kings of India: and afterwards translated from the Greek into Latin, and at length from thence into French, Italian, and German. The Latin translation was printed Colon. Argentorat. A.D. 1489. Perhaps before. For among Hearne's books in the Bodleian library, there is an edition in quarto, without date, supposed to have

commanded it to be translated out of the Indian language into the antient Persic. Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. p. 456. It was soon afterwards turned into Syriac, under the title Calaileg and Damnag. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vi. p. 461. About the year of Christ 750, one of the caliphs ordered it to be translated from the antient Persic into Arabic, under the name Kalila ve Damna. Herbel. ubi supr. In the year 920, the Sultan Ahmed, of the dynasty of the Samanides, procured a translation into more modern Persic: which was soon afterwards put into verse by a celebrated Persian poet named Roudeki. Herbel. ibid. Fabric. ibid. p. 462. About the vear 1130, the Sultan Bahram, not satisfied with this Persian version, ordered another to be executed by Nasrallah, the most eloquent man of his age, from the Arabic text of Mocanna: and this Persian version is what is now extant under the title Kalila ve Damna. Herbel. ibid. See also Herbel. p. 118. even this last-mentioned version had too many Arabic idioms and obsolete phrases, in the reign of Sultan Hosein Mirza, it was thrown into a more modern and intelligible style, under the name of Anuar Soheli. Fraser's Hist. Nad. Shaw. Catal. MSS. p. 19, 20. must it be forgotten, that about the year 1100, the Emir Sohail, general of the armies of Hussain, Sultan of Khorassan of the posterity of Timer, caused a new translation to be made by the doctor Hussien Vaez, which exceeded all others in elegance and perspicuity. It was named Anwair Schaili, Splennon Canoni, from the Emir who was called after the name of that star. Herbel. p. 118. 245. It would be tedious to mention every new title and improvement which it has passed through among the eastern people. It has been translated into the Turkish language both in prose and verse: particularly for the use of Bajazet the second and Solyman the second. Herbel. p. 118.

It has been also translated into Hebrew, by Rabbi Joel: and into Latin, under the title Directorium Vita humana, by Johannes of Capua. [fol. sine sm.] From thence it got into Spanish, or Castilian: and from the Spanish was made an Italian version, printed at Ferara, A.D. 1583. oct. viz. Lelo Demas [for Calilah u Damnah] del Governo 🛎 regni, sotto morali, &c. A second edition appeared at Ferrara in 1610. oct. viz. *Philosophia morale del doni,* &c. But I have a notion there was an Italian edition at Venice, under the last-mentioned title, with old rude cuts, 1552 4to. From the Latin version it was treeslated into German, by the commend of Eberhard first duke of Wirtenberg: and this translation was printed at Ulm, 1589. fol. At Strasburgh, 1525. fol. Without name of place, 1548. 4to. At Francfourt on the Mayne, 1565. cc. A French translation by Gilb. Gaulmin from the Persic of Nasrallah above mentioned appeared at Paris, 1698. But this is rather a paraphrase, and was reprinted in Holland. See Starchius, ubi supr. præf. § 19. 20. 22. Fabric. ubi supr. p. 463. seq. Another translation was printed at Paris, viz. "Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et De Lokman traduits d'Ali Tchelchi-Bengalek auteur Ture, par M. Galland, 1714." ii vol. Again, Paris, 1724. ii vol. Fabricius says, that Mons. Galland had procured a Turkish copy of this book four times larger than the printed copies, being a version from the original Persic, and entitled Humagoun Numch, that is, The royal or imperial book, so called by the Orientals, who are of opinion that it contains the whole art of government. See Fabric. ubi supr. p. 465. Herbel. p. 456. A Translation into English from the French of the four first books was printed at London in 1747, under the title of PILPAY'S FABILES.—As to the name of the author of this book, Herbelot says that Bidpai was an Indian philosopher, been printed at Oxford by Frederick Corsellis, about the year 1468. It is said to have been made by one Æsopus, or by Julius Valerius^r: supposititious names, which seem to have been forged by the artifice, or introduced through the ignorance, of scribes and librarians. This Latin translation, however, is of high antiquity in the middle age of learning: for it is quoted by Gyraldus Cambrensis, who flourished about the year 1190^s. About the year 1236, the substance of it was

and that his name signifies the merciful physician. See Herbelot. p. 206. 45%. and Bibl. Lugdun. Catal. p. 301. [Sir Wm. Jones, who derives this name from a Sanscrit word, interprets it, the beloved or fuvourite physician.—Edit.] Others relate, that it was composed by the Bramins of India, under the title Kurtuk Dumnik. Fraser, ubi supr. p. 19. is also said to have been written by Isame fifth king of the Indians, and translated into Arabic from the Indian tongue three hundred years before Alexander the Macedonian. Abraham Ecchelens. Not. ad Catal. Ebed Jesu. p. 87.—The Indians reckon this book among the three things in which they surpass all other nations. viz. "Liber Culila et Dinna, ludus Shatangri, et novem figuræ numerariæ." Saphad. Comment. ad Carm. Tograi. apud Hyde, prolegom. ad lib. de lud. Oriental. d. 3. Hyde intended an edition of the Arabic version. Præfat. ad lib. de lud. Oriental. vol. ii. 1767. edit. ad calc. I cannot forsake this subject without remarking, that the Persians have another book, which they esteem older than any writings of Zoroaster, entitled Javidan Chrad, that is, æterna Supientia. Hyde Præfat. Relig. Vet. Persarum. This has been also one of the titles of Pilpay's Fables.

[See Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. i. 468. ii. 931. iii. 350. iv. 934.—Additions.]

The Indian origin of these fables is now placed beyond the possibility of dispute. Mr. Colebrooke has published a Sanscrit version of them, under the title of Hitopades, and they have been translated, from the same language, by Sir Wm. Jones and Dr. Wilkins.—Edir.]

P Casaub. Epist. ad Jos. Scaliger. 402. 413. Scalig. Epist. ad Casaubon. 113. 115; who mentions also a trans-

lation of this work from the Latin into Hebrew, by one who adopted the name of Jos. Gorionides, called Pseudo-Gorionides. This Latin history was translated into German by John Hartlieb Moller, a German physician, at the command of Albert duke of Bavaria, and published August. Vindel. A.D. 1478. fol. [This edition was preceded by two others from the press of Bämler, dated 1472 and 1473. These and the Strasburg edition of 1488 call the translator Dr. John Hartlieb of Munich.— EDIT.] See Lambecc. lib. ii. de Bibl. Vindohon. p. 949. Labbe mentions a fabulous history of Alexander; written, as he says, in 1217, and transcribed in 1455. Undoubtedly this in the text. Londinensis quotes "pervetustum quendam librum manuscriptum de actibus Alexandri." Hearne's T. Caius ut infr. p. 82. See also p. 86. 258.

^q Lenglet mentions "Historia fabulosa incerti authoris de Alexandri Magni præliis." fol. 1494. He adds, that it is printed in the last edition of Carsar's Commentaries by Grævius in octavo. Bibl. des Romans, ii. p. 228, 229, edit. Amst. Compare Vogt's Catalogus librorum rarior. pag. 24. edit. 1753. Montfaucon says this history of Callisthenes occurs often in the royal library at Paria. both in Greek and Latin: but that he never saw either of them printed. Cat. MSS. ii. pag. 733.—254S. I think a life of Alexander is subjoined to an edition of Quintus Curtius in 1584, by Joannes Monachus.

^r Du Cange Glossar. Gr. v. Elixxios. Jurat. ad Symmach. iv. 33. Barth. Adversar. ii. 10. v. 14.

Hearne, T. Caii Vindic. Antiquit. Acad. Oxon. tom. ii. Nor. p. 802. who thinks it a work of the monks.

thrown into a long Latin poem, written in elegiac verse, by Aretinus Quilichinus u. This fabulous narrative of Alexander's life and achievements, is full of prodigies and extravagancies. But we should remember its origin. The Arabian books abound with the most incredible fictions and traditions concerning Alexander the Great, which they probably borrowed and improved from the Persians. They call him Escander. If I recollect right, one of the miracles of this romance is our hero's horn. It is said, that Alexander gave the signal to his whole army by a wonderful horn of immense magnitude, which might be heard at the distance of sixty miles, and that it was blown or sounded by sixty men at once. This is the horn which Orlando won from the giant Jatmund, and which, as Turpin and the Islandic bards report, was endued with magical power, and might be heard at the distance of twenty miles-Cervantes says, that it was bigger than a massy beam. Boyardo, Berni, and Ariosto have all such a horn: and the fiction

"Nec dubium quin monachus quispiam Latine, ut potuit, scripserit. Eo modo, quo et alios id genus fœtus parturiebant scriptores aliquot monastici, e fabulis quas vulgo admodum placere sciebant." ibid.

t A Greek poem on this subject will be mentioned below, written in politic verses, entitled Aligardance i Manidan.

^u Labb. Bibl. Nov. MSS. p. 68. Ol. Borrich. Dissertat. de Poet. p. 89.

The writer relates, that Alexander, inclosed in a vessel of glass, dived to the bottom of the ocean for the sake of getting a knowledge of fishes and sea monsters. He is also represented as soaring in the air by the help of gryphons. At the end, the opinions of different philosophers are recited concerning the sepulchre of Alexander. Nectabano, a magician and astrologer, king of Ægypt, is a very significant character in this romance. He transforms himself into a dragon, &c. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 319. b. seq. In some of the manuscripts of this piece which I have seen, there is an account of Alexander's visit to the trees of the sun and moon: but I do not recollect this in the printed copies. Undoubtedly the ori-

ginal has had both interpolations Pseudo-Gorionides shows omissions. mentioned seems to bint at the ground work of this history of Alexander in 2224 following passage. "Cæteras autern ab Alexandro gestas, et egregia ej 231 facinora ac quæcunque demum perpetravit, ea in libris Medorum et Persaruzzo, atque apud Nicolaum, Titum, et Strabonem; et in libris nativitatis Alexand rerumque ab ipso gestarum, quos Megi ac Ægyptii co anno quo Alexander decessit, composuerunt, scripta reperies-Lib. ii. c. 12.—22. [Lat. Vers.] p. 152edit. Jo. Frid. Briethaupt.

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It is also in a manuscript entitled Secretum Secretum Aristotelis, Lib. 5.

MSS. Bodl. D. 1. 5. This treatise, ascribed to Aristotle, was antiently in high repute. It is pretended to have been translated out of Greek into Arabic or Chaldee by one John a Spaniard; from thence into Latin by Philip a Frenchman; at length into English verse by Lidgate: under whom more will be said of it. I think the Latin is dedicated to Theophina, a queen of Spain.

y See Observat. Fair. Qu. i. § v. p. 202.

sere traced to its original source. But in speaking of the sks which furnished the story of Alexander, I must not forthat Quintus Curtius was an admired historian of the rontic ages. He is quoted in the Polickaticon of John of isbury, who died in the year 1181. Eneas Sylvius relates, t Alphonsus the Ninth, king of Spain, in the thirteenth ceny, a great astronomer, endeavoured to relieve himself from tedious malady by reading the Bible over fourteen times, th all the glosses; but not meeting with the expected success, was cured by the consolation he received from once reading lintus Curtius a. Peter Blesensis, archdeacon of London. student at Paris about the year 1150, mentioning the books ist common in the schools, declares that he profited much by quently looking into this authorb. Vincentius Bellovacensis, >d above, a writer of the thirteenth century, often quotes rtius in his Speculum Historiale. He was also early trans->d into French. Among the royal manuscripts in the British aseum, there is a fine copy of a French translation of this zsic, adorned with elegant old paintings and illuminations, itled, Quinte Curse Ruf, des faiz d'Alexandre, ix liv. transre par Vasque de Lucene Portugalois. Escript par la main Jehan du Chesne, a Lilled. It was made in 1468. But I leve the Latin translations of Simeon Seth's romance on this sject, were best known and most esteemed for some centuries. The French, to resume the main tenour of our argument, d written metrical romances on most of these subjects, bere or about the year 1200. Some of these seem to have been med from prose histories, enlarged and improved with new lventures and embellishments from earlier and more simple les in verse on the same subject. Chrestien of Troys wrote e Romans du Graal, or the adventures of the Sangrale, which cluded the deeds of king Arthur, Sir Tristram, Lancelot du

hundred years old. See Barth. ad Clau-

dien. p. 1165. Alexander Benedictus, in his history of Venice, tramcribes

^{*} viži. 18.

^a Op. p. 476.

Episi. 101. Frequenter inspicere kiejas Q. Curtii, loc.

iv. 61, &c. Montfaucon, I think, entions a manuscript of Q. Curtius in Colbertine library at Paris eight

whole pages from this historian. I could give other proofs.

4 17 F. i. Brit. Mus. And again, 90 C. iii. and 15 D. iv.

Lake, and the rest of the knights of the round table, before 1191. There is a passage in a coeval romance, relating to Chrestien, which proves what I have just advanced, that some of these histories previously existed in prose.

Christians qui entent et paine A rimoyer le meillor conte, Par le commandement le Conte, Qu'il soit contez in cort royal Ce est li contes del Graal Dont li quens li bailla le livre. °

Chrestien also wrote the romance of Sir Percival, which belongs to the same history. Godfrey de Leigni, a cotempo-

Apud Fauchet, Rec. p. 99. who adds, "Je croy bien que Romans que nous avons ajourdhuy imprimez, tels que Lancelot du Lac, Tristan, et autres, sont refondus sus les vielles proses et rymes et puis refraichis de language." Rec. liv. ii. x.

The "Roman du Saint Graal" is ascribed to an anonymous "Trouvere" by M. Roquefort, who denies that it was written by Chretien de Troyes. On the authority of the Cat. de la Valliere, he also attributes the first part, of the prose version of this romauce, to Luces du Gast, and the continuation only to Robert Borron. Of Borron's work entitled "Ensierrement de Merlin ou Roman de St. Graal," there is a metrical version MS. no. 1987 fonds de l'abbaye St. Germain. See Poesie Française dans les xii. et xiii. Siecles.— Edit.]

The oldest manuscripts of romances on these subjects which I have seen are the following. They are in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum. Le Romanz de Tristran, 20 D. ii. This was probably transcribed not long after the year 1200.—Histoire du Lancelot ou S. Graal, ibid. iii. Perhaps older than the year 1200.—Again, Histoire du S. Graal, ou Lancelot, 20 C. vi. 1. Transcribed soon after 1200. This is imperfect at the beginning. The subject of Joseph of Arimathea bringing a vessel of the Sanguis, realis, or Sangral, that is, our Saviour's blood, into England, is of high

antiquity. It is thus mentioned in Morte Arthur. "And then the old man had an harpe, and he sung an olde songe how Joseph of Arimathy came into this lande." B. iii. c. 5.

Fauchet, p. 103. This story was also written in very old rhyme by one Menessier, not mentioned in Fauchet, from whence it was reduced into prose 1530. fol. Paris. Percaval le Galon, le quel acheva les avantures du Saint Graal, avec aucun faits du chevalier Gevain, translatée du rime de l'ancien auteur Messenier, &c.

[This is not a distinct work from the romance upon the same subject by Chretien de Troyes. This writer at his death left the story unfinished. It was resumed by Gautier de Denet, and concluded by Messenier. See Roquefort ut sup. p. 194.—Edit.]

In the royal library at Paris is Le ROMAN DE PERSEVAL le Galois, par Crestien de Troyes. In verse. fol. Mons. Galland thinks there is another romance under this title, Mem. de Lit. iii. p. 427. seq. 433. 8vo. The author of which he supposes may be Rauol de Biavais, mentioned by Fauchet, p. 142. Compare Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. p. 250. The author of this last-mentioned Percevall, in the exordium, says that he wrote, among others, the romances of Eneas, Roy Marc, and Uselt le Blonde: and that he translated into French, Ovid's Art of Love.

wary, finished a romance begun by Chrestien, entitled La Chawette, containing the adventures of Launcelot. Fauchet affirms, that Chrestien abounds with beautiful inventions. But no story is so common among the earliest French poets as Charlemagne and his Twelve peers. In the British Museum we have an old French manuscript containing the history of Charlemagne, translated into prose from Turpin's Latin. The writer declares, that he preferred a sober prose translation of this authentic historian, as histories in rhyme, undoubtedly very numerous on this subject, looked so much like lies b. His title is extremely curious. "Ci comence l'Estoire que Turpin le Ercevesque de Reins fit del bon roy Charlemayne, coment il conquist Espaigne, e delivera des Paens. Et pur ceo que Estoire Trimce semble mensunge, est ceste mis in prose, solun le Latin qe Turpin mesmes fist, tut ensi cume il le vist et vist."

Oddegir the Dane makes a part of Charlemagne's history; and, I believe, is mentioned by archbishop Turpin. But his exploits have been recorded in verse by Adenez, an old French poet, not mentioned by Fauchet, author of the two metrical romances of Berlin [Berthe] and Cleomades, under the name of Ogier le Danois, in the year 1270. This author was master of the musicians, or, as others say, herald at arms, to the duke of Brabant. Among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, we have a poem, Le Livre de Ogeir de Dannemarche*.

P. 105. ibid.

M88. Harl. 278. 23. Cod. membr.

f. 86. There is a very old metrical romance on this subject, ibid. MSS. Harl. 527. 1. f. I. Cod. membr. 4to.

* 15 E. vi. 4.

[The title of Adenes' poem is Les Enfances d'Ogier-le-Danois, a copy of which is preserved among the Harl. MSS. No. 4404. His other poem noticed in de Herthe. See Cat. Valliere, No. 9734. manuscript, embraces the whole career of this illustrious hero; and is evidently a distinct work from that of Adenes. Whether it be the same version alluded to in the French romance of Alexander, where the author is distinguished from the "conteurs betards" of his day, is left to more competent judges.- Epre.]

^{*} There is a curious passage to this purpose in an old French prose romance of Charlemagne, written before the year 1900. " Baudouin Comte de Hainau trouva a Sens en Bourgongne le viz de Charlemagne: et mourant la donna a an sour Yolond Comtesse de S. Paul qui m'a prie que je la mette en Roman the text, is called Le Roman de Pepin et sens syme. Parce que tel se delitera el Roman qui del Latin n'ent cure; et The life of Ogier contained in the royal per le Homan sera mielx gardee. Maintes gens en ont ouy conter et chanter, mais n'est ce mensonge non ce qu'ils en disent et chantent cil conteour ne cil jugleor. Nus convex вумка в'ян вяг wram: Tot Mensonge CE Qu'ils Dient." Liv. quatr.

French have likewise illustrated this champion in Leonine rhyme. And I cannot help mentioning that they have in verse Visions of Oddegir the Dane in the kingdom of Fairy, "Visions d'Ogeir le Danois au Royaume de Faerie en vers Francois," printed at Paris in 1548.

On the Trojan story, the French have an antient poem, at least not posterior to the thirteenth century, entitled Roman de Troye, written by Benoit de Sainct More. As this author appears not to have been known to the accurate Fauchet, nor la Croix du Maine; I will cite the exordium, especially as it records his name; and implies that the piece [was] translated from the Latin, and that the subject was not then common in French.

Cette estoire n'est pas usée, N'en gaires livres n'est trouvée: La retraite ne fut encore Mais Beneoit de sainte More, L'a translatè, et fait et dit, Et a sa main les mots ecrit.

He mentions his own name again in the body of the work, and at the end.

Je n'en fait plus ne plus en dit; Beneoit qui c'est Roman fit.

Du Cange enumerates a metrical manuscript romance on this subject by Jaques Millet, entitled De la Destruction de Troieⁿ. Montfaucon, whose extensive inquiries nothing could escape, mentions Dares Phrigius translated into French verse, at Milan, about the twelfth century^o. We find also, among the royal manuscripts at Paris, Dictys Cretensis translated into French verse^p. To this subject, although almost equally belonging to that of Charlemagne, we may also refer a French romance in verse, written by Philipes Mousques, canon and

^{1 8}vo. There is also L'Histoire du preux Meurein fils n'Ogien le Danois. Paris. 1359. 4to. and 1540. 8vo.

^m See M. Galland ut supr. p. 425. [For an account of Benoit de Saint

More's poem, the reader is referred to the 12th vol. of the Archeologia. — Ener.]

[&]quot; Gloss. Lat. IND. AUR p. cxclii.

^o Monum. Fr. i. 374.

P See Month Catal MSS. il. p. 1669.

chancellor of the church of Tournay. It is, in fact, a chronicle of France: but the author, who does not chuse to begin quite so high as Adam and Eve, nor yet later than the Trojan war, opens his history with the rape of Helen, passes on to an ample description of the siege of Troy; and, through an exact detail of all the great events which succeeded, conducts his reader to the year 1240. This work comprehends all the fictions of Turpin's Charlemagne, with a variety of other extravagant stories dispersed in many professed romances. But it preserves numberless curious particulars, which throw considerable light on historical facts. Du Cange has collected from it all that concerns the French emperors of Constantinople, which he has printed at the end of his entertaining history of that city.

It was indeed the fashion for the historians of these times, to form such a general plan as would admit all the absurdities of popular tradition. Connection of parts, and uniformity of subject, were as little studied as truth. Ages of ignorance and superstition are more affected by the marvellous than by plain facts; and believe what they find written, without discernment or examination. No man before the sixteenth century presamed to doubt that the Francs derived their origin from Francus, a son of Hector; that the Spaniards were descended from Japhet, the Britons from Brutus, and the Scotch from Fergus. Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis the Ninth of France, and who, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king's sons, very gravely classes. archbishop Turpin's Charlemagne among the real histories, and places it on a level with Suetonius and Cesar. He was himself an historian, and has left a large history of the world, fraught with a variety of reading, and of high repute in the middle ages; but edifying and entertaining as this work might have been to his cotemporaries, at present it serves only to record their prejudices, and to characterise their credulity q.

Hercules and Jason, as I have before hinted, were involved in the Trojan story by Guido de Colonna, and hence became

? He flourished about 1260.

familiar to the romance writers. The Hercules, the Theseus, and the Amazons of Boccacio, hereafter more particularly mentioned, came from this source. I do not at present recollect any old French metrical romances on these subjects, but presume that there are many. Jason seems to have vied with Arthur and Charlemagne; and so popular was his expedition to Colchos, or rather so firmly believed, that in honour of so respectable an adventure, a duke of Burgundy instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, in the year 1468. At the same time his chaplain Raoul le Feure illustrated the story which gave rise to this magnificent institution, in a prolix and elaborate history, afterwards translated by Caxton*. But I must not forget, that among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, the French romance of Hercules occurs in two books, enriched with numerous antient paintings t. Pertonape and Ypomedon, in our Prologue, seem to be Parthenopeus and Hippomedon, belonging to the Theban story, and mentioned, I think, in Statius. An English romance in verse, called Childe Ippomedone, will be cited hereafter, most probably translated from the French.

The conquests of Alexander the Great were celebrated by one Simon, in old Pictavian or Limosin, about the twelfth century. This piece thus begins:

> Chanson voil dis per ryme et per Leoin Del fil Filippe lo roy de Macedoin ".

manuscript at Stockholm, seems to be posteriour to Guido's publication. It begins with Jason and Hercules, and their voyage to Colchos: proceeds to the rape of Helen, and ends with the siege and destruction of Troy. It celebrates all the Grecian and Asiatic heroes concerned in that war. Wanl. Antiquit. **Septentr.** p. 315. col. 1.

See Observat. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. § v. p. 176. seq. Montfaucon mentions Medea et Jusonis Historia a Guidone de Columna. Catal. MSS. Bibl. Coislin. ii. p. 1109.—818.

17 E. ii. This romance of Hercules commences with an account of Uranus or Cælus, and terminates with

The Trojomanna Saga, a Scandic the death of Ulysses by his son Telegonus. The mythological fables with which the first part abounds, are taken from Boccace's Genealogia Deorum; and the third part, embracing the destruction of Troy by the Greeks under Agamemuon, professes to be a translation from "Dictys of Greece and Dares of Troy." The Pertonape of the text is evidently Partonepex de Blois, (see Le Grand Fabliaux, tom. iv. p. 261. and Notices des Manuscrits, tom. ix.) and Ypomedon the hero whom Warton dignifies with the epithet of Childe Ippomedone.—Edit.

^u Fauch. p. 77.

[This specimen is clearly against Fauchet's opinion. The Pictavian or

An Italian poem on Alexander, called Trionfo Magno, was presented to Leo the Tenth, by Dominicho Falugi Anciseno, in the year 1521. Crescimbeni says it was copied from a Provencial romance w. But one of the most valuable pieces of the old French poetry is on the subject of this victorious monarch, entitled, Roman d'Alexandre. It has been called the second poem now remaining in the French language, and was written about the year 1200. It was confessedly translated from the Latin; but it bears a nearer resemblance to Simeon Seth's romance, than to Quintus Curtius. It was the confederated performance of four writers, who, as Fauchet expresses himself, were associez en leur jonglerie*. Lambert li Cors, a learned civilian, began the poem; and it was continued and completed by Alexander de Paris, John le Nivelois [Venelais], and Peter [Perot] de Saint Clost [Cloot]. The poem is closed with Alexander's will. This is no imagination of any of our three poets, although one of them was a civil lawyer. Alexander's will, in which he nominates successors to his pro-

Limosin was a dialect of Provençal, and the couplet in the text is old French or

Romance.—EDIT.]

"Istor. Volg. Poes. i. iv. p. 332. In the royal manuscripts there is a French poem entitled La Vengeaunce du graunt Alexandre 19 D. i. 2. Brit. Mus. I am **not sure whe**ther or no it is not a portion of the French Alexander, mentioned below, written by Jehan li Nivelois [Venelais].

* Fauchet, Rec. p. 83.

[The order in which Fauchet has classed Lambert li Cors and Alexander of Paris, and which has also been adopted by M. le Grand, is founded on the following passage of the original poem:

La verité d l'istoire si com li roys la fist Un clers de Chastiaudun Lambers li Cors li mist

Qui du Latin la trait et en roman la

Alexandre nous dit qui de Bernay fu

Et de Paris refu se surnoms appelles Qui or a les siens vers o les Lambert melles.

M.M. de la Ravalliere and Roquefort

have considered Alexander as the elder writer; apparently referring (Alexandre nous dit) to Lambert li Cors. But the last line in this extract clearly confirms M. le Grand's arrangement. The date assigned by M. Roquefort for its publication is 1184. Jehan li Venelais wrote Le Testament d'Alexandre; and Perot de Saint Cloot, La Vengeaunce d'Alexandre. Mr. Douce has enumerated eleven French poets, who have written on the subject of Alexander or his family: and Mr. Weber observes, that several others might be added to the list. See Weber's Metrical Romances (who notices various European versions), Notices des Manuscrits du Roi t. v. Catalogue de la Valliere t. ii.—Edit.]

Fauchet, ibid. Mons. Galland mentions a French romance in verse, unknown to Fauchet, and entitled Roman d'Athys et de Prophylias, written by one Alexander, whom he supposes to be this Alexander of Paris, Mem. Lit. iii. p. 429. edit. Amst. [This conjecture is confirmed by M. Roquefort ubi supr. p. 118.— EDIT.] It is often cited by Carpentier,

Suppl. Cang.

vinces and kingdom, was a tradition commonly received, and is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Marcellinus. I know not whether this work was ever printed. It is voluminous; and in the Bodleian library at Oxford is a vatifolio manuscript of it on vellum, which is of great antiquity, richly decorated, and in high preservation. The margins and initials exhibit not only fantastic ornaments and illumnations exquisitely finished, but also pictures executed with singular elegance, expressing the incidents of the story, and displaying the fashion of buildings, armour, dress, musical instruments, and other particulars appropriated to the times. At the end we read this hexameter, which points out the name of the scribe.

Nomen scriptoris est Thomas plenus amoris.

Then follows the date of the year in which the transcript was completed, viz. 1338. Afterwards there is the name and date of the illuminator, in the following colophon, written in golden letters. " Che livre fu perfais de la enluminiere an xviii o. jour davryl par Jehan de grise l'an de grace m.ccc.xliiii." 6 Heace it may be concluded, that the illuminations and paintings of this superb manuscript, which were most probably begun # soon as the scribe had finished his part, took up six years: long time, if we consider the attention of an artist to ornament so numerous, so various, so minute, and so laboriously touched It has been supposed that before the appearance of this poem the Romans, or those pieces which celebrated Gests, were constantly composed in short verses of six or eight syllables and that in this Roman d'Alexandre verses of twelve syllable were first used. It has therefore been imagined, that the verse called ALEXANDRINES, the present French heroic measure took their rise from this poem; Alexander being the hero, and Alexander the chief of the four poets concerned in the work

^{*} See Fabric, Bibl, Gr. c. iii, l. viii.

^{*} MSS. Bodl, B 264, fol.

^b The most frequent of these are organs, bagpipes, lutes, and trumpets.

The bishop of Gloucester lass a minuscript on reiler of Mort d'Arthur, ornamented in the same manner It was a present from Vertue the engraver.

That the name, some centuries afterwards, might take place in honour of this celebrated and early effort of French poetry, I think is very probable; but that verses of twelve syllables made their first appearance in this poem, is a doctrine which, to say no more, from examples already produced and examined, is at least ambiguous^d. In this poem Gadifer, hereafter mentioned, of Arabian lineage, is a very conspicuous champion.

Gadifer fu moult preus, d'un Arrabi lignage.

A rubric or title of one of the chapters is, "Comment Alexander fuit mys en un vesal de vooire pour veoir le merveiles," &c. This is a passage already quoted from Simeon Seth's romance, relating Alexander's expedition to the bottom of the ocean, in a vessel of glass, for the purpose of inspecting fishes and sea monsters. In another place, from the same romance, he turns astronomer, and soars to the moon by the help of four gryphons. The caliph is frequently mentioned in this piece; and Alexander, like Charlemagne, has his twelve peers.

These were the four reigning stories of romance. On which perhaps English pieces, translated from the French, existed before or about the year 1300. But there are some other English romances mentioned in the prologue of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, which we likewise probably received from the French in that period, and on which I shall here also enlarge.

Beuves de Hanton, or Sir Beavis of Southampton, is a French romance of considerable antiquity, although the hero is not older than the Norman conquest. It is alluded to in our English romance on this story, which will again be cited, and at large.

Forth thei yode so saith the boke.

And again more expressly,

Under the bridge wer sixty belles, Right as the Romans telles.

4 See Pref. Le Roman de la Rose, par Signat. P. ii. Mons. L'Abbè Lenglet, i. p. xxxvi. Signat. E. iv.

VOL. I.

The Romans is the French original. It is called the Romance of Beuves de Hanton, by Pere Labbe 1. The very ingenious Monsieur de la Curne de sainte Palaye mentions an antient French romance in prose, entitled Benfres de Hanton . Chancer mentions Bevis, with other famous romances, but whether in French or English is uncertain i. Bewes of Hantonne was printed at Paris in 1502 k. Ascapart was one of his giants, a character in very old French romances. Bevis was a Saxon chieftain, who seems to have extended his dominion along the southern coasts of England, which he is said to have defended against the Norman invaders. He lived at Downton in Wiltshire. Near Southampton is an artificial hill called Bevis Mount, on which was probably a fortress^m. It is pretended that he was earl of Southampton. His sword is shewn in Arundel castle. This piece was evidently written after the Crusades; as Bevis is knighted by the king of Armenia, and is one of the generals at the siege of Damascus.

Guy Earl of Warwick is recited as a French romance by Labbeⁿ. In the British Museum a metrical history in very old French appears, in which Felicia, or Felice, is called the daughter of an earl of Warwick, and Guido, or Guy of Warwick, is the son of Seguart the earl's steward. The monuscript is at present imperfect. Montfaucon mentions among the royal manuscripts at Paris, Roman de Guy et Bewes de Hanton. The latter is the romance last mentioned. Again, Le Livre de Guy de Warwick et de Harold d'Ardenne. This Harold d'Arden is a distinguished warriour of Guy's history, and therefore his achievements sometimes form a separate ro-

[Among the Bennet manuscripts there is ROMANZ DE GUI DE WARWYK, Num. L. It begins,

Puis cel tems ke deus fu nes.

This book belonged to Saint Augustin's abbey at Canterbury. With regard to the preceding romance of Brvis, the Italians had Buow d'Antona, undoubtedly from the French, before 1348. And Luhyd recites in Welsh, Ystori Boun a Hamtun. Akchaol. p. 264.—Add.

⁸ Nov. Bibl. p. 334. edit. 1652.

h Mem. Lit. xv. 582. 4to.

Rim. Thop.

k 4to. Percy's Ball. iii. 217.

Selden's Drayton. Polyolb. s. iii.

m It is now inclosed in the beautiful gardens of General Sir John Mordaunt, and gives name to his seat.

ⁿ Übi supr.

^o MSS. Harl. 3775. 2.

P Catal. MSS. pl 792.

mance: as in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, where we find Le Romant de Herolt Dardenne q. In the English romance of Guy, mentioned at large in its proper place, this champion is called Syr Heraude of Arderne. At length this favourite subject formed a large prose romance, entitled Gray de Warwick Chevalier d'Angleterre et de la belle fille Felix semie, and printed at Paris in 1525. Chaucer mentions Guy's story among the Romaunces of Prist: and it is alluded to in the Spanish romance of Tirante il Blanco, or Tirante the White, supposed to have been written not long after the year 1430 ". This romance was composed, or perhaps enlarged, after the Crusades; as we find that Guy's redoubted encounters with Colbrond the Danish giant, with the monster of Dunsmore-heath, and the dragon of Northumberland, are by no means equal to some of his achievements in the Holy Land, and the trophies which he won from the Soldan under the command of the emperor Frederick.

The romance of Sidrac, often entitled Le Livere Sydrac le philosophe le quel hom appele le livere de le funtane de totes sciences, appears to have been very popular, from the present frequency of its manuscripts. But it is rather a romance of Arabian philosophy than of chivalry. It is a system of nameral knowledge, and particularly treats of the virtues of plants. Sidrac, the philosopher of this system, was astronomer to an sastern king. He lived eight hundred and forty-seven years where Noah, of whose book of astronomy he was possessed. He converts Bocchus, an idolatrous king of India, to the Christian faith, by whom he is invited to build a mighty tower against the invasions of a rival king of India. But the history, no less than the subject of this piece, displays the state, nature, and migrations of literature in the dark ages. After the death

¹⁵ E. vi. 8. fol.

[This remance might be called with more propriety an episode in the life of Raynbrun, Guy's son. It recounts the manner in which he released Herolt d'Ardenne from prison; and the return of both to their native country. It has

the merit of being exceedingly short; and states, among other matter, that Herolt was born at Walmforth in England.

—EDIT.]

Sign. L. ii. vers.

^{*} Fol. And again, ib. 1526. 4to.

¹ Rim. Thop.

[&]quot; Percy's Ball. iii. 100.

of Bocchus, Sidrac's book fell into the hands of a Chalden renowned for piety. It then successively becomes the property of king Madian, Namaan the Assyrian, and Grypho archbishop of Samaria. The latter had a priest named Demetrius, who brought it into Spain, and here it was translated from the Greek into Latin. This translation is said to be made at Toledo, by Roger de Palermo, a minorite friar, in the thirteenth century. A king of Spain then commanded it to be translated from Latin into Arabic, and sent it as a most valuable present to Emir Elmomenim, lord of Tunis. It was next given to Frederick the Second, emperor of Germany, famous in the Crusades. This work, which is of considerable length, was translated into English verse, and will be mentioned on that account again. Sidrac is recited as an eminent philosopher, with Seneca and king Solomon, in the Marchant's Second tale, ascribed to Chaucer .

It is natural to conclude, that most of these French romances were current in England, either in the French originals, which were well understood at least by the more polite readers, or else by translation or imitation, as I have before hinted, when the romance of Richard Cuer de Lyon, in whose prologue they are recited, was translated into English. That the latter was the case as to some of them, at least, we shall soon produce actual proofs. A writer, who has considered these matters with much penetration and judgment, observes, that probably from the reign of our Richard the First, we are to date that remarkable intercommunication and mutual exchange of compositions which we discover to have taken place at some early period between the French and English minstrels; the same set of phrases, the same species of characters, incidents, and adventures, and often the identical stories, being found in the metrical romances of both nations x. From close connection and constant intercourse, the traditions and the champions of one kingdom were equally known in the other: and although

W Urr. p. 616. v. 1932. There is an Percy's Ess. on Anc. Eng. Minstr. old translation of Sidrac into Dutch, p. 12.

MSS. Marshall, Bibl. Bodl. 31. fol.

Bevis and Guy were English heroes, yet on these principles this circumstance by no means destroys the supposition, that their achievements, although perhaps already celebrated in rude English songs, might be first wrought into romance by the French. And it seems probable, that we continued for some time this practice of borrowing from our neighbours. Even the titles of our oldest romances, such as Sir Blandamoure, Sir Triamoure, Sir Eglamoure of Artoys², La Mort d'Arthur, with many more, betray their French extraction. It is likewise a presumptive argument in favour of this assertion, that we find no prose romances in our language, before Caxton translated from the French the History of Troy, the Life of Charlemagne, the Histories of Jason, Paris and Vyenne², the Death of King Arthur, and other prose pieces of chivalry:

y Dugdale relates, that in the reign of Henry the Fourth, about the year 1410, a lord Beauchamp, travelling into the East, was hospitably received at Jerucalem by the Soldan's lieutenant: "Who hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whose story they had in books of their own language, invited him to his palace; and royally feasting him, presented him with three precious stones of great value, besides divers cloaths of silk and gold given to his servants." Baron. i. p. 243. col. 1. This story is delivered on the credit of John Rouse, the traveller's cotemporary. Yet it is not so very improbable that Guy's history should be a book among the Sazacens, if we consider, that Constantinople was not only a central and connecting point between the eastern and western world, but that the French in the thirteenth century had acquired an establishment there under Baldwin earl of Flanders: that the French language much have been known in Sicily, Jerumlem, Cyprus, and Antioch, in consequence of the conquests of Robert Guiscard, Hugo le Grand, and Godfrey of Bulloigne: and that pilgrimages into the Holy Land were excessively frequent. It is hence easy to suppose, that the French imported many of their stories or books of this sort into the East; which being thus understood there, and suiting the genius of the Orientals, were at length

translated into their language. It is remarkable, that the Greeks at Constantinople, in the twelfth century, and since, called all the Europeans by the name of Franks; as the Turks do to this day. See Seld. Polyolb. § viii. p. 130.

* In our English SYR ECLAMOUR OF ARTOYS, there is this reference to the French from which it was translated. Sign. E. i.

His own mother there he wedde, In ROMAUNCE as we rede.

Again, fol, ult.

In ROMAUNCE this cronycle ys.

The authors of these pieces often refer to their original. Just as Ariosto men-

tions Turpin for his voucher.

But I must not omit here that Du Cange recites a metrical French romance in manuscript, Le Roman de Girard de Vienne, written by Bertrand le Clerc. Gloss. Lat. i. Ind. Aucr. p. exciii. Madox has printed the names of several French romances found in the reign of Edward the Third, among which one on this subject occurs. Formul. Anglic. p. 12. Compare Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen, vol. ii. § viii. p. 43. Among the royal manuscripts, in the British Museum, there is in verse Histoire de Gyrart de Vianne et de ses freres. 20 D. xi. 2. This manuscript was perhaps written before the year 1900.

by which, as the profession of minstrelsy decayed and gradully gave way to a change of manners and customs, romances in metre were at length imperceptibly superseded, or at least gave less in use as a mode of entertainment at public festivities.

Various causes concurred, in the mean time, to multiply books of chivalry among the French, and to give them a superiority over the English, not only in the number but in the excellence of those compositions. Their barons lived in greater magnificence. Their feudal system flourished on a more sumptuous, extensive, and lasting establishment. Schools were instituted in their castles for initiating the young nobility in the rules and practice of chivalry. Their tilts and tournments were celebrated with a higher degree of pomp; and their ideas of honour and gallantry were more exaggerated and refined.

We may add, what indeed has been before incidentally remarked, that their troubadours were the first writers of metrical romances. But by what has been here advanced, I do not mean to insinuate without any restrictions, that the French entirely led the way in these compositions. Undoubtedly the Provencial bards contributed much to the progress of Italian literature. Raimond the fourth of Arragon, count of Provence, about the year 1220, a lover and a judge of letter, invited to his court the most celebrated of the songsters who professed to polish and adorn the Provencial language by various sorts of poetry^b. Charles the First, his son-in-law, and the inheritor of his virtues and dignities, conquered Naples, and carried into Italy a taste for the Provencial litersture. At Florence especially this taste prevailed, where he reigned many years with great splendour, and where his successors resided. Soon afterwards the Roman court was removed to Provence^c. Hitherto the Latin language had only

Tesono in Provencial. He died in 1294. See Villan. ibid. l. ix. c. 135.

^b Giovan. Villani, Istor. l. vi. c. 92.

Villani acquaints us, that Brunetti Latini, Dante's master, was the first who attempted to polish the Florentines by improving their taste and style; which he did by writing his grand work the

[[]That Brunetti did not write his Trsoro in Provençal we have his own authority, and the evidence of the work itself:—Et se aucuns demandoit pour-

been in usc. The Provencial writers established a common dialect: and their examples convinced other nations, that the modern languages were no less adapted to composition than those of antiquity^d. They introduced a love of reading, and diffused a general and popular taste for poetry, by writing in a language intelligible to the ladies and the people. Their verses being conveyed in a familiar tongue, became the chief amusement of princes and feudal lords, whose courts had now begun to assume an air of greater brilliancy: a circumstance which necessarily gave great encouragement to their profession, and by rendering these arts of ingenious entertainment universally fashionable, imperceptibly laid the foundation of polite literature. From these beginnings it were easy to trace the progress of poetry to its perfection, through John de Meun in France, Dante in Italy, and Chaucer in England.

This praise must undoubtedly be granted to the Provencial poets. But in the mean time, to recur to our original argument, we should be cautious of asserting in general and indiscriminating terms, that the Provencial poets were the first writers of metrical romance: at least we should ascertain, with rather more precision than has been commonly used on this subject, how far they may claim this merit. I am of opinion that there were two sorts of French troubadours, who have not hitherto been sufficiently distinguished. If we diligently examine their history, we shall find that the poetry of the first troubadours consisted in satires, moral fables, allegories, and sentimental sonnets. So early as the year 1180, a tribunal called the Court of Love, was instituted both in Provence and Picardy, at which questions in gallantry were decided. This

quoi chis livre est escrit en roumans seion la raison de France, pour chou que nous sommes Ytalien je diroie que ch'est pour chou que nous sommes en France; l'autre pour chou que la parleure en est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens. Notices des Manuscrits, t. v. p. 270.—Edit.]

Dante designed at first that his Inferne should appear in Latin. But find-

ing that he could not so effectually in that language impress his satirical strokes and political maxims on the laity, or illiterate, he altered his mind, and published that piece in Italian. Had Petrarch written his Africa, his Eclogues, and his prose compositions in Italian, the literature of his country would much sooner have arrived at perfection.

institution furnished eternal matter for the poets, who three the claims and arguments of the different parties into verse, in a style that afterwards led the way to the spiritual conventions of Cyrus and Clelia. Fontenelle does not scruple to acknowledge, that gallantry was the parent of French poetry'. But to sing romantic and chivalrous adventures was a very different task, and required very different talents. The troubadous therefore who composed metrical romances form a different species, and ought always to be considered separately. And this latter class seems to have commenced at a later period, not till after the Crusades had effected a great change in the manners and ideas of the western world. In the mean time, I hazard a conjecture. Cinthio Giraldi supposes, that the at of the troubadours, 'commonly called the Gay Science, was first communicated from France to the Italians, and afterwards to the Spaniards. This perhaps may be true: but at the same time it is highly probable, as the Spaniards had their Juguars or convivial bards very early, as from long connection they were immediately and intimately acquainted with the fictions of the Arabians, and as they were naturally fond of chivalry, that the troubadours of Provence in great measure caught this turn of fabling from Spain. The communication, to mention no other obvious means of intercourse in an affair of this mture, was easy through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, by which the two nations carried on from early times a constant Even the French critics themselves universally allow, that the Spaniards, having learned rhyme from the Arabians, through this very channel conveyed it to Provence Tasso preferred Amadis de Gaul, a romance originally written in Spain [Portugal], by Vasco Lobeyra, before the year 1300, to the most celebrated pieces of the Provencial poets. But this is a subject which will perhaps receive illustration from a writer of great taste, talents, and industry, Monsieur de la Curne de

This part of their character will be insisted upon more at large when we come to speak of Chaucer.

f Theatr. Fr. p. 13.

⁸ Apud Huet, Orig. Rom. p. 108.

h Nic. Antonius, Bibl. Hispan. Vet.

i Disc. del Poem. Eroic. L. ii. p. 45, 46.

Sainte Palaye, who will soon oblige the world with an ample history of Provencial poetry; and whose researches into a kindred subject, already published, have opened a new and extensive field of information concerning the manners, institutions and literature of the feudal ages k.

Note A. (from the Emendations and Additions.*)

In Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an English poem on the Sangreal, and its appendages, containing forty thousand verses. MSS. LXXX. chart. The manuscript is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end. The title at the head of the first page is ACTA ARTHURI REGIS, written probably by Joceline, chaplain and secretary to archbishop Parker. The narrative, which appears to be on one continued subject, is divided into books, or sections, of unequal length. It is a translation made from Robert Borron's French romance called Lancelot, above mentioned, which includes the adventure of the SANGREAL, by Henry Lonelich Skynner, a name which I never remember to have seen among those of the English poets. The diction is of the age of king Henry the Sixth. Borel, in his Tresor de Recherches et Antiquitez Gauloises et Francoises, says, "Il y'a un Roman ancien intitule LE CONQUESTE DE SANGREALL, &c." Edit. 1655. 4to. V. GRAAL. It is difficult to determine with any precision which is Robert Borron's French Romance now under consideration, as so many have been written on the subject. [See p. 137.] The diligence and accuracy of Mr. Nasmith have furnished me

This Note is referred to in p. 118, and is placed at the end of this Section on account of its length.

[It was found impracticable to condense within the limits of a note, the matter necessary for the refutation of the singular doctrines hazarded in the text. Few of them are Warton's own;

the singular doctrines hazarded in the text. Few of them are Warton's own; but the reader who is desirous of forming more correct opinions upon the subject,

is referred to M. Raynouard's Poesics des Troubadours, a work which has done more towards forming a just understanding of the merits of Provençal poetry, and the extent and value of Provençal literature, than any publication which has hitherto appeared. The mass of evidence there adduced in favour of the early efforts of the Provençal muse, must effectually silence every theory attempting to confine song and romantic fiction to any particular age or country.—Edit.]

^{*} See Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, &c. Paris, 1759. tom. ii. 12mo.

with the following transcript from Lonelich Skynner's translation in Bennet College library.

Thanne passeth forth this storye with al That is cleped of som men SEYNT GRAAL Also the SANK RYAL iclepid it is Of mochel peple with owten mys

Now of al this storie have I mad an ende That is schwede of Celidoygne and now forthere to wend And of anothir brawnche most we be gynne Of the storye that we clepen prophet Merlynne Wiche that Maister Robert of Borrown Owt of Latyn it transletted hol and soun Onlich into the langage of Frawnce This storie he drough be adventure and chaunce And doth Merlynne insten with SANK RYAL For the ton storie the tothir medlyth withal After the satting of the forseid ROBERT That somtym it transletted in Middilerd And I as an unkonneng man trewely Into Englisch have drawen this storye And though that to zow not plesyng it be Zit that ful excused ze wolde haven me Of my neclegence and unkonnenge On me to taken swich a thinge Into owre modris tonge for to endite The swettere to sowne to more and lyte And more cler to zoure undirstondyng Thanne owthir Frensh other Latyn to my supposing And therfore atte the ende of this storye A pater noster ze wolden for me preye For me that HERRY LONELICH hyhte And greteth owre lady ful of myhte Hartelich with an ave that ze hir bede This processe the bettere I myhte procede

And bringen this book to a good ende Now thereto Jesu Crist grace me sende And than an ende there offen myhte be Now good Lord graunt me for charite

Thanne Merlyn to Blasye cam anon And there to hym he seide thus son Blasye thou schalt suffren gret peyne This storye to an ende to bringen certeyne And zit schall I suffren mochel more How so Merlyn quod Blasye there I schall be sowht quod Merlyne tho Owt from the west with messengeris mo And they that scholen comen to seken me They have maad sewrawnce I telle the Me forto slen for any thing This sewrawnce hav they mad to her kyng But whanne they me sen and with me speke No power they schol hav on me to ben a wreke For with hem hens moste I gon And thou into othir partyes schalt wel son To hem that hav the holy vessel Which that is icleped the SEYNT GRAAL And wete thow wel and ek forsothe That thow and ek this storye bothe Ful wel beherd now schall it be And also beloved in many contre And has that will knowen in sertaygne What kynges that weren in grete Bretaygne Sithan that Cristendom thedyn was browht They scholen hem fynde has so that it sawht In the storye of BRWTTES book There scholen ze it fynde and ze weten look Which that MARTYN DE BEWRE translated here From Latyn into Romaunce in his manere

But leve me now of BRWTTES book.

And aftyr this storye now lete us look.

After this latter extract, which is to be found nearly in the middle of the manuscript, the scene and personages of the poem are changed; and king Enalach, king Mordrens, Sir Nesciens, Joseph of Arimathea, and the other heroes of the former part, give place to king Arthur, king Brangors, king Loth, and the monarchs and champions of the British line. In a part graph, very similar to the second of these extracts, the following note is written in the hand of the text, Henry Lonelich Skynner, that translated this boke out of Frenshe into Englyshe, at the instaunce of Harry Barton.

The QUEST OF THE SANGREAL, as it is called, in which devotion and necromancy are equally concerned, makes a considerable part of king Arthur's romantic history, and was one grand object of the knights of the Round Table. He who achieved this hazardous adventure was to be placed there in the siege perillous, or seat of danger. "When Merlyn had ordsyned the rounde table, he said, by them that be fellowes of the rounde table the truthe of the SANGREALL shall be well knowne. &c. —They which heard Merlyn say soe, said thus to Merlyn, Sithence there shall be such a knight, thou shouldest ordayne by thy craft a siege that no man should sitte therein, but he onlie which shall passe all other knights.—Then Merlyn made the siege perillous," &c. Caxton's Mort D'Arthur, B. xiv. cap. ii. Sir Lancelot, who is come but of the eighth degree from our lord Jesus Christ, is represented as the chief adventurer in this honourable expedition. Ibid. B. iii. c. 35. At a celebration of the feast of Pentecost at Camelot by king Arthur, the Sangreal suddenly enters the hall, "but there was no man might see it nor who bare it," and the knights, as by some invisible power, are instantly supplied with a feast of the choicest dishes. Ibid. c. 35. Originally Le Brut, Lancelot, Tristan, and the SAINT GREAL were separate histories; but they were

so connected and confounded before the year 1200, that the same title became applicable to all. The book of the San-GREAL, a separate work, is referred to in MORTE ARTHUR. "Now after that the quest of the SANCGREALL was fulfylled, and that all the knyghtes that were lefte alive were come agayne to the Rounde Table, as the BOOKE OF THE SANCGREALL makethe mencion, than was there grete joye in the courte. And especiallie king Arthur and quene Guenever made grete joye of the remnaunt that were come home. And passynge glad was the kinge and quene of syr Launcelot and syr Bors, for they had been passynge longe awaye in the quest of the Sanc-GREALL. Then, as the Frenshe booke sayeth, syr Lancelot," &c. B. xviii. cap. 1. And again, in the same romance: "Whan syr Bors had tolde him [Arthur] of the adventures of the SANCGREALL, such as had befallen hym and his felawes,—all this was made in grete bookes, and put in almeryes at Salisbury." B. xvii. cap. xxiii. The former part of this passage is almost literally translated from one in the French romance of Tristan, Bibl. Reg. MSS. 20 D. ii. fol. antep. "Quant Boort ot conte laventure del Saint Graal teles com eles estoient avenues, cles furent mises en escrit, gardees en lamere de Salibieres, dont Mestre Galtier Map l'estrest a faist son livre du Saint Graal por lamor du roy Herri son sengor, qui fist lestoire tralater del Latin en romanz'." Whether Salisbury, or Salibieres is, in the two passages, the right reading, I cannot ascertain. [But see supra. Note o. p. 118.] But in the royal library at Paris there is "Le Roman de TRISTAN ET ISEULT, traduit de Latin en François, par Lucas chevalier du Gast pres de Sarisberi, Anglois, avec figures." Montfauc. CATAL. MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris. Cod. 6776. fol. max. And again Cod. 6956. fol. max. "Liveres de Tristan mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat"." [See supr. p. 118.

^{*} The romance says, that king Arthur amade grete clerkes com before him noble et vaillant Chevalier Tristan fils that they should cronicle the adventures du noble roy Meliadus de Leonnys, par of these goode knygtes." [See infra Luce, chevalier, seigneur du chasteau Section xi.]

¹ See infra Sect. xxviii. not. ².

[&]quot;There is printed, "Le Roman du de Gast. Rouen, 1489. fol."

Notes.] Almeryes in the English, and l'Amere, properly aumoire in the French, mean, I believe, Presses, Chests, or Archives. Ambry, in this sense, is not an uncommon old English word. From the second part of the first French quotation which I have distinguished by Italics, it appears, that Walter Mapes*, a learned archdeacon in England, under the reign of king Henry the Second, wrote a French SANGREAL, which he translated from Latin, by the command of that monarch. Under the idea, that Walter Mapes was a writer on this subject, and in the fabulous way, some critics may be induced to think, that the Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth professes to have received the materials of his history, was this Walter Mapes, and not Walter Calenius, who was also an eminent scholar, and an archdeacon of Oxford. [See supr. p. 69.] Geoffrey says in his Dedication to Robert earl of Gloucester, "Finding nothing said in Bede or Gilds of king Arthur and his successours, although their actions highly deserved to be recorded in writing, and are orally celebrated by the British bards, I was much surprised at so strange an omission. At length Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence, and learned in foreign histories, offered me an ancient book in the British or Armorican tongue; which, in one unbroken story, and an elegant diction, related the deeds of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader. At his request, although unused to rhetorical flourishes, and contented with the simplicity of my own plain language, I undertook the translation of that book into Latin." B. i. ch. i. See also B. xii. Some writers suppose, that Geoffrey pretended to have received his materials from archdeacon Walter, by way of authenticating his romantic history. These notices seem to disprove that suspicion. In the year 1488, a French romance was published, in two magnificent folio volumes, entitled, His-

chevalier le roi." But so much confusion prevails upon this subject, that it is almost impossible to name the author of any prose romance.—Eprr.]

^{* [}From a passage in the French romance of Lancelot du Lac, M. Roquefort is of opinion that there were two persons of this name. In that he is styled "messire Gantier Map qui fut

TOIRE de ROY ARTUS et des CHEVALIERS de la TABLE RONDE. The first volume was printed at Roven, the second at Paris. It contains in four detached parts, the Birth and Achievements of King Arthur, the Life of Sir Lancelot, the Adventure of the Sangreal, and the Death of Arthur, and his Knights. In the body of the work, this romance more than once is said to be written by Walter Map or Mapes, and by the command of his master king Henry. For instance, tom. ii. at the end of PARTYE DU SAINT GRAAL, Signat. ddi. "Cy fine Maistre Gualtier MAP son traittie du Saint Graal." Again, tom. ii. LA DERNIERE Partie, ch. i. Signat. d d ii. "Apres ce que Maistre Gual-TIER MAP eut tractie des avantures du Saint Graal, assez soufisamment, sicomme il luy sembloit, il fut ad adviz au noy Henry son seigneur, que ce quil avoit fait ne debuit soufrire sil ne racontoys la fin de ceulx dont il fait mention.—Et commence Maistre Gualtier en telle manier ceste derniere partie." This derniere partie treats of the death of king Arthur and his knights. At the end of the second tome there is this colophon: "Cy fine le dernier volume de La Table Ronde, faisant mencion des fais et proesses de monseigneur Launcelot du Lac et dautres plusieurs nobles et vaillans hommes ses compagnons. Compile et extraict precisement et au juste des vrayes histoires faisantes de ce mencion par tresnotable et tresexpert historien Maistre Gualtier Map, et imprime a Paris par Jehan du Pre. Et lan du grace, mil. cccc. iiiixx. et viii. le xvi jour dn Septembre." The passage quoted above from the royal manuscript in the British Museum, where king Arthur orders the adventures of the Sangreal to be chronicled, is thus represented in this romance. "Et quant Boort eut compte depuis le commencement jusques a la fin les avantures du Saint Graal telles comme ils les avoit veues, &c. Si fist le roy Artus rediger et mettre par escript aus dictz clers tout ci que Boort avoit compte," &c. Ibid. tom. ii. La Partie du Saint Graal, ch. ult. At the end of the royal manuscript at Paris, [Cod.

Just before it is said, "Le roy tures aux chevalliers mettoient en Artus fist vgnir les caracs qui les aven- escript." As in Mont D'Anteun.

de Borron par le commandement de Henri roi d'Angleterre, it is said, that Messire Robert de Borron translated into French, not only Lancelot, but also the story of the Saint Graal li tout du Latin du Gautier Mappe. But the French antiquaries in this sort of literature are of opinion, that the word Latin, here signifies Italian; and that by this Latin of Gualtier Mapes, we are to understand English versions of those romances made from the Italian language. The French History of the Sangreal, printed at Paris in folio by Gallyot du Prè in 1516, is said, in the title, to be translated from Latin into French rhymes, and from thence into French prose by Robert Borron. This romance was reprinted in 1523.

Caxton's Morte Arthur, finished in the year 1469, professes to treat of various separate histories. But the matter of the whole is so much of the same sort, and the heroes and adventures of one story are so mutually and perpetually blended with those of another, that no real unity or distinction is preserved. It consists of twenty-one books. The first seven books treat of king Arthur. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, of sir Trystram. The eleventh and twelfth, of sir Lancelot*. The thirteenth of the Saingral, which is also called sir Lancelot's Book. The fourteenth of sir Percival. The fifteenth, again, of sir Launcelot. The sixteenth of sir Gawaine. The seventeenth, of sir Galahad. [But all the four last-mentioned books are also called the historye of the holy Sancgreall.] The eighteenth and nineteenth, of miscellaneous adventures. The two last, of king Arthur and all the knights. Lwhyd mentions a Welsh Sangreall, which, he says, contains various fables of king Arthur and his knights, &c. ARCHÆOLOG. BRIT. Tit. vii. p. 265. col. 2. Morte Arthur is often literally translated from various and very antient detached histories of the heroes of the round table, which I have examined; and on the

But at the end, this twelfth book is hersall of the thyrd booke [of Sir Triscalled the second booke of Syr Trystram. Tram."]
And it is added, "But here is no re-

whole, it nearly resembles Walter Map's romance above mentioned, printed at Rouen and Paris, both in matter and disposition.

I take this opportunity of observing, that a very valuable vellum fragment of LE BRUT, of which the writing is uncommonly beautiful and of high antiquity, containing part of the story of Merlin and king Vortigern, covers a manuscript of Chaucer's ASTROLABE, lately presented, together with several Oriental manuscripts, to the Bodleian library, by Thomas Hedges, esquire, of Alderton in Wiltshire; a gentleman possessed of many curious manuscripts, and Greek and Roman coins, and most liberal in his communications.

SECTION IV.

VARIOUS matters suggested by the Prologue of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, cited in the last section, have betrayed us into a long digression, and interrupted the regularity of our annals. But I could not neglect so fair an opportunity of preparing the reader for those metrical tales, which, having acquired a new cast of fiction from the Crusades and a magnificence of manners from the increase of chivalry, now began to be greatly multiplied, and as it were professedly to form a separate species of poetry. I now therefore resume the series, and proceed to give some specimens of the English metrical romances which appeared before or about the reign of Edward the Second: and although most of these pieces continued to be sung by the minstrels in the halls of our magnificent ancestors for some centuries afterwards, yet as their first appearance may most probably be dated at this period, they properly coincide in this place with the tenour of our history. In the mean time, it is natural to suppose, that by frequent repetition and successive changes of language during many generations, their original simplicity must have been in some degree corrupted. Yet some of the specimens are extracted from manuscripts written in the reign of Edward the Third. Others indeed from printed copies, where the editors took great liberties in accommodating the language to the times. However, in such as may be supposed to have suffered most from depravations of this sort, the substance of the ancient style still remains, and at least the structure of the story. On the whole, we mean to give the reader an idea of those popular heroic tales in verse, professedly written for the harp, which began to be multiplied among us about the beginning of the fourteenth century. We will begin with the romance of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, already mentioned.

he poem opens with the marriage of Richard's father, ry the Second, with the daughter of Carbarryne, a king attoch. But this is only a lady of romance. Henry mar-Eleanor the divorced queen of Louis of France. The trels could not conceive any thing less than an Eastern sess to be the mother of this magnanimous hero.

That he graunted a wyff to wedde.

Hastely he sente hys sondes
Into many dynerse londes,
The feyreste wyman that wore on liff
Men wolde? bringe hym to wyff.*

messengers or ambassadors, in their voyage, meet a ship ned like Cleopatra's galley.

Swylk on ne seygh they never non;
All it was whyt of huel-bon,
And every nayl with gold begrave:
Off pure gold was the stave²;
Her mast was [of] yvory;
Off samyte the sayl wytterly.
Her ropes wer off tuely sylk,
Al so whyt as ony mylk.

The present text has been taken he edition of this romance by Mr.

I, who followed a manuscript of no arly date in Caius College library, ridge. The variations between at the early printed editions, conincipally in the use of a more and phraseology, with some trifling to of the sense. The most imto of these are given in the notes Mr. Ellis, who has analyzed this

Mr. Ellis, who has analysed this ce (vol. ii. p. 186), conceives the in its present form to have origiwith the reign of Edward I.; and glish readers, it is the extravagant fictions it contains they would refer trafted by some Norman ministrel ginal."—Entr.]

son with Richard's real history. Of the story in its uncorrupted state, he considers a fragment occurring in the Auchinisch MS, to be an English translation; and as this document was "transcribed in the minority of Edward III." the following declaration of Mr. Weber may not exceed the truth:—"There is no doubt that our romance existed before the year 1900, as it is referred to in the Chronicles of Richard [Robert] of Gloucester and Robert de Brunne; and as these rhymesters wrote for mere Euglish readers, it is not to be supposed that they would refer them to a French original."—Entr.]

^{* [}redde, advised.] * [strolde.] * [sklave, rudder : clavus.]

That noble schyp was al withoute, With clothys of golde sprede aboute; And her loof and her wyndas, Off asure forsothe it was.

In that schyp ther wes i-dyght, Knyghts and ladyys of mekyll myght; And a lady therinne was, Bryght as the sunne thorugh the glas. Her men aborde gunne to stonde, And sesyd that other with her honde, And prayde hem for to dwelle And her counsayl for to telle: And they graunted with all skylle For to telle al at her wylle: "Swo wyde landes we have went" For kyng Henry us has sent, For to seke hym a qwene The fayreste that myghte fonde bene." Upros a kyng off a chayer With that word they spoke ther. The chayer was [of] charboncle ston, Swylk on ne sawgh they never non: And tuo dukes hym besyde, Noble men and mekyl off pryde, And welcomed the messangers ylkone. Into that schyp they gunne gone.... They sette tresteles and layde a borde; Cloth of sylk theron was sprad, And the kyng hymselve bad, That his doughter were forth fette, And in a chayer before hym sette. Trumpes begonne for to blowe; Sche was sette forth in a throweb

b immediately.

^{4 [}loft, deck.] 5 [wyndlace.] 6 ["To dyverse londes do v

With twenty knyghtes her aboute And moo off ladyes that wer stoute.... Whenne they had nygh i-eete, Adventures to speke they nought forgeete. The kyng ham tolde, in hys resoun It com hym thorugh a vysyoun, In his land that he cam froo, Into Yngelond for to goo; And his doughtyr that was so dere For to wende bothe in fere, "In this manere we have us dyght Into that lande to wende ryght." Thenne aunsweryd a messanger, Hys name was callyd Bernager, "Forther wole we seke nought To my lord she schal be brought."

ey soon arrive in England, and the lady is lodged in the wer of London, one of the royal castles.

The messangers the kyng have tolde Of that ladye fayr and bold, Ther he lay in the Tour Off that lady whyt so flour. Kyng Henry gan hym son dyght, With erls, barons, and manye a knyght, Agayn the lady for to wende: For he was curteys and hende. The damysele on lond was led, And clothes of gold before her spred, And her fadyr her beforn With a coron off gold icorn; The messangers be ylk a syde And menstralles with mekyl pryde Kyng Henry lyght in hyyng And grette fayr that uncouth kyng.... To Westemenstre they wente in fere Lordyngs and ladys that ther were.

company.

Trumpes begonne for to blowe, To meted they wente in a throwe, &c. c

The first of our hero's achievements in chivalry is said splendid tournament held at Salisbury. Clarendon near lisbury was one of the king's palaces f.

> Kyng Rychard gan hym dysguyse, In a ful strange queyntyse⁵. He cam out of a valaye For to se of theyr playe, As a knyght aventurous. Hys atyre was orgolous h: Al togyder cole black Was hys horse withoute lacke; Upon hys crest a raven stode, That yaned i as he wer wode.— He bare a schafte that was grete and strong, It was fourtene foot long; And it was grete and stout, One and twenty ynches about.*

d to dinner. ^e line 135.

f In the pipe-rolls of this king's reign, I find the following articles relating to this ancient palace, which has been already mentioned incidentally. Rot. Pip. 1 Ric. I. "Wiltes. Et in cariagio vini Regis a Clarendon usque Woodestoke, 34s. 4d. per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 200 m. [marcis] a Saresburia usque Bristow, 7s. 4d. per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 2500 libris a Saresburia usque Glocestriam, 26s. 10d. per Br. Reg. Et pro tonellis et clavis ad eosdem denarios. Et in cariagio de 4000 marcis a Sarum usque Suthanton, et pro tonellis et aliis necessariis, 8s. et 1d. per Br. Reg." And again in the reign of Henry the Third. Rot. Pip. 30 Hen. III. "WILTEscirr. Et in una marcelsia ad opus regis et reginæ apud Clarendon cum duobus interclusoriis, et duabus cameris privatis, hostio veteris aulæ amovendo in porticu, et de eadem aula camera facienda aboute." So doctor Farmer's manucum camino et fenestris, et camera privata, et quadam magna coquina quadrata, ct aliis operationibus, contentis in Brevi,

inceptis per eundem Nicolaum et non perfectis, 5261. 16s. 5d. ob. per Br. Reg." Again, Rot. Pip. 39 Hen. III. "Str. HAMT. Comp. Novæ forestæ. Et in triginta miliaribus scindularum [shingles] faciend. in cadem foresta et cariand. dem usque Clarendon ad domum regu ibideni cooperiandam, 6% et 1 marc. per Br. Reg. Et in 30 mill. scindularum faciend. in cadem, et cariand. usque Clarendon, 111. 10s." And again, in the same reign the canons of Ivy-church receive pensions for celebrating in the royal chapel there. Rot. Pip. 7 Hen. III. "WILTES. Et canonicis de monsteno ederoso ministrantibus in Capella de Clarendon. 351. 7d. ob." Stukeley is mistaken in saying this palace was built by king John.

3

See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. Contist h proud, pompous. • [It is "One and twenti inches script, purchased from Mr. Martin's library. See supr. p. 124. Note i. This is in English.—Additions.

The fyrst knyght that he there mette,
Ful egyrly he hym grette,
With a dente amyd the schelde;
His hors he bar down in the felde, &c. *

A battle-ax which Richard carried with him from England to the Holy Land is thus described.

King Richard, I understond,
Or he went out of Englond,
Let him make an axe¹ for the nones,
To breke therwith the Sarasyns™ bones.
The head was wrought right wele;
Therin was twenty pounde of stele;
And when he came into Cyprus lond,
The ax he tok in his hond.
All that he hit he all to-frapped;
The griffonsn away fast rapped;
Natheles many he cleaved,
And their unthanks ther by lived;
And the prisoun when he cam to,
With his ax he smot right tho,
Dores, barres, and iron chains, &c.°

This formidable axe is again mentioned at the siege of Acon Acre, the antient Ptolemais.

Kyng Rychard aftyr, anon ryght, Toward Acres gan hym dyght;

line 267. I Richard's battle-ax also mentioned by Brunne, and on occasion, Chron. p. 159.

The Crusades imported the phrase Sarrazionois, for any sharp engagent, into the old French romances.—

18 in the ROMAN of ALEXANDES,

18. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. P. i.

slomer le regrette et le plaint en Grijois,

dist que s'il cussent o culz telz vingt et trois,

ous eussent fet un jeu Sarrazionois.

a The Byzantine Greeks are often called Griffones by the historians of the middle ages. See Du Cange Gloss. Ville-Hard. p. 363. See also Rob. Brun. Chron. p. 151. 157. 159. 160. 165. 171. 173. Wanley supposes that the Griffin in heraldry was intended to signify a Greek, or Saracen, whom they thus represented under the figure of an imaginary eastern monster, which never existed but as an armorial badge.

o line 2196.

And as he saylyd toward Surrye, He was warnyd, off a spye, How the folk off the hethene lawe, A gret cheyne hadden i-drawe, Over the havene of Acres fers, And was festnyd to two pelers, That noo schyp ne scholde in-wynne, Ne they nought out that wer withynne. Therfore sevene yer and more, Alle Crystene kynges leyen thore, And with gret hongyr suffryd payne, For lettyng off that ilke chayne. Kyng Richard herd that tydyng; For joye hys herte beganne to sprynge, And swor and sayde, in his thought, That ylke chayne scholde helpe hem nought A swythe strong galeye he took, And Trenchemer, so says the book, Steryd the galey ryght ful evene, Ryght in the myddes off the havene. Wer the maryners saughte or wrothe, He made hem sayle and rowe bothe; And kynge Rychard, that was so good, With hys axe in foreschyp stood. And whenne he com the cheyne too, With hys ax he smot it in two, That all the barouns, verrayment, Sayde it was a noble dent;

P Syria. So Fabyan of Rosamond's bower, "that no creature, man or woman, myght negane to her." i. e. go in, by contraction, Win. Chron. vol. i. p. 320. col. i. edit. 1533 [rinnan A. S. to labour, strive at, forced the Saracens into twand hence attain to by labour.—Epir.] [Vid. supra, p. 76. Note 5.]

^{&#}x27; Rob. Brun. Chron. p. 170. The kynge's owne galeie he ca Trencthemere.

^{*} Thus R. de Brunne says, "h dred the Sarazyns otuynne." p. 57forced the Saracens into two par

^{7 [&}quot; Trenchemere, so saith the boke.— The galey yede as : ift As ony fowle by the lyfte."

And for joye off this dede,
The cuppes fast abouten yede,
With good wyn, pyement and clarré;
And saylyd toward Acres cyté.
Kyng Richard, oute of hys galye,
Caste wylde-fyr into the skeye,
And fyr Gregeys into the see,
And al on fyr wer thê.
Trumpes yede in hys galeye,
Men myghte it here into the skye,
Taboures and hornes Sarezyneys,
The see brent all off fyr Gregeys.

This fyr Gregeys, or Grecian fire, seems to be a composition longing to the Arabian chemistry. It is frequently mentioned the Byzantine historians, and was very much used in the wars of the middle ages, both by sea and land. It was a sort of wild-fire, said to be inextinguishable by water, and chiefly Used for burning ships, against which it was thrown in pots or Phials by the hand. In land engagements it seems to have been discharged by machines constructed on purpose. The oriental Greeks pretended that this artificial fire was invented by Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis, under Constantine; and that Constantine prohibited them from communicating the manner of making it to any foreign people. It was however in common use among the nations confederated with the Byzantines: and Anna Comnena has given an account of its ingredients w, which were bitumen, sulphur, and naphtha. It is called feu gregois in the French chronicles and romances. Our minstrel, Libelieve, is singular in saying that Richard scattered this fire on Saladin's ships: many monkish historians of the holy war, in describing the siege of Acon, relate that it was employed on that occasion, and many others, by the Saracens against the

^t went. ^u line 2593.

[&]quot; See Du Cange, Not. ad Joinvil. p. 71. And Gl. Lat. V. Ionis Gracus.

[[]shalmys, shawms.]

Christians^x. Procopius, in his history of the Goths, calls it MEDEA's OIL, as if it had been a preparation used in the surceries of that enchantress.

The quantity of huge battering rams and other military engines, now unknown, which Richard is said to have transported into the Holy Land, was prodigious. The names of some of them are given in another part of this romance. It is an historical fact, that Richard was killed by the French from the shot of an arcubalist, a machine which he often worked skillfully with his own hands: and Guillaume le Briton, a Frenchman, in his Latin poem called Philippeis, introduces Atropos making a decree, that Richard should die by no other means than by a wound from this destructive instrument; the use of which, after it had been interdicted by the Pope in the year 1139, he revived, and is supposed to have shewn the French in the Crusades.

Sunnes⁵ he hadde, on wondyr wyse; Mangneles⁵ off gret queintyse^c;

See more particularly Chron. Rob. Pres. p. 170. And Benedict. Abb. p. 652. And Joinv. Hist. L. p. 39. 46. 52. 53. 63. 70.

' iv. 11.

Name Richard sent for to cast stones, &c.

Among these were the Mategriffon and the Mategriffon N. iii. The former of these is thus described. Sign. E. iiii.

I have a castell I understonde
Is made of tembre of Englonde
With syxe stages full of tourelles
Well described with cornelles, &c.

The Cange Not Joine p. 68. Material of the Terror or plague of the Joseph in his Gallo-Byzanund history, mentions a castle of this under it Propounceus. Benedict says,
when Schurd errored a strong castle,
which he willed time profits, on the brow
of the mountain without the walls of
the of the Massium in Sicily. Benedict.

Abb. p. 621. ed. Hearn. sub ann. 1190. Robert de Brunne mentious this engine from our romance. Chron. p. 157.

The romancer it sais Richarde did make a pele,

On kastelle wise allwais wrought of tre ful wele.—

In schip he ded it lede, &c. ---His pele from that dai forward he cald it
Mate-griffon.

Pele is a house [a castle, fortification]. Archbishop Turpin mentions Charlemagne's wooden castles at the siege of a city in France. cap. ix.

^a See Carpentier's Suppl. Du Cange, Lat. Gl. tom. i. p. 434. And Du Cange

ad Ann. Alex. p. 357.

b See supr. p. 71. Note n. It is observable, that Manganum, Mangonell, was not known among the Roman military machines, but existed first in Byzantine Greek Mayyaw, a circumstance which seems to point out its inventors, at least to show that it belonged to the Oriental

^{* [}gynnes, engines.]

Arwblast bowe, and with gynne The Holy Lond for to wynne. Ovyr al othyr wyttyrly, A melled he hadde off gret maystry; In myddys a schyp for to stand; Swylke on sawgh nevyr man in land Four sayles wer theretoo, Yelew, and grene, red and bloo. With canevas layd wel al about, Ful schyr withinne and eke without; Al withinne ful off feer, Of torches mand with wex ful cleer; Ovyrtwart and endelang, With strenges of wyr the stones hang 10; Stones that deden never note, Grounde they never whete, no grote, But rubbyd as they wer wood. Out of the eye ran red blood.

zantine Tactics, although at the same time it was perhaps derived from the Latin Machina: yet the Romans do not appear to have used in their wars so formidable and complicated an engine, as this is described to have been in the writers of the dark ages. It was the capital machine of the wars of those ages. Du Cange in his Constantinopolis

CHRISTIANA mentions a vast area at Constantinople in which the machines of war were kept. p. 155.

See supr. p. 166. Note . d mill.

This device is thus related by Robert of Brunne, Chron. p. 175. 176.

Richard als suithe did raise his engyns. The Inglis wer than blythe, Normans and Petevyns:

9 [made.] ** [With spryngelles of fyre they dyde honde.] - Espringalles, Fr. engines. See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. Spingarda, Quadrellus. And Not. Joinv. p. 78. Perhaps he means pellets of tow dipped in the Grecian fire, which sometimes were thrown from a sort of mortar. Joinville says, that the Greek fire thrown from a mortar looked like a huge dragon flying through the air, and that at midnight the flashes of it illuminated the Christian camp, as if it had been broad day. When Louis's army was encamped on the banks of the Thanis in Ægypt, says the same curious historian, about the year 1249, they erected two chats chateils, or covered galleries, shelter their workmen, and at the end of them two befrois, or vast moves wooden towers, full of crossbow men, who kept a continual discharge on the op-Besides eighteen other new-invented engines for throwing stones But in one night, the deluge of Greek fire ejected from the Saracen camp utterly destroyed these enormous machines. This was a common disaster; but Joinville says, that his pious monarch sometimes averted the danger, by prostrating himself on the ground, and invoking our Saviour with the appellation of Beau Sire. p. 37. 39.

Beffore the trough there stood on; Al in blood he was begon; And hornes grete upon his hede, Sarezynes theroff hadde gret drede.

The last circumstance recalls a fiend-like appearance drawn by Shakespeare; in which, exclusive of the application, he has converted ideas of deformity into the true sublime, and rendered an image terrible, which in other hands would have probably been ridiculous.

Were two full moons, he had a thousand noses,
Horns whelk'd and wav'd like the enridged sea.
It was some fiend g

At the touch of this powerful magician, to speak in Milton's language, "The griesly terror grows tenfold more dreadful and deform."

The moving castles described by our minstrel, which seem to be so many fabrics of romance, but are founded in real history, afforded suitable materials for poets who deal in the marvellous. Accordingly they could not escape the fabling genius of Tasso, who has made them instruments of enchantment, and accommodated them, with great propriety, to the operations of infernal spirits.

At the siege of Babylon, the soldan Saladin sends king Richard a horse. The messenger says,

"Thou sayest thy God is ful of myght: Wylt thou graunt, with spere and scheeld,

In bargeis and galeis he set mylnes to go, The sailes, as men sais, som were blak and blo,

Som were rede and grene, the wynde about them blewe.—

The stones were of Ryncs, the noyse dreadfull and grete

It affraied the Sarazins, as leven the fyre out schete.

The noyse was unride, &c.

Ryncs is the river Rhine, whose shores or bottom supplied the stones shot from their military engines. The Normans, a barbarous people, appear to have used machines of immense and very artificial construction at the siege of Paris in 885 See the last note. And Vit. Saladin. per Schultens, p. 135. 141. 167, &c.

f-line 2631.

^g King Lear, iv. vi.

Deraye the ryght in the feeld, With helm, hawberk and brondes bryght On strong stedes, good and lyght, Whether is off more powèr Jesu or Jubyter? And he sente the to say this, Yiff thou wilt have an hors [of] hys? In alle the landes ther thou hast gon, Swylk on say thou nevyr non! Favel off Cypre, ne Lyard off Prysh, Are nought at nede as that he is; And, yiff thou wylt, this selve day, It shall be brought the to asay." Quoth kyng Richard: "Thou sayest wel; Swylke an hors, by Seynt Mychel, I wolde have to ryde upon.-Bydde hym sende that hors to me; I schal asaye, what that he be. Yiff he be trusty, withoute fayle, I kepe non othir in batayle."

horses belonging to Richard, "Favel of Cyprus and Lyard of Paris." Robert de Brunne mentions one of these horses, which he calls Phanuel Chron. p. 175.

Sithen at Japhet was slayn Phanual his stede,

The Romans telles gret pas ther of his doubty dede.

This is our romance, viz. Sign. Q. iii.

To hym gadered every chone And slewe FAVELL under hym, Tho was Richard wroth and grym.

This was at the siege of Jasse, as it is here called. Favell of Cyprus is again mentioned, Sign. O. ii.

FAVELL of Cyprus is forth fet And in the sadell he hym sett.

Robert of Brunne says that Saladin's brother sent king Richard a horse. Chron. p. 194.

He sent to king Richard a stede for curteisie

On of the best reward that was in paemie. [In the wardrobe-roll of prince Edward, afterwards king Edward the Second, under the year 1272, the masters of the horse render their accounts for horses purchased, specifying the colours and prices with the greatest accuracy. One of them is called, "Unus equus FAvallus cum stella in fronte, &c. Hearne's JOANN. DE TROKELOWE. Præf. p. xxvi. Here favellus is interpreted by Hearne to be huneycomb. I suppose he understands a dappled or roan horse. But PAVELLUS, evidently an adjective, is barbarous Latin for PALVUS, or fulvus, a dun or light yellow, a word often used to express the colour of horses and hawks. See Carpentier, Suppl. Du Fresne Lat. GLOSS. V. FAVELLUS. tom. ii. p. 370. It is hence that king Richard's horse is called PAVEL. From which word PHA-NUEL, in Robert de Brunne, is a corruption.—Addrzions.]

The messanger thenne home wente, And tolde the Sawdon in presente, Hou kyng Richard wolde hym mete. The rych Sawdon, al so skete, A noble clerk he sente for thenne A maytyr negromacien; That conjuryd as [I] you telle, Thorwgh the feendes craft off helle, Twoo stronge feendes off the eyr, In lyknesse off twoo stedes feyr, Lyke, bothe of hewe and here; As they sayde that wer there, Never was ther seen non slyke. That on was a mere lyke, That other a colt, a noble stede, Wher he wer, in ony nede, Was nevyr kyng ne knyght so bolde, That, whenne the dame neyghe wolde, Scholde hym holde agayn hys wylle, That he me wolde renne her tylle^m, And knele adoun, and souken hys dame: That whyle, the Sawdon with schame, Scholde kyng Richard soone aquelle. All thus an aungyl gan hym telle, That cam to hym aftyr mydnyght; And sayd "Awake, thou Goddes knyght! My lord o dos thè to undyrstande, Thè schal com an hors to hande; Fayr he is off body pyght; Betraye thè yiff the Sawdon myght. On hym to ryde have thou no drede, He schal thè help at thy nede."

The angel then gives king Richard several direction

¹ necromancer.

his rider.

¹ neigh.

m go to her.

ⁿ suck.

[&]quot; God.

ging this infernal horse, and a general engagement ensubetween the Christian and Saracen armies,

To lepe to hors thenne was he dyght; Into the sadyl or he leep, Off many thynge he took keep.— Hys men him brought al that he badde. A quarry tree off fourty foote Before hys sadyl anon dyd hote Faste that men scholde it brace, &c. Hymself was rychely begoo, From the crest unto the too q. He was armyd wondyr weel, And al with plates off good steel; And ther aboven, an hawberk; A schafft wrought off trusty werk; On his schuldre a scheeld off steel, With three lupardes' wrought ful weel. An helme he hadde off ryche entayle; Trusty and trewe hys ventayle; On hys crest a douve whyte Sygnyfycacioun off the Holy Spryte: Upon a croys the douve stood Off golde wrought ryche and good. God hymself, Mary and Jhon, As he was naylyd the roode upon t, In sygne off hym for whom he faught, The spere-hed forgatt he naught: Upon hys spere he wolde it have, Goddes hygh name theron was grave.

n which the Saracen line extended e miles in length, and grounde myght unnethe be sens ryght armure and speres kene.

1,
as snowe lyeth on the mountaynes re fulfylled hylles and playnes hauberkes bryght and harneys clere ompettes, and tabourere.

Pyned under Ponce Pilst, Don on the rod after that.

q from head to foot.

r leopards.

Our Seviour.

t "As he died upon the cross." So in an old fragment cited by Hearne, Gloss. Rob. Br. p. 634.

Now herkenes what oth they swore, Ar they to the batayle wore: Yiff it were soo, that Richard myght Sloo the Sawdon, in feeld with fyght, Hee, and alle hys scholde gon, At her wylle everilkon, Into the cytè off Babylone; And the kyngdom of Massidoyne He scholde have undyr his hand: And yiff the Sawdon off that land, Myghte sloo Richard in that feeld, With swerd or spere undyr scheeld, That Cristene men scholde goo, Out off that land, for ever moo, And Sarezynes have her wylle in wolde. Quod kyng Richard: "Thertoo I holde, Thertoo my glove, as I am knyght!" They ben armyd and wel i-dyght. Kyng Richard into the sadyl leep; Who that wolde theroff took keep, To see, that syght was ful fayr. The stede ran ryght, with gret ayr u, Al so harde as they myght dure, Aftyr her feet sprong the fure. Tabours beten, and trumpes blowe; Ther myghte men see, in a throwe, How kyng Richard, the noble man, Encounteryd with the Sawdan, That cheef was told off Damas. w Hys trust upon hys mere was. Therfoore, as the booke telles * Hys crouper heeng al ful off belles,

u ire.

been gallantly equipped unless the horse's brid part of the furniture small bells. Vincent wrote about 1264, cer pride in the knight

W I do not understand this. He seems to mean the Sultan of Damas, or Damascus. See Du Cange, Joinv. p. 87.

The French romance.

Antiently no person seems to have

And his peytrel *, and his arsoun *; Three myle myghte men here the soun. The mere gan nygh, her belles to ryng, For grete pryde, withoute lesyng, A brod^b fawchoun to hym he bar, For he thought that he wolde than Have slayn kyng Richard with tresoun, Whenne hys hors had knelyd doun, As a colt that scholde souke; And [ac?] he was war off that poukeⁿ. Hysc eeres with wax wer stoppyd fast, Therfore was he nought agast. He strook the feend that undyr hym yede, And gaff the Sawdon a dynt off dede. In his blasoun, verrayment, Was i-paynted a serpent. With the spere, that Richard heeld, He beor him thorwgh and undyr the scheeld, None off hys armes myghte laste; Brydyl and peytrel al to-brast; Hys gerth, and hys steropes alsoo; The mere to the grounde gan goo.

he says, bridles embroidered, or, or adorned with silver, "Atque ctoralibus CAMPANULAS INFIXAS IM emittentes SONITUM, ad gloriam et decorem." Hist. lib. xxx. cap. licliffe, in his Trialoge, inveighs the priests for their "fair hors, and nd gay sadeles, and bridles ringing! way," &c. Lewis's Wickliffe, . And hence Chaucer may be ated, who thus describes the state onk on horseback. Prol. Cant.

when he rode, men might his briell kere and in a whistling wind as clere.

and in a whistling wind as clere, ke as lowde, as doth the chapell bell. That is, because his horse's bridle or trappings were strung with bells.

The breast-plate, or breast-band of a horse. Poitral, Fr. Pectorale, Lat. Thus Chaucer of the Chanones YEMAN's horse. Chan. Yem. Prol. v. 575. Urr.

About the PAYTRELL stoode the fome ful hie.

The saddle-bow. "Arcenarium extencellatum cum argento," occurs in the wardrobe rolls, ab an. 21 ad an. 23 Edw. III. Membr. xi. This word is not in Du Cange or his Supplement.

b F. bird. [broad.] cears.

N

^{[11} And he was ware of that shame.]

Mawgry him, he garte hym staupe¹² Bakward ovyr hys meres croupe; The feet toward the fyrmament. Behynd the Sawdon the spere out went. He leet hym lye upon the grene"; He prekyd the feend with spores kene; In the name off the Holy Gost, He dryves into the hethene hoost, And al so soone as he was come, He brak asunder the scheltrome; For al that ever before hym stode Hors and man to erthe yode, Twenty foot on every syde, &c. Whenne they of Fraunce wyste, That the maystry hadde the Chryste, They wer bolde, her herte they tooke; Stedes prekyd, schauftes schooke. f

Richard arming himself is a curious Gothic picture. It is certainly a genuine picture, and drawn with some spirit; as is the shock of the two necromantic steeds, and other parts of this description. The combat of Richard and the Soldan, on the event of which the christian army got possession of the city of Babylon, is probably the Duel of King Richard, painted on the walls of a chamber in the royal palace of Clarendon. The soldan is represented as meeting Richard with a hawk on his fist, to shew indifference, or a contempt of his adversary; and that he came rather prepared for the chace, than the com-

d spurs.

^{*} Schiltron. I believe, soldiers drawn up in a circle. Rob. de Brunne uses it in describing the battle of Fowkirke, Chron. p. 905.

Ther Schultron sone was shad with Inglis that wer gode.

Shad is separated. [Scheltron, turma chipeata, a troop armed with shields.

Sce Jamieson's Etymol. Scott. Dict. and Whitaker's Peirs Plouhman's Visions.
—EDIT.]

f Line 5642. See supr. p. 118.

• [This is founded on an erroneous interpretation of the text, where Warton has mistaken "A faucon brode," (black letter edition) or a broad falchion, for a falcon.—EDT.]

^{[19} Maugre her heed, he made her seche The grounde, withoute more speche.] [19 Ther he fell dede on the grene.]

4 - 4

Indeed in the feudal times, and long afterwards, no genan appeared on horseback, unless going to battle, without wk on his fist. In the Tapestry of the Norman conquest; old is exhibited on horseback, with a hawk on his fist, and logs running before him, going on an embassy from king ard the Confessor to William duke of Normandy h. our, a drum, a common accompanyment of war, is mened as one of the instruments of martial music in this battle characteristical propriety. It was imported into the Euan armies from the Saracens in the holy war. The word nstantly written tabour, not tambour, in Joinville's History SAINT Louis, and all the elder French romances. Joinville ribes a superb bark or galley belonging to a Saracen chief, h he says was filled with cymbals, tabours, and Saracen is i. Jean d'Orronville, an old French chronicler of the of Louis duke of Bourbon, relates, that the king of France, ting of Thrasimere, and the king of Bugie, landed in Africa, rding to their custom, with cymbals, kettle drums, tabours k, 'whistles!. Babylon, here said to be besieged by king ard, and so frequently mentioned by the romance writers the chroniclers of the crusades, is Cairo or Bagdat. Cairo

he hawk on the fist was a mark among the most valuable articles of proest nobility. We frequently find on antique seals and miniatures, I was this bird esteemed, that it was den in a code of Charlemagne's for any one to give his hawk or **citionem** Wirigildi volumus ut ea r qua in lege continentur excepto tre et spatha." Lindebrog. Cod. Antiq. p. 895. In the year 1337, shop of Ely excommunicated cerersons for stealing a hawk sitting er perch in the cloisters of the of Bermondsey in Southwark. piece of sacrilege, indeed, was comd during service-time in the choir: he hawk was the property of the p. Registr. Adami Orleton, Episc. on. fol. 56. b. In Archiv. Winton. lomesdel-book, a Hawk's Airy, Accipitris, is sometimes returned

perty.

Histoir. de S. Loys, p. 30. The nted to persons of both sexes. So original has "Cors Sarazinois." See also p. 52. 56. And Du Cange's Notes,

k I cannot find Glais, the word that rord as part of his ransom. "In follows, in the French dictionaries. But perhaps it answers to our old English Glee. See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. V. CLASSICUM. [Roquefort, who cites the same passage, calls Glais, a musical instrument, without defining its peculiar nature.—EDIT.

¹ Cap. 76. Nacaires is here the word for kettle-drums. See Du Cange, ubi supr. p. 59. Who also from an old roll de la chambre des Comptes de Paris recites, among the houshold musicians of a French nobleman, "Menestrel du Cor Sarazinois," ib. p. 60. This instrument is not uncommon in the French romances.

and Bagdat, cities of recent foundation, were perpetually confounded with Babylon, which had been destroyed many centries before, and was situated at a considerable distance from either. Not the least enquiry was made in the dark ages concerning the true situation of places, or the disposition of the country in Palestine, although the theatre of so important war; and to this neglect were owing, in a great measure, the signal defeats and calamitous distresses of the christian adverturers, whose numerous armies, destitute of information, and cut off from every resource, perished amidst unknown mountains and impracticable wastes. Geography at this time had been but little cultivated. It had been studied only from the antients: as if the face of the earth, and the political state of nations, had not, since the time of those writers, undergone any changes or revolutions.

So formidable a champion was king Richard against the infidels, and so terrible the remembrance of his valour in the holy war, that the Saracens and Turks used to quiet their froward children only by repeating his name. Joinville is the only writer who records this anecdote. He adds another of the same sort. When the Saracens were riding, and their horse started at any unusual object, "ils disoient a leurs chevaulx en les picquant de l'esperon, et cuides tu que ce soit le Roy Richart^m?" It is extraordinary, that these circumstances should have escaped Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Benedict, Langtoft, and the rest of our old historians, who have exaggerated the character of this redoubted hero, by relating many particulars more likely to be fabulous, and certainly less expressive of his prowess.

m Hist. de S. Loyis, p. 16. 104. Who nicle of the holy war. See Du Cange's had it from a French manuscript chro- Notes, p. 45.

Note

ON THE ROMANCE OF SIR TRISTRAM.

[See page 78.]

THE romance of Sir Tristram, De Brunne's eulogium on which Warton has here cited, is usually supposed to be still extant. A poem purporting to be such was published some years ago by Sir Walter Scott, from a manuscript contained in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh; and accompanied by a large body of notes in illustration of the singularly beautiful story, with a prefatory dissertation on the age and character of the presumed author. In the latter, the distinguished editor has exercised the united powers of his ingenuity and erudition, to prove that the poem which he has thus ushered into the world is the same which is alluded to by De Brunne; and that it was composed by the Scottish poet noticed by Warton, Thomas of Erceldoune, called the Rymer.

The premises upon which these opinions are founded have ever appeared to the writer of this note to be both fanciful and unsatisfactory; and in entering into an examination of their validity, he is fortunate in having the example and arguments of Mr. Campbell to favour his attempt. The chain of evidence by which Sir Walter Scott has endeavoured to substantiate his theory, may be thus briefly stated. The æra of Thomas the Rymer (as originally fixed) lies between the years 1219-1296. At a subsequent period the earlier date was withdrawn, and his birth was referred to the close of the twelfth century. With this Thomas the Rymer it is urged we ought to identify the Thomas mentioned by De Brunne; and to accept the poem preserved in the Auchinleck MS. either as the original romance of that writer, or as one whose "general texture and form closely resemble it." In defence of the Rymer's claim to an "original property" in this story, a fragment of a French romance

is cited, containing a reference to one "Thomas" as the most authentic writer on the subject; and a passage from Godfrey of Strasburg, the author of a German version, is also adduced to show that he likewise followed the narrative of one Thomas of Brittanie. The date of the former document is fixed by conjecture at 1257; the age of Godfrey, with more probability, in the early half of the 13th century. With regard to the Rymer's death, it is a fact of such uncertain date, that all we positively know is,—it may have occurred between the years 1286-1299. The testimony of Blind Harry, upon which the date of 1296 reposes, is more than suspicious. The same political spirit which produced the numerous vaticinal rymes w favour of the successful Edward's invasion of Scotland, would naturally be combated by similar weapons in the sister king-With these the Rymer may or may not have been connected; but when we recollect the general practice of introducing the seer's agency into every national epos, such & circumstance, however contrary to fact, will rather appear sential than surprising, in the composition of a genuine descendant of the ancient minstrel, bard, or rhapsodist. Unsup ported by other authority, it would be useless to assume such a declaration as the basis of an historical argument; and as the rejection of it rather assists than impugns the theory here opposed, it may be dismissed without further comment. The data of the Rymer's birth is purely hypothetical; it may be limited by probability; but in the present state of the evidence, any thing like certainty is perfectly hopeless.

The testimony of De Brunne to the existence of poetry by "Erceldoune and Kendale," and the singular style in which it was written, is unequivocal. But it may be questioned, whether any one, unassisted by the Auchinleck MS., "the faint vestige of whose text, as well as probability, dictated Erceldoune" in the following passage, would have known to which of these writer

"Sir Tristram" ought to be assigned.

I was at [Erceldoune], With Tomas spake I there. The language of De Brunne is so loose and confused, that light be attributed to either.

> I see in song in sedgeyng tale, Of Erceldoun and of Kendale; Non tham says as thai tham wroght, And in ther saying it semes noght. That may thou here in Sir Tristrem, Over gestes it has the steem, Over all that is or was, If men it sayd as made Thomas; Bot I here it no man so say, That of some copple som is away; So there fayre saying here beforne, Is there travayle nere forlorne: Thai sayd it for pride and nobleye, That non were suylk as thei.1

ut, waving these considerations, the most important point examination arises from the internal evidence to be found ne alleged romance of Sir Tristram; and upon which De nne has been so explicitly circumstantial.

> Thai sayd it in so quainte Inglis, That manyone wate not what it is. Therfore heuyed wele the more In strange ryme to travayle sore. And my witte was oure thynne, So strange speche to travayle in; And forsoth I couth noght So strange Inglis as that wroght; And men besoght me many a tyme, To turne it bot in light ryme.

is true, the ingenious editor of "Sir Tristram" considers nese peculiarities to exist in the Auchinleck poem.

n the Preface to Sir Tristram this i." This error has engendered a z interpretation of the passage:

"they wrote for pride (fame), and for thus given: "That were not suylk nobles, not such as these my ignorant hearers."

conceives the "quaint Inglis" to consist in a peculiar structure of style, which he designates "the Gibbonism of romance;" the "strange ryme" to be manifested by the intricate arrangement of the stanza, with its repetition of the same assonance; and that even the inaccuracies of the "seggers," mentioned in the preceding extract, are still to be traced in the omission of several couplets in various parts of the poem. But if there be meaning in language, or connexion in the narrative of De Brunne, his "quaint Inglis," his "strange Inglis," and his "strange speche," all resolve themselves into the employment of an unusual phraseology dependent upon his "strange ryme," and not into any peculiarity of style;—into the use of terms above the comprehension of the vulgar, which time had rendered obsolete, or fashion had adopted from exotic sources. For he proceeds to observe:

That sayd if I in strange it turne,
To here it many on suld skurne;
For [in] it ere names fulle selcouthe,
That ere not used now in mouthe.
And therfore for the commonalté,
That blythely wild listen to me,
On light lange I it began,
For luf of the lewed man.

Of these "selcouthe names" what traces do we find in the tomance of Sir Tristram, which are not to be met with in equiabundance in the poems of De Brunne? If the former bespecimen of that "quaint Inglis," which could justify De Brunn
in saying it contained "names not used now in mouthe," upowhat principle can we allow this cloistered versifier to hav
avoided the same peculiarity in his own composition? His or
poems are equally quaint and equally prolific of that same di
solete phraseology, which limited the popularity of his admire
predecessors; for whoever will be at the trouble of analysis
the language of both writers, will find their archaisms near
corresponding in amount, though frequently differing in verb

import. With this knowledge, we are either reduced to the necessity of concluding, that there is a strange contradiction between the intention and practice of De Brunne, or that the romance of Sir Tristram still extant is not the production to which he has alluded. There is, however, a passage in this early chronicler, which will relieve him of this apparent charge of inconsistency, if we accept the only interpretation of which his language seems capable. He has stated of the seggours, who recited this romance:

Bot I here it no man so say That of some copple som is away.

The editor of Sir Tristram renders this: "he never heard it repeated, but what of some copple (i. e. stanza) part was omitted." It does not appear upon what authority this explanation of "copple" is founded; and it would be difficult to point out any period in our language, when that expression implied more than the simple connexion of two distinct bodies. equivalent to our modern "couplet;" and the examples brought from Sir Tristram (which is written in stanzas) to illustrate the censure of De Brunne, exhibit the suppression of whole copples, and not the omission of a part. In Anglo-Saxon verse, and its genuine descendant, the alliterative metre of early English poetry, the "copple" was as indispensable in the structure of a poem, as we now consider it to be in regular Iambic rymes; and it is among the commonest faults of every early transcriber, to commit the error noticed by De Brunne, and to give us a text, of which it may be truly said, "that of some copple som is away." This negligence is frequent in Beowulf and other Anglo-Saxon poems, to the great confusion of the narrative; and would indeed be a source of infinite perplexity, if the defective alliteration it occasions did not as clearly mark the hiatus as would be the case with an unconsorted ryme. Of this practice the following example out of many may suffice.

Thæm seower bearn, forth gerimed,

To him four bairns, numbered (rimed) forth, in toorold wocun,
meeroda raswa,
Heorogar and Hrothgar,
and Halga til.
Hyrde ic that Elan cwen,
keatho Scylfings,
keals-gebedda.

(leader of straics).

Heorogar and Hrothgar,
and Halga good. [woman)
I heard that Elan queen (or
illustrious Scylfing,
bedded consort.

Here the seventh line stands without the second member of the copple, an omission involving the history of Elan in some obscurity. Whether this inadvertency be equally chargeable against the transcribers of early English poetry in the same national metre, must be left to the decision of some more experienced entiquery. But that all who sought distinction in the composition of vernacular poetry, or were stimulated in their effusions by "pride and nobleye," adopted this species of metre, is abundantly proved by the testimony of Giraldus Cambronsis. After speaking of Welsh poetry in general, the topographer of the principality proceeds to observe: " Precunctis autem rhetoricis exornationibus annominatione magis utuntur, eaque precipue specie que primas dictionum literas vel syllabes convenientia jungit. Adeo igitur hoc verborum ornatu, duse nationes Angli scil. et Cambri in omni sermone exquisito [faire saying] utuntur, ut nihil ab his eleganter diotum, nullum nisi rude et agreste [lewed] censeatur eloquium si non schematis hujus lima plene fuerit expolitum sicut Brittanice in hunc modum:

Digawn duw da y unic Wrth bob crybwylh parawd

* Ed. Thorkelin, p. 7. From some subsequent details it appears that Elan was married to Ongenthiow, chief of the Scyllings; and we might perhaps restore the text by reading:

Hyrde ic that Elan cwen
[Ongenthiowes was]
heatho Scylfinga
heals-gebedda

Heard I that Elan queen (woman)
was Ongenthiow's
(illustrious Scylfing)
bedded consort (heals, collum; gebedds,
consors lecti).

Anglice vero:

God is together Gammen and wisdome.³

In this it may be assumed that we have the key to the "strange ryme" of De Brunne: and if the reader should feel disposed to accept the preceding illustration of the dismembered copple, he will probably not refuse his assent to the belief, that the following extract from an old romance, more nearly resembles the other peculiarities noticed by our ancient writer, than the stanza of Sir Tristram.

And quen this Bretayn was bigged, bi this burn rych, bolde bredden therinne, baret * that lofden; in many turned tyme, tene that wroghten. Mo ferlyes + on this folde, han fallen here oft, then in any other that i wot, syn that ilk tyme. Bot of alle that here bult, of Bretaygne kynges, ay was Arthur the hendest ‡, as I haf herde telle. Forthi an aunter in erde, I attle to shawe, that a selli in sight, summe men hit holden: and an outrage awenture, of Arthures wonderes, If ye wyl lysten this laye bot on litel quile

Wit tonge

Girald. Cambria Descript. pp. 889-90. ap. Camd. Anglica, Hibernica, &c. Francf. 1601. † strife. † marvels. † most courteous.

I schal tel hit as tit
as I in toun herde,
as hit is stad and stoken
in stori stif and stronge
wit lel letteres loken
in londe so has ben longe.

On analysing the language of this production, it will be found to form a striking contrast to the simple narrative of De Brunne, or the abrupt and costive style of Sir Tristram. It abounds in those "selcouth names" which in the fourteenth century were rapidly growing into disuse, and which were only retained by the writers in alliterative metre. Every relic of this species of versification displays the same exuberance of obsolete terms, the same attention to set phraseology and antique idioms manifested in the specimen given above; and the practice cannot be better illustrated, than by referring to the "quaint Hellenisms" which distinguish the Alexandrine school of heroic poetry. By De Brunne, who only felt such learned foppery to be a drawback upon the writer's popularity, it is merely condemned as an error in policy; by Chaucer, who saw the necessary sacrifice it involved of matter to manner, of sense to sound, it is ridiculed for its childish absurdity:

> But trusteth wel I am a sotherne man, I cannot geste, rem, ram, ruf by my letter, And God wote, rime hold I but litel better.

Of the Rymer's claim to an "original property" in this story, as inferred from the language of the French fragments, Mr. Campbell has already remarked: "The whole force of this argument evidently depends upon the supposition of Mr. Douce's fragments being the work of one and the same author, —whereas they are not to all appearance by the same author. A single perusal will enable us to observe how remarkably

it is the Editor's intention to give in a future publication, which will also contain the whole romance from whence the specimen given above has been taken.

⁴ This stanza has been arranged according to the practice of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The reasons for this departure from the usual disposition of the lines

they differ in style. They have no appearance of being parts of the same story, one of them placing the court of king Mark at Tintagail, the other at London. Only one of the fragments refers to the authority of a Thomas, and the style of that one bears very strong marks of being French of the twelfth century, a date which places it beyond the possibility of its referring to Thomas of Erceldoune." In addition it may be observed, that the language of this fragment, so far from vesting Thomas with the character of an original writer, affirms directly the reverse:

> ⁵ Seignurs cest cunte est mult divers— Oï en ai de plusur gent; Aser sai que chescun en dit, Et co qu'il unt mis en ecrit. Mé selun ce que j'ai oï, Nél dient pas sulun Breri, Ki solt les gestes et les cuntes De tus les reis, de tus les cuntes, Ki orent ésté en Bretagne, E sur que tut de cest ouraigne: Plusurs de nos granter ne volent Ce que del naim dire se solent, Ki femme Kaherdin dut aimer &c. Pur cest plaie e pur cest mal, Enveiad Tristran Guvernal En Engleterre pur Ysolt. Thomas ico granter ne volt; Et si volt par raisun mustrer, Qu' ico ne put pas esteer.

rently told; I have heard it from many: I know well enough how each tells it, and what they have put in writing. But according to what I have heard, they do not tell it as Breri does, who knew the gestes and the tales of all the kings, and all the earls, who had been in Brittany, and about the whole of this story. Many

4 "Lordings, this tale is very diffe- of us (minstrels) will not allow what others tell of (Tristram) the dwarf, who is said to have been in love with the wife of Kaherdin, &c. On account of the wound and this disease, Tristram sent Gouvernail into England for Ysolt. Thomas however will not admit this; and undertakes to prove, by argument, that this could not be. He (Gonvernail) 4

was ega se

Cist fast par tut la part soness,

E par tut le regre sind & ou ...

Que hume issueonement entre ...

N'i fat mult test aparteus,

Ne sai coment il se gardest &c.

It is clear from this document, that in the writer's opinion the earliest and most authentic narrative of Tristram's story was to be found in the work of Breri. From his relation later minstrels had chosen to deviate; but Thomas, who had also composed a romance upon the subject, not only accorded with Breri in the order of his events, but entered into a justification of himself and his predecessor, by proving the inconsistency and absurdity of these new-fangled variations. If therefore the romance of Thomas be in existence, it must contain this vindication; the poem in the Auchinleck MS. is entirely silent on the subject. It is not a little remarkable, that another fragment of French poetry should also mention a Thomas, the author of a translated romance on the subject of king Horn.

Seignurs of avez le vers del parchemin, Cum le Bers Aalúf est venuz a la fin; Mestre Thomas ne volt qu'il seit mis a declin, K'il ne die de Horn le vaillant orphelin?

And, as if the writer had not sufficiently declared himself in this passage, we find the following repetition of his name at the conclusion:

Tomas n'en dirrat plus: tu autem chanterat, Tu autem, domine, miserere nostri.

was known all over those parts, and throughout the kingdom, &c. That a man so known there, should not have been immediately perceived, I do not know how he could have prevented."—Scorr.

From this prudish mode of announcing an author's name, it is impossible not to suspect, that the Tomas of Mr. Douce's fragment is in fact the author of that poem. Alexandre de Berney declares himself in a similar manner.

Alexandre nous dit mi da Bernay fu nez.

Pliny (lib. i. p. 5) records a parallel piece of affectation observed by the Grecian artists, who used the imperfect tense in their inscriptions instead of the first acrist.

" Lordings, you have beard the poem as it stands in the parchment, how Beron Asluf came to his end. (But) Master Thomas is unwilling the story should be closed, till be has spoken of the bold orghen Horn."

That this Thomas was only a translator or copyist of some earlier authority, is clear from his language in the first of these extracts; and is confirmed by two passages of similar import in a subsequent part of the poem.

E Horn si a torné cum dit le parchemin. De Sutdene sui nez, si ma geste ne ment.

Sir Walter Scott is disposed to interpret this mention of a Thomas,—"though the opinion be only stated hypothetically,"—as another reference to the authority of Thomas of Erceldoune; and anticipates any objection that might arise from the apparent antiquity of the language, by instancing the disparity between that of Douglas and Chaucer; the former of which he asserts "we should certainly esteem" [the elder], when in fact it is nearly two centuries later. We may safely leave the discussion of this point, till it be proved that the case at issue is any way analogous to the example brought to refute it; till it be shown that the French romance of king Horn was written in some remote province of France, where the vernacular dialect had either been entirely neglected, or contained elements essentially differing from the language of the capital. In fact, the whole argument with regard to antiquity of language may be said to be perfectly beyond the grasp of contending parties on this side of the channel; such a subject can only be decided with any chance of accuracy by native authority. But the ingenious advocate of the Rhymer's fame has wholly forgotten to observe, that Mr. Ritson prudently abstained from touching on this point, and only spoke to the antiquity of the document in which the romance was found. This he affirmed "is to all appearance of the twelfth century;" and here the opinion of an English antiquary may be admitted as efficient testimony. On a review of these facts we may therefore assert, that if any conclusion is to be drawn from this collateral mention of a Thomas, it must be, that both fragments in all probability refer to the same personage. This man indisputably wrote in French; and so far from having an original property

in the fictions which he versified, we find him in both instances the follower of earlier authorities. The testimony of Godfrey of Strasburg will be found in close accordance with this opinion. Like the writer of the fragment in Mr. Douce's possession, Godfrey records the difficulty he had found in procuring an authentic narrative of Tristram's story, on account of the various modes in which it was related. At length having discovered, from his perusal of several foreign and Latin works, that Thomas of Brittany, who was well read in British books, had "told the tale aright," he resolved upon adhering to so competent a guide.

> Als der von Tristande seit Di rihte und di warheit, Begonde ich sere suchen In beider hande buchen. Welschin und Latinen, Und begonde mich des pinen, Das ich in siner rihte. Rihte dies tihte. Sus treib ich manige suche, Unz ich an einem buche, Alle sine iche gelas, Wie dirre aventure was.

Of the language in which this "foreign book" was written, and which Godfrey believed to be the original text of Thomas, Mr. Weber has supplied us with the following conclusive evidence: "At v. 220 (of Godfrey's version) we are told that

Before this name was interpreted —Brittany and England. "Thomas of Brittain," (i. e. Great Britain) it ought to have been shown that the German romancers ever understood this country by the term " Brittania." Godfrey's contemporary, Hartman von Awe, who collected materials for his romance of Iwain in England, calls it "Engellandt." The writer of Mr. Douce's fragment also makes a distinction between Bretagne and Engleterre

[&]quot; " What he (Thomas of Brittany) has related of Tristram being the right and the truth, I diligently began to sak both in French [foreign] and Letin books; and began to take great pains order this poem according to his [its] true relation. In this menner I sough for a long time, until I read in a book all his relation, how these adventures happened."-WESES.

Rivalin has been said to have been king of Lochnoys; 'but Thomas, who read it in adventure (romance), says that he was of Parmenie, and that he had a separate land from a Briton, to whom the Schotte (i. e. Scots) were subject, and who was named li duc Morgan.' A great number of words, sometimes whole lines, occur throughout the poem in French, which are carefully translated into German. This renders it indisputable that the poet had a French original before him." It is impossible for testimony to be more explicit than the declaration of this early German poet. With the romance of Thomas lying before him, he cites the very expressions of his original, and these are found to be Norman-French!—The age of Godfrey can only be gleaned from the history of his contemporaries. Mr. Weber has remarked, "This poet appears from various circumstances to have lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. digression respecting the troubadours of his age, he deplores the death of Henry von Veldec (who composed a very romantic poem on the basis of Virgil's Æneid, in the year 1180, according to his own account); and among his contemporaries he mentions Hartman von Auwe, author of Ywaine and other poems, which he composed towards the end of the twelfth century; and Walther von der Vogelweide, who wrote a great number of amorous lays between the years 1190 and 1230." A copy of Godfrey's Tristram, including as much of the story as he lived to write, occurs in the royal library at Munich. Mr. Douce refers this MS. to the middle of the thirteenth century, and we are told that Ulrich von Turheim, who wrote one conclusion to Godfrey's unfinished poem, flourished not later than from 1240 to 1250. There is reason to believe this latter writer has been placed too low in the thirteenth century; for Wolfram von Eschenbach, who wrote a second part to Ulrich's William of Orange, was in the zenith of his glory in the year 1207. Wolfram would hardly have taken up the narrative during the life of Ulrich.

Sir Walter Scott has cited two early references to the story, one of which was written previous to the birth of the bard of vol. 1.

Erceldoune, and the other about the year 1226. To show the early popularity of the subject, and the general currency it had obtained in various parts of Europe, a few authorities are here collected, all of which were published before the period fixed upon for the composition of the Rymer's poem. The first is taken from Rambaud d'Orange, a troubadour whose death is placed about the year 1173.

Car jeu begui de l'amor,
Que ja us deia amar celada,
Ab Tristan, quan la il det Yseus gen—
Sobre totz aurai gran valor,
S' aital camis a m' es dada,
Cum Yseus det a l'amador,
Que mais non era portata;
Tristan mout presetz gent presen—
Qu' Yseutz estet en gran paor,
Puois fon breumens conseillada,
Qu' ilh fetz a son marit crezen
C'anc hom que nasques de maire
Non toques en lieis mantenen.

This passage will be best understood by referring to the language of Brengwain in the English romance:

Greteth wele mi levedy
That ai trewe hath ben;
Smockes had sche and Y,
And hir was solwy to sen,
By Marke tho hye schuld lye
Y lent hir min al clen,
As there:
Oyain hir, wele Y wen,
No dede Y never mare.

Deudes de Prades, another troubadour, who is conjectured to have written about the year 1213, thus alludes to the "drink of force," the fatal cause of Tristram's criminal passion.

Raynouard, ii. 312.



OF SIR TRISTRAM.

Beure m fai ab l' enaps Tristran Amors, et eisses los pimens¹¹.

The same circumstance is also referred to by Henry von Veldeck, a German Minne-singer, who died before the close of the 12th century.

Tristan muste ohne seinen Dank Treue sein der Königinne, Weil ihn dazu ein Getrank zwang, Mehr noch als die Kraft der Minne¹².

In the Provençal romance of Jaufre, probably written before the year 1196, and certainly not later than 1213, we find a singular allusion to the feigned madness of Tristram, of which a detailed account is given in the second of Mr. Douce's fragments.

> Que far m' o fai forsa d' amor— E que fes fol semblar Tristan Per Yseult cui amava tan, E de son oncle lo parti, E ella per s' amor mori¹³.

In the year 1226 the whole story was translated into Norse (Norwegian or Islandic), under the title of "Saga af Tristrand og Isaldis." The Arnæ-Magnæan MS. preserved at Copenhagen contains the following notice at the commencement: "Var tha lided fra Hingadburde Christi 1226 Aar, er thesse Saga var a Norrænu skrifad, eptir Befalningu Virdulegs Herra Hakonar kongs¹⁴."

[&]quot; Love makes me drink from the goblet and very spiceries of Tristran."

by no merit of his own; for a philter rather than the force of love compelled him to it." The German given above is not from Veldeck's original text, but that modernized by Tieck.

⁻that (passion) which caused Tristran

to feign madness on account of Ysolt, whom he loved so much, which caused him to be at variance with his uncle and made her (Ysolt) die for his (Tristran's) love."

^{14 &}quot;1226 years were passed from the birth of Christ, when this Saga was written in Norse, by the command of (our) honoured lord, king Hacon."

If the writer of this Note "has been successful in his statement, three points have been established:" 1st, That the peculiarities of style and language in the romance of Sir Tristran are of such a character as to render it extremely doubtful that they are the same which are spoken of by De Brunne. 2ndly, That the Thomas of the French fragment, and the Thomas of Brittany mentioned by Godfrey of Strasburg, wrote his poem in Norman French. 3rdly, That Tristram's story was universally known in Europe previous to the Rymer's age; and consequently that, so far from being an authority to others, he followed in all probability some foreign predecessor. There are several minor arguments advanced in the preface to Sir Trib tram, bearing relatively or incidentally upon the general theory which have been passed over in silence. Several of these are purely hypothetical; such as the assumption that Mr. Douces fragments were written by Raoul de Beauvais; that Thomas authority was acknowledged by the Norman rimeurs from his supposed acquaintance with British traditions; that the names of Gouvernail, Blauncheflour, Triamour, and Florentine, were bestowed upon the inferior personages, because the originals being unknown to Thomas he used those peculiar to the Novman-English dialect in which he composed—a circumstance by the way, savouring strongly of a French original. These with several others of a similar nature, can only need examine tion when the previous arguments shall have been established Above all, the strange appropriation of the Auchinleck poem as a Scottish production, when no single trace of the Scottish dialect is to be found throughout the whole romance which may not with equal truth be claimed as current in the north of England, while every marked peculiarity of the former is entire ly wanting, can hardly require serious investigation. From this opinion the ingenious editor himself must long ago have been reclaimed. The singular doctrines relative to the riand progress of the English language in North and Sout Britain may also be dismissed as not immediately relevant But when it is seriously affirmed, that the English language

was once spoken with greater purity in the Lowlands of Scotland, than in this country, we "Sothrons" receive the communication with the same smile of incredulity, that we bestow upon the poetic dogma of the honest Frieslander;

Buwter, breat en greene tzies Is guth Inglisch en guth Fries¹⁵.

This Note had been printed, when the writer received the first volume of Professor Müller's Saga-Bibliothek; (Kiöbenhavn 1817,) and Lohengrin, an old German romance edited by Mr. Görres (Heidelberg 1813). He is happy in being able to add from these interesting works a further confirmation of some of the positions assumed in the preceding pages.—The former contains the following passage: "The artifice here resorted to by the mistress of Dromund (one of the heroes in Grettur's-Saga), and which enables her to swear thus equivocally, is indisputably taken from the romance of Tristram so generally known in the middle ages. mance of Tristram by Thomas of Erceldoune, queen Ysoude avails herself of a similar manœuvre. See Fytte the Second, Stanzas 104, 105. This circumstance is also recorded in the old French version, and forms the 58th chapter of the Islandic translation executed in the year 1226, at the command of king Hacon. The Icelandic Saga closely follows the order of the English poem." (page 261.) We are not informed whether the Northern version was made from the French or German, or, what is more probable, from a German translation of some French romance. But as it exhibits the story in the same form as the English poem, the Rymer's claim to "an original property in the fable" inevitably falls to the ground. The preface to Lohengrin contains a general account of Wolfram v. Eschenbach's Titurel and Parcifal. In the former, Wolfram cites the authorities he had consulted in the compilation of his

¹⁵ Butter, bread, and green cheese, Is good English and good Friese.

work; and after mentioning the British history (which Mr. Görres with evident probability interprets the Brut of G. of Monmouth) declares himself to have been further assisted in his researches by "Thomas of Brittany's Chronicle of Comwall." This is clearly the same Thomas so repeatedly referred to in the preceding page, and whose celebrity may now be accounted for on better grounds than the belief that he was the author of a romance on Tristram's story. The Chronicler of Cornwall was a much more important personage than a mere minstrel composer of chivalric poems; and though the critics of the present day might refuse to acknowledge the distinction between Thomas and his syming cotemporates, the characteristics of romantic and authentic history were not rigidly defined at the period we are concerned with.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TAKEN FROM

Mr. PARK'S COPY

OF

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

P. 4. note r.—Herbert observes that the Saxon b [th] is used to this day in the letter y: as y' that, y' the. MS. note in Mr. Dallaway's copy.—PARK.

P. 15. end of note h.—Caxton had printed the Liber Festivalis in English before W. de Worde.—Herrer. (Q^y. Lives of the Saints.)

P. 20. l. 3.—Guernes, an ecclesiastic of Pont St. Maxence in Picardy, wrote a metrical life of Thomas a Becket, and, from his anxiety to procure the most authentic information on the subject, came over to Canterbury in 1172, and finally perfected his work in 1177. is written in stanzas of five Alexandrines, all ending with the same rhymes; a mode of composition supposed to have been adopted for the purpose of being easily chanted. A copy is preserved in MS. Harl. 270. and another in MS. Cotton. Domit. A. xi. See Archæologia, vol. xiii. and Ellis's Hist. Sketch, &c. p. 57. -PARE.

P. 90. note a.—The lives of St. Josaphat and of the Seven Sleepers are attributed by the Abbé de la Rue to Chardry, an Anglo-Norman poet, who also wrote Le petit plet, a dispute between an old and a young man on human life. Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury in 1207 wrote a canticle on the passion of Jesus Christ in 123 stanzas, with a theological drama, in the duke of Norfolk's library; and Denis Pyramus, who lived in the reign of Henry IIL, wrote in verse the life and martyrdom of King St. Edmund, in 3286 lines, with the miracles of the same saint in 600 lines: a manuscript in the Cott. Library,

Dom. A. zi. See Archæologia, vol. ziii,
—Park. For a note on Langton's drama,
see vol. ii. p. 80.—Enr.

P. 50. note y.—A version of this song was made by Sir Walter Scott, at the request of Ritson, and has been printed in the late republication of his English Songs, vol. ii. Mr. Geo. Ellis made another metrical translation, which perished with many of Ritson's MS. treasures.—PARK.

P. 54. note q.—It is certain that neither of these terms relates to chess.—
Dougs.

P. 64. note b.—The county of Lincoln is divided into the hundreds of Lindsey and Kesteven.—PARK.

P. 66. note m.—Herbert says he had found the Fructus Temporum printed at St. Albans, also by Julian Notary and W. de Worde, but not by Caxton.—MS. note.

P. 67. note o.—It is not said by Geoffrey of Monmouth that he received his original from Walter Mapes (who probably was not born at the time), but from Walter archdeacon of Oxford, i. e. Walter Calenius, who has more than once been confounded with Mapes, who was also archdeacon of Oxford. Mr. Warton has fallen into another mistake, which he confers on Nicolson, who only supposes Wate to be Walter, and not Walter Mapes.—Douck.

P. 90. l. 15.—It is very certain that many French poems were written during this period by Englishmen; but it is probable that several were also composed by Normans.—Douce.

P. 92. note !. - The "Roman de Oti-

nel," in Montfaucon Bibl. Bibliothec. p. 32, is probably the same.—Douce.

P. 99. 1. 20.—Mr. Philip Blass, of St. John's college Oxon, (to whose kindness I am indebted for the collation of this extract with the Bodley MS.) observes, that a leaf appears to be wanting at this place, which contained probably the life of Edwyn; ax lines of which only remain, and are here appended.

His wife, for here fairs hedde, Of God he hadde lytell drede; Thoght (2) he was here owne cosyne, Ther fore he sewed (?) the more pyne. He reyned nii yere. To Wynchester men hym bere.

P. 105. note k.—The "Mappa Mundi" was not by Mandevile, as here suggested, nor was Aiton or Haiton king of Armenia, but only related to that sovereign. He was lord of Curchi. See his travels in "Bergeron, Voyages faits principalement on Asie," &c. Mr. Warton was probably misted by Chardin the famous traveller.—Douck.

famous traveller.— Douck.

P. 109. note t.—It has been remarked by Ritson, that the elegy printed by Mrs. Cooper was the composition of Fabyan the chronicler, who died in 1511 but then it is a translation from the original Latin, preserved by Knighton, of

the twelfth century. - PARK.
P. 116, note 1. - Two metrical reliques by Richard Lwere first printed in La Tour sénébreuse, &c. 1705. The first of these, in mixed Romance and Provençal, professes to be the verstable chanson of Blondel; the other is a love-song in Norman Freuch. The sonnet cited by Mr. Walpole was exhibited with an English verson in Dr. Burney's History of Music, but has since received a more graceful illustration from the pen of Mr. George Ellis, in the last edition of Royal and Noble Authors. It can hardly be called "a fragment," though the last stanza looks imperfect. - Paux. [Mr. Park has probably mistaken the Envoy, consisting of three lines, for a part of the

Suer Contessa vostre pretz sobcirain, Sal dieus e gard la bella qu'ieu am tan, Ni per cui soi ja pres.

The whole has been published by M. Raynouard, in the fourth volume of his

"Choix des Poesies originales des Trobbadours," a volume which had not reached me when the note, to which this is a supplement, was sent to the press. Another poem by Richard I. will be found in the "Parnasse Occitanien," Toulouse 1819, a publication from which the following remark has been thought worth extracting: "Crescimbem avait dit qu'il existait des poesies du roi Richard dans le manuscrit 3204, et la-dessus Horace Walpole le taxe d'inexactitude. Cependant le sirvente se trouve au fol-170, Ro. et 171 Ro. C'est done l'Anglois qui se trompe en disant there is no work of King Richard."—Entr.]

glois qui se trompe en disant there is no work of King Richard."—Entr.]

P. 117, I. S.—It by no means follow that the contents of this book were romances of chivalry. Any collection of French pieces, especially in verse, would at this time be called Romances; and the from the language, not the subject.—Don or

P. 118. note n.—Mr. Warton has been apparently misled by Montfancon. Lancelot du Lac is ascribed in the work itself to Walter de Mapes. Robert de Borron appears to have composed the romance of the Saint Grasl, which being in part introduced into that of Lancelot, may have occasioned the above mistake.—Douck. But see p. 138. note a.—Entr.

P. 129. note b.—This Roman do Thebes is in reality one of those works on the story of the siege of Troy, engrafted either on that of Columns, or on his materials.—Douce.

P. 154. L. 5. - Either from the ardour of composition, or through the multiplicity of books referred to by Mr. Warton, some mistake has arisen at this place. The late Mr. Labrarian Price pointed out to me the 4to volume which once belonged to Hearne, and is now musted B. N. Rawl. 99. It consists of mven articles, the third of which is " Gate Alexandri Magni metrice composita." This being very neatly written, an a hand much resembling the type of our carly printed classics, seems to have been confounded (as Ritson shrewdly surmised) with "Expositio Sancti Jeronimi," месселлуии, a rare specimen of typography by F. Corsellis, in the library of C.C.C. Oxon.—PARK.

P. 189. J. 1.—La Charette, or Du Chevalier à la Charette: perhaps the

same, says Ritson, with Les romans de and renowned authors are almost buried celot du Lac. To the same remancewriter are attributed, Du Chevalier è Lion, de prince Acondre, & Bree, with others, that are now lost.—PARK. M. Requefert's catalogue of Chretien's works still extent, contains: Perceval, le Chevalier au Lion, Lancelot du Lac, Cliget, Guilloume d'Angleterre, and Erec et Enide. The latter probably gave rise to the opinion, that Chretien translated the Æneid, and which has been adopted from Mr. von der Hagen, at p. 130. note c.—Ener.]

P. 139. note i.—Ogier le Dennois duc de Dannémerche was printed at Troyes in 1610; and at the same place, in 1608, were printed, Histoire de Morgant le geant, and Histoire des nobles Processes et Vaillances de Galcon restaure. — PARE.

P. 146. L. 6. — The earliest printed copy of this romance that I have met with, is in Italian, and printed at Venice, 1489. 4to. Other editions in the same language are, Venice 1562, 1580, 12mo. Milan 1584. 4to. Piacenza, 1599. 12mo. French editions, Paris folio, no date, by Verard. Ibid. 4to. no date, by Bonfors. English editions are by Copland, 4to. no date, by Pinson, by East, by G. W. for W. Lee, all without dates. I have been informed from respectable authority, that this romance is to be found in Provençal poetry, among the MSS. of Christina queen of Sweden, now in the Vatican library, and that it appears to have been written in 1380. See likewise Bibl. de Du Verdier, tom. iii. p. 266.—Doucz.

P. 146. 1 16.—" Bevis" seems long to have retained its popularity, since Wither thus complained of the sale it had about the year 1627. "The stationers have so pestered their printing houses and shopps do celui qui le monte, et repandent e with fruitlesse volumes, that the auncient vant lui la terreur."—Dovcz.

Chevalier à l'épée, on L'Histoire de Lon- sanong them as forgotten; and at hat you shall see nothing to be sould amongst us, but Currentes, Beavis of Hampton, or such trumpery." Scholler's Purgatory, no date.—PARE.

P. 149. note y .- Bushec, in the third letter of his Embassy into Turkey, montions that the Georgians in their songs make frequent mention of Roland, whose name pe subboses to pase bossed over with Godfrey of Bulleigne. - Descr.

P. 149. note a .- Mr. Dibdin imports, that the original of the Romance of Paris and the Fair Vienne is of Provençal growth, and was translated into French by Pierre de la Sipparde, whose name, however, is not found in the Bibliotheque Françoise of La Croix du Maine and Verdier. Caxton, in his version 1485, is silent as to the name of the French translator. See Dibdin's edit, of Herbert, vol.i. p. 261.—Park. [But this can only be the name of the translator into French press. Its early and extensive popularity is manifested by the prologue to the Swedish version, made by order of Queen Euphemis, in the second month of the year 1908. This refers to a German original, executed at the command of the Emperor Otho (1197-1208); but this again was taken from a foreign (Walsche) source.—Enr.]

P. 164. note A.—In an ancient Provençal poem, of which M. de St. Palaye has given some account in his "Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie," tom. ii. p. 160, a master gives the following instructions to his pupil, "Ouvres a votre cheval par des coupes redoublés, la route qu'il doit tenir, et que son portrail soit garni de beaux grelots ou sonnettes bien rangées; car ces sonnettes reveillent merveilleusement le courage

COLLATIONS OF THE OXFORD MSS.

TARRE PROM

ME PARK'S COPY.

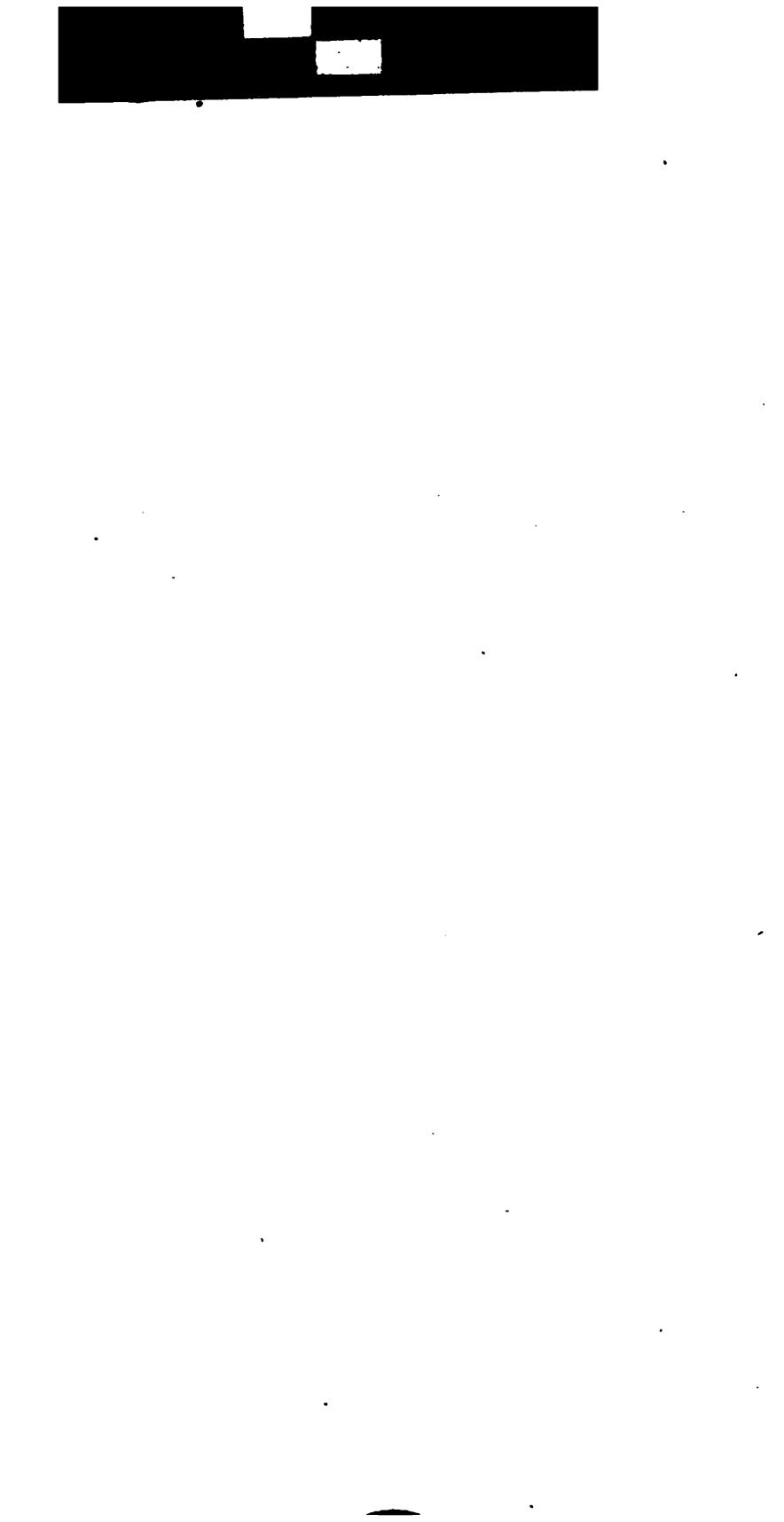
Page.	Line	
17.	4	Bi the kynges dai Egbert this goode ston was ibore.
17.	9.	Athelbriht the goode kyng ac al the lond nouht.
17.	12.	So that Egbert was kyng, the that seint Swyththan was bere.
7.	19-90.	Seint Wolston bysschop of Wircostre was her of Ingelande,
		Swithe holiman all his lyf as ich undurstonde.
17-	22.	Whan othur childre rooms to playe touward chirche he droub.
17.	94.	And the bisschop of Wircestre Briting bette iwis
16.	7.	To get reathe to al Engelonde so weylawsy the stounde
18.	21.	Ac William Bastard that was the duyk of Normanndye
18.	17.	Harald herde herof tell kynge of Engelonds
16.	19.	The barenye of Engelonde redi was wel some
18.	19.	In no stude by his days me fond non so strong a man
19.	9.	Al a cuntre where he were for him wolde fleo
19.	<i>\$</i> .	He seids he nolds with no man bee beste with on that were
19.	14.	To teche man her rygte beleve Jehu Cryst to understonde
29.	15.	So ful of wormer that lond be fonde that no man me myghte gon
19.	16.	In some stade for wormes that he was hoenemyd anon
19.	90,	There was Tomas fadir that trewe man was and gode
		The croyse to the boly londe in his youthe he nom,
19.	22-3.	He myd on Rychard, that was his mon, to Jerusalem com.
9 0.	9.	So that among Sarasyns hy wer nome atte laste
22.	t.	Allas my sone for serwe wel ofte seide beo
22.	5.	How schal I some deone, hou hast i-though liven withouten the.
22.	7.	Thenne spak Jheme wordus gode the to his modur dere
99.	15.	Hole and seeks bee duden good that hee founden there
22.	19.	Wy at heore milite yonge and olde hire loveden bothe syke and fer
22.	28.	Good him was the gardiner &c.
27.	5.	Faste nayled to the tre.
27.	7.	Ibunden bloc an blodi.
27.	14.	An neb wit teres wete
64.	27.	Of Englisch Ichul mi resen schowen
85.	7.	And hou some he hit for les
8 5.	12.	And for a prison that was forloren
85.	18.	In feir stude and clone siker it was

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Page.	Line.	
86.	22.	Ther never ne fayleth socour
86.	24.	That thider wol flen to sechen grith
86.	25.	This castel is siker and feir abouten
87.	2.	So is inde and eke blew
87.	9.	And is raddore then even any rose schal
87.	10.	That thuncheth as hit barnde al
87.	24.	That mai riht of this water clecke
88.	4.	Foure vertues cardinals ther beoth
88.	8.	That witcth the heighe tour withouten
88.	19.	That beoth the seven vertues which winne
98.	12.	In Crystiante was none hym leche
98.	20.	Held this kyngdome
98.	26.	Ac he ne reyned here
99.	29.	That Edgare ybore was
100.	4.	Ne loved he never fyght ne stryfe
100.	8.	To bringe hym trewaye there
100.	11.	iij yere pleynerlyche

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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